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Selected works of Jawaharlal Nehru



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SECOND SERIES
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Editor

MADHAVAN K. PALAT

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FOREWORD

Jawaharlal Nehru is one of the key figures of the twentieth century. He symbolised some of the major forces which have transformed our age.

When Jawaharlal Nehru was young, history was still the privilege of the West; the rest of the world lay in deliberate darkness. The impression given was that the vast continents of Asia and Africa existed merely to sustain their masters in Europe and North America. Jawaharlal Nehru's own education in Britain could be interpreted, in a sense, as an attempt to secure for him a place within the pale. His letters of the time are evidence of his sensitivity, his interest in science and international affairs as well as of his pride in India and Asia. But his personality was veiled by his shyness and a facade of nonchalance, and perhaps outwardly there was not much to distinguish him from the ordinary run of men. Gradually there emerged the warm and universal being who became intensely involved with the problems of the poor and the oppressed in all lands. In doing so, Jawaharlal Nehru gave articulation and leadership to millions of people in his own country and in Asia and Africa.

That imperialism was a curse which should be lifted from the brows of men, that poverty was incompatible with civilisation, that nationalism should be poised on a sense of international community and that it was not sufficient to brood on these things when action was urgent and compelling—these were the principles which inspired and gave vitality to Jawaharlal Nehru's activities in the years of India's struggle for freedom and made him not only an intense nationalist but one of the leaders of humanism.

No particular ideological doctrine could claim Jawaharlal Nehru for its own. Long days in jail were spent in reading widely. He drew much from the thought of the East and West and from the philosophies of the past and the present. Never religious in the formal sense, yet he had a deep love for the culture and tradition of his own land. Never a rigid Marxist, yet he was deeply influenced by that theory and was particularly impressed by what he saw in the Soviet Union on his first visit in 1927. However, he realised that the world was too complex, and man had too many facets, to be encompassed by any single or total explanation. He himself was a socialist with an abhorrence of regimentation and a democrat who was anxious to reconcile his faith in civil liberty with the necessity of mitigating economic and social wretchedness. His struggles, both

within himself and with the outside world, to adjust such seeming contradictions are what make his life and work significant and fascinating.

As a leader of free India, Jawaharlal Nehru recognised that his country could neither stay out of the world nor divest itself of its own interests in world affairs. But to the extent that it was possible, Jawaharlal Nehru sought to speak objectively and to be a voice of sanity in the shrill phases of the 'cold war'. Whether his influence helped on certain occasions to maintain peace is for the future historian to assess. What we do know is that for a long stretch of time he commanded an international audience reaching far beyond governments, that he spoke for ordinary, sensitive, thinking men and women around the globe and that his was a constituency which extended far beyond India.

So the story of Jawaharlal Nehru is that of a man who evolved, who grew in storm and stress till he became the representative of much that was noble in his time. It is the story of a generous and gracious human being who summed up in himself the resurgence of the 'third world' as well as the humanism which transcends dogmas and is adapted to the contemporary context. His achievement, by its very nature and setting, was much greater than that of a Prime Minister. And it is with the conviction that the life of this man is of importance not only to scholars but to all, in India and elsewhere, who are interested in the valour and compassion of the human spirit that the Jawaharlal Nehru Memorial Fund has decided to publish a series of volumes consisting of all that is significant in what Jawaharlal Nehru spoke and wrote. There is, as is to be expected in the speeches and writings of a man so engrossed in affairs and gifted with expression, much that is ephemeral; this will be omitted. The official letters and memoranda will also not find place here. But it is planned to include everything else and the whole corpus should help to remind us of the quality and endeavour of one who was not only a leader of men and a lover of mankind, but a completely integrated human being.

India fank

New Delhi 18 January 1972 Chairman Jawaharlal Nehru Memorial Fund

EDITORIAL NOTE

Nehru was exceptionally active during these two months of June and July 1960, and the volume is appropriately bulky. Of special interest is Nehru's lengthy correspondence about both Assam and the Nagas, with Punjab lagging not far behind. The tensions in Assam continue to simmer; a Naga state is in the process of formation; and Punjab is preoccupied with its perennial Punjabi Suba demand as also the Rarewala tubewell corruption case. At another level of politics the Central Government Employees' Strike looms large, while a flurry of correspondence has begun on Elizabeth II's visit to India, due in 1961. Nehru's commitment to technology for growth never diminishes, and there are seven letters here on growing food in Ladakh alone. Surprisingly, little is happening on the China front. And a not unimportant detail, we see how a Prime Minister's time is wasted by his having to write separate letters himself to organize his tour of Jammu and Kashmir: there are fifteen of them in this volume.

Some of the speeches have been transcribed; hence the paragraphing, punctuation, and other such details have been inserted. When no text or recording of a speech was available, a newspaper report has been used as a substitute. Such a newspaper report, once selected for publication, has been reproduced faithfully; other information has been added only by way of annotation. Words and expressions which were inaudible or unintelligible have been shown by an ellipsis between square brackets thus: [...]. Most items here are from Nehru's office copies. In personal letters, and even in official letters composed in personal style to persons like B. C. Roy or Govind Ballabh Pant, the salutation and concluding portions were written by hand; such details are not recorded in the office copy. Therefore these have been inserted in Nehru's customary style for such persons, but the editorial intervention is indicated by square brackets. Information on persons may always be traced through the index if it is not available in the footnote. References to the Selected Works appear as SWJN/ FS/10/..., to be understood as Selected Works of Jawaharlal Nehru, First Series, Volume 10. In the case of the Second Series, it would be SWJN/SS/.... The part and page numbers follow the volume number.

Documents, which have been referred to as items, are numbered sequentially throughout the volume; footnote numbering however is continuous only within

a section, not between sections. A map of the boundary between India and China has been reproduced from White Paper II of 1959 and is placed at the end of the volume.

Nehru's speeches or texts in Hindi have been published in Hindi and a translation into English has been appended in each case for those who might need or want a translation.

A large part of Nehru's archives is housed in the Nehru Memorial Museum and Library and is known as the JN Collection. This has been the chief source for items here, and has been made available by Shrimati Sonia Gandhi, the Chairperson of the Jawaharlal Nehru Memorial Fund. Unless otherwise stated, all items are from this collection. The Nehru Memorial Museum and Library has been immensely helpful in so many ways, and it is a pleasure to record our thanks to it. The Cabinet Secretariat, the secretariats of the President and Prime Minister, various ministries of the Government of India, All India Radio, the Press Information Bureau, and the National Archives of India, all have permitted us to use material in their possession. We are grateful to *The Hindu*, the *National Herald*, *Shankar's Weekly*, and in particular to R. K. Laxman for permission to reproduce reports and cartoons. Let me also thank Ms Sybille Deselaers, the Chief Librarian of the Goethe Institut / Max Mueller Bhavan in New Delhi, for supplying the text of Willy Brandt's speech of 12 May 1960 in the Berlin House of Representatives.

Finally, it is my pleasure to thank those who bore the heavy burden of preparing this volume for publication, most of all Amrit Tandon, assisted by M. Christhu Doss and Fareena Ikhlas Faridi. The Hindi texts have been prepared by Mohammed Khalid Ansari, and the translation from the Hindi was done by Chandra Chari. Chandra Murari Prasad ably handled all the computer work, including preparing the entire text for the press.

Madhavan K. Palat

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(a) Union Ministers and Chief Ministers

1. To Chief Ministers: International Affairs1

8 June 1960

My dear Chief Minister,

It is just over five months since I wrote to you what we call a fortnightly letter. My last one was dated the 1st of January.² I have almost lost the habit of writing these fortnightlies, and it is not easy to pick up old threads, or to bring back a mood which is helpful for this purpose. I suppose this long delay itself is guilt enough which cannot be washed away by excuses. How can I say that I have been busy all the time throughout these five months? That would not be true, although it is a fact that the burden of work has been heavy. I suppose the real reason is that I could not tune my mind to the task of writing to you the kind of letters I would wish to write. All this indicates not a proper state of the mind; perhaps it means an unhealthy habit of worrying. Anyhow, it is difficult for me to judge myself, even though I try to do so from time to time.

- 2. Of these five months, one month was passed in travels abroad.³ Perhaps, I might as well deal with this period and what has happened during this past month. It is not much good my giving an account of previous events which, important as they were at the time they took place, have passed into history.
- 3. I went abroad principally for the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference in London.⁴ This was held after rather a longer interval than usual, three years since the last Conference in 1957.⁵ It was being held just before the long awaited and much-trumpeted Summit Conference.⁶ During these past three years, I had found it difficult to go abroad because of work and problems at home, even though two parts of the world attracted me greatly because of their growing importance. These two parts are Africa and the countries of Latin America. I have not been to Latin America at all, and, in Africa, I have only visited

^{1.} Letter, also sent to the Prime Minister of Jammu and Kashmir. File No. 25 (30)/60-PMS. This letter has been published in G. Parthasarathi (ed.), *Jawaharlal Nehru: Letters to Chief Ministers* 1947-1964, Vol. 5 (New Delhi: Jawaharlal Nehru Memorial Fund, 1989), pp. 359-371. Also available in JN Collection.

^{2.} See SWJN/SS/56/item 1.

^{3.} He was abroad from 1 to 29 May 1960.

^{4.} From 3 to 13 May 1960.

^{5.} Held in London from 26 June to 5 July 1957.

^{6.} Opened in Paris on 16 May, but abandoned as Khrushchev refused to take part citing as his reason an American spy plane's flight over Soviet territory on 1 May 1960.

Egypt repeatedly and Sudan for two days.⁷ I have been very conscious of the necessity for us to develop greater contacts with both these vast and important regions. But it was not easy to pay a brief visit to either of these regions. There is a measure of dissatisfaction in the African countries as well as in Latin America at being left out by us, when I have travelled so often to various parts of Europe and Asia as well as North America. I wish I could remove this feeling because I am fully conscious of their great importance in the world today and probably even greater importance tomorrow.

- 4. When I decided to attend the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference, it was not my intention to extend my tour to other countries. But, step by step, I had to extend my tour. First of all, when President Nasser came here⁸ he pressed me so much to stop for a while in Cairo, which was on the way, that I could not well refuse.⁹ Later I felt that I might as well take advantage of this occasion to pay a brief visit to Turkey¹⁰ which had been on my list for two years ever since a pressing invitation came to me to go there. This again led to brief visits to Lebanon¹¹ and Damascus.¹² I am glad I went to these places because they gave me a greater insight into the forces and movements at work in these troubled areas of the so called Middle East.
- 5. I found Egypt, or rather Cairo, bigger and brighter than it was previously. It had grown considerably and great new avenues had been constructed. On the whole I had an impression of activity and development. There was no sense of depression or fear. I was in Cairo when news reached me of the collapse of the Summit Conference. This enabled me to judge of reactions in the various countries I visited. While in Egypt I visited the famous big dam area at Aswan, which has become part of recent history. I also visited the magnificent remains of the old temples at Luxor, which I had not previously seen.
- 6. From Cairo I paid a visit to the Gaza strip¹⁴ which divides Israel from the U.A.R. and which is guarded by a United Nations Force. A number of nations have contributed to this U.N. Force, but the Indian contingent is the largest. The whole force is at present under the command of an Indian General.¹⁵ I was glad to visit our officers and men in these areas and to find how popular they were both with the people of that area and with the contingents from other countries.

^{7.} In July 1957.

^{8.} Nasser was in India from 29 March to 10 April 1960.

^{9.} Nehru visited Cairo 17-18 May 1960.

^{10. 20-25} May 1960.

^{11. 24-25} May 1960.

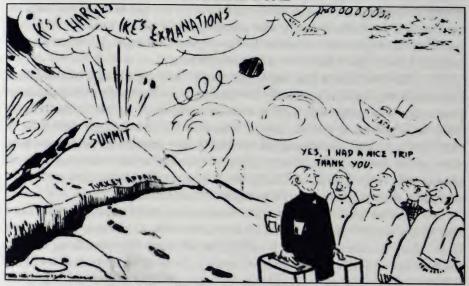
^{12. 26-28} May 1960.

^{13. 18} May 1960.

^{14.} On 19-20 May 1960.

^{15.} Lieutenant General P.S. Gyani.

[SUMMIT TOURISM] NEUTRAL ZONE



(From The Times of India, 1 June 1960, p. 1)

Wherever our soldiers have gone in their mission for peace, they have brought credit to our country and to our army.

- 7. My visit to Turkey took place under strange circumstances and many people have criticised me for going there when the country was in a state of unrest and turmoil. If I had tried to get this visit postponed, but the then Turkish Government insisted that I should go there and I could not very well back out at that stage. As a matter of fact I am glad that I went there. Not only because this enabled me to get some vivid impressions of conditions in Turkey, but, strange though it may appear, my visit was a popular one, and therefore, led to a greater appreciation of India by the people of Turkey. Naturally I had nothing to do with the internal affairs and troubles there. But I have enough experience to sense a situation in a country and my eyes and ears are fairly receptive. It was clear to me even during my stay there that the existing regime could not last long. I did not expect a change within two days of my departure, but a change seemed to me inevitable.
- 8. I met the members of the then government. I also met the Leader of the Opposition, Ismet Inonu Pasha, who is a hero of the revolution started by Kemal Ataturk and is, I am sure, the most popular man in Turkey at present. It was

^{16.} The army seized power in Turkey on 27 May 1960 and arrested Celal Bayar, the President, and Adnan Menderes, the Prime Minister.

good that I met Inonu Pasha at a big party given by our Ambassador at Ankara, ¹⁷ because this meeting gave a balance to my visit which otherwise might have been purely governmental. What pleased me, however, was the obvious welcome on the faces of the Turkish people who assembled in crowds to see me. That was not much of a personal welcome. It was a tribute to India and some slogans indicated that to them India was a land of freedom.

- 9. The Turks are a fine and tough people with a great deal of discipline. Even the demonstrations against the Government were extraordinarily disciplined. Practically at no stage was there a trace of violence or injury by the crowds. They impressed me as a soldier nation, long accustomed to military discipline. In their language, odd words cropped up which were familiar to me, as we have them in our own language. Even a group of common words brought a sense of kinship. The form of Hindi or Hindustani, which is called Urdu, thus serves as a slight link with the languages of Central and Western Asia.
- 10. Ankara was an attractive city situated on a number of low-lying hills. One might say that Ankara began its new career about the same time as New Delhi. But the other city that I visited, Istanbul or, as it was long known, Constantinople, is hoary with age and history. Its situation on both sides of the Bosphorus is unique and magnificent. Perhaps, no other city in the world has such a favourable and attractive site. The Bosphorus divides this city as it divides Europe from Asia, and on either side are the low hills which add to the beauty of the landscape. Within the city, there are great and world famous cathedrals which were subsequently turned into mosques. The greatest of these, St. Sophia, after being the seat of Eastern Christianity, the rival of Rome, for many hundreds of years, became the great symbol and citadel of Islam. For nearly five hundred years, it remained thus, developing into the seat of the Caliphate. Kemal Pasha wisely converted both the Cathedral and the Mosque into a museum to be carefully looked after and treasured.
- 11. Lebanon, with its prosperous capital of Beirut, is the pleasure resort of all the Middle Eastern region. It attracts tourists from distant countries because, within a small compass, it gives a great variety of climate, from bathing in the sea to winter sports on the top of nearby mountains. Here, on the mountains, are the famous cedars of Lebanon, referred to so often in the Bible, which are closely related to our own deodars of the Himalayas.
- 12. The population of Lebanon is a very mixed one, roughly half Christian, half Muslim, but both the Christians and the Muslims are divided into several sects, each of which is considered a political entity. Thus, by convention, the President of Lebanon must be a Maronite Christian, the Prime Minister has to be a Sunni Muslim. The Vice President, the Speaker, the Commander-in-Chief, etc, are all given to different sects. It was not quite clear to me how these conventions

can be followed. The people are industrious and successful traders. Indeed, they are descendants of the old Phoenicians, who took their ships to distant parts of the Mediterranean and beyond two thousand years ago. These people have higher standards than any in the Middle Eastern region and are relatively prosperous. Their standard of education is high, and they have I think three universities at Beirut. One of these is an American University, and another a French University, both founded about a hundred years ago. These universities have in a sense served the cause of Arab nationalism by producing numerous leaders of the national movements as well as by serving the cause of the Arabic language.

- 13. Beirut was a city full of pleasure-seekers. Many of the oil-rich Shaikhs from other Arabian countries came there for holiday making in an easier atmosphere. At the same time, I was told that every other person in Beirut had a bomb in case of need or civil trouble. When I mentioned this to someone there, he laughed and said: "You are wrong. It is not every other person, but every person who has a bomb here". And yet, there appeared no sign of trouble and everything looked peaceful. Next month or sooner, they are going to have elections there. I do not know if the bombs will come into play then.
- 14. On my way from Beirut to Damascus, I visited the old ruins of Baalbek, a city that flourished two thousand years ago or so. They were impressive. From Damascus, I visited another famous ruined city, that of Palmyra in the heart of the desert. The story of this city of the desert, known as the Queen of the Desert, and actually ruled by Queen Zenobia, is rather a fascinating one. Because it was on the main route from the West to the Persian Gulf, all caravans used to pass that way and, no doubt, they must have paid tribute to this city. It is reported that the city was magnificent. Even the present ruins of the old temples and other buildings are awe-inspiring. We were told that a Shaikh from the Persian Gulf region, who came to see these ruins, expressed his opinion that these buildings could have been built only by jinns and not by human beings.
- 15. Then Damascus, said to be the oldest continuing city in the world. Probably Banaras is the only other city which has had a continuing life for such a long period. Here also, there was a great and magnificent mosque dating from the Umayyad period when Damascus was the capital of the early Arab Empire. We were shown a tomb which is supposed to be that of St. John the Baptist, and another tomb of Sala-ed-din the Great. One rather narrow street is still named as it was in biblical times.
- 16. So while my mind was full of Summit Conferences and their failures and possible consequences, occasionally I sought relief in pictures and memories of days long ago.
- 17. To come back to the main theme of this letter. The Prime Ministers' Conference in London had to deal with many subjects, but really it was overshadowed by events in Africa and, more especially, those in South Africa. The developments in Africa as a whole were a portent and a warning and everybody

realised that. Out of the patchwork of colonial domains, new independent countries were rising up with amazing rapidity. Indeed many people did not even know the names of these new countries. The whole picture of Africa was changing and behind that change were all kinds of social and other forces at play, which had induced the colonial powers to give way. A number of new countries have already become independent. In the course of 1960 some more will join this group and within two or three years there would be further additions. The only country which outwardly remains unmoved by these forces is Angola, ruled by the Portuguese. I am sure, however, that even there, there are the same strivings which cannot be long suppressed.

18. Then there was the big question of apartheid and racial discrimination in the South African Union. According to the rules of the Prime Ministers' Conference, matters concerning internal affairs could not be discussed. And yet, this particular question was like a ghost all the time before us, sometimes taking physical shape. I need not tell you that the Prime Ministers from Asia and Africa felt strongly and gave clear expression to their feelings in public. The other Prime Ministers were a little more circumspect but on the whole they also felt that the policy of the South African Government could not be tolerated for long. Certainly the Commonwealth, as it is, could not continue with South Africa in it following that policy. As it is, half the Prime Ministers present were from Asia or Africa and belonged to the non-white races. Within a year or so the proportion of these would be even greater. It was obvious that the Commonwealth could not continue in its present shape or form without coming to a clear decision on racialism and apartheid. In spite of the strong feelings raised, the subject was treated with a measure of politeness and moderation, but everyone knew that behind those polite phrases lay hidden volcanoes. The final communiqué that was issued18 gave some hint to all this, but the hint was clear enough. I have no doubt that in the course of the year other developments will take place not to the advantage of the present regime in the South African Union. A number of African and Asian countries have already indicated that they will follow the policy which India adopted twelve years ago, that is, stop diplomatic and economic contacts with the South African Union Government. Also, the economy of South Africa is suffering and its reserves are going down at a rapid rate. Money, in the final analysis, does not care for races. It is concerned with itself and the profits it can make.

19. Even as we were carrying on our discussions in the Prime Ministers' Conference, came the news of the shooting down by the Russians of the spy plane U-2. ¹⁹ That was obviously a serious affair. And yet there was general hope

^{18.} See SWJN/SS/60/item 150.

^{19.} Khrushchev announced in Moscow on 5 May that an American plane had been shot down over Soviet territory on 1 May. *The Times of India*, 6 May 1960.

that it would not be allowed to break up the Summit Conference. Then came a succession of statements by people in authority in the United States which were amazing and singularly inept. They contradicted each other.²⁰ The effect produced on the Russian people was great. First of all, they realised that for four years this continuous espionage from the air had been going on and perhaps they were not so safe as they had imagined. Then the fact that this could take place on the eve of the Summit Conference brought all the old suspicions into their mind and the apprehension that all this talk of peaceful settlements might not be real at all. The only reality was preparation for the war to come. There were elements in Russia who had perhaps not viewed these peaceful approaches with any confidence or pleasure, just as there were elements in the United States who thought likewise from their own point of view. The only Government or people who took full pleasure in these developments were the Chinese who had never allowed themselves to think in peaceful terms.²¹

- 20. The pressure of circumstances as well as other pressures and no doubt his own feelings in the matter, made Mr Khrushchev violent in speech in Paris and he said many things and made some demands which made it impossible for any conference to continue. The great Summit Conference faded out in a torrent of abuse.
- 21. So we were back in the full flood of the cold war and the prospect of any real attempt at peaceful talks became exceedingly remote. It is easy to blame and denounce; it is much more difficult to pick up broken threads and join them together again. And yet the very logic of circumstances demanded that in order to avoid the terrible calamity of a nuclear war, effort should continue to be made for disarmament and a lessening of tensions.
- 22. After the first flush of anger, excitement and fear, there has been some slight toning down and the Disarmament Conference in Geneva is continuing to meet.²² It is difficult to say what the future will bring, but the present is bad
- 20. The US State Department revealed on 5 May 1960 that an unarmed weather research plane, flown by a civilian pilot, had been missing since 1 May. However, on 7 May, it said that "in endeavouring to obtain information now concealed behind the Iron Curtain, a flight over Soviet territory was probably undertaken by an unarmed civilian U-2 plane," but denied there was authorization for any such flight. On 11 May, Eisenhower asserted, "the West must counter Soviet secrecy and the possibility of another Pearl Harbour by acquiring knowledge of what goes on inside Russia by all possible means." National Herald, 9 May 1960, and The Time of India, 12 May 1960.
- 21. Chou En-lai declared on 19 May that "Encroachment on any socialist country is an encroachment on the entire socialist camp, and will assuredly be met with an annihilating rebuff." *The Times of India*, 20 May 1960.
- A ten-nation committee on disarmament met in Geneva from 15 March to 29 April 1960; it reconvened on 7 June and adjourned indefinitely on 27 June 1960.

enough. You may have seen the joint statement that was issued by President Nasser and me after the collapse of the Summit.²³ We tried to refrain from mere denunciation and laid stress on efforts being continued to lessen tensions. If the Great Powers cannot come to terms, what is the duty of the other countries and more especially those that are called uncommitted or unaligned? They, like others, will suffer equally from the horrors of nuclear war. Are they to remain silent spectators of this approaching catastrophe? This question has come up before many of such countries and there is a general consensus of opinion among them that they must try to do their utmost to lessen these tensions. How exactly this can be done in present circumstances is not clear. But I feel sure that if these countries remain calm and do not lose their heads, they can help in this process.

23. One particular development is worthy of notice. The Chinese Government have not only expressed their pleasure at the break-up, but have tried to run down India. Their attempt has been to break up the friendly relations that exist between India and the Soviet Union as this comes in the way of their own policies.

They are carrying on this campaign in their press and otherwise.

24. I have written to you so much about these matters that there is no space or time left to deal with internal affairs, important as they are. The most important is the draft of the Third Five Year Plan which is being finalised now. When it comes out,²⁵ you will no doubt consider it carefully. You should remember that this is a draft and that it may be changed later and, in any event, we do not propose to have too rigid plans. At the same time, we have to give a clear indication of our objectives and the way we seek to achieve them. Too much vagueness is not good.

25. My own broad impression of economic conditions in India is entirely favourable in spite of the difficulties we have to face. I have no doubt that our industry is pulling up and there is a dynamic quality in it now. I have equally no doubt that our peasantry are waking up and will show results in the near future. I view the situation, therefore, with considerable optimism, but we shall have to work hard and not be led away by minor difficulties or pessimistic warnings.

Yours sincerely, Jawaharlal Nehru

^{23.} For the joint statement of 20 May 1960, see SWJN/SS/60/item 156.

^{24.} See Appendix 15.

^{25.} The draft outline was published on 6 July 1960, see item 6, fn 55.

2. To Chief Ministers: Brooms and Ploughs²⁶

12 June 1960

My dear Chief Minister,

I am writing to you about a subject which, perhaps, will seem to you very trivial and even unimportant. Here we are dealing with great issues, planning mighty projects and all that. But still what I am writing to you seems to me to have a basic importance.

- 2. I am writing to you about brooms, the humble broom used by our cleaners and sweepers as well as in our houses. The normal Indian broom can only be used if one bends down to it or even sits when using it. For most household purposes this might not matter much, although even there it is troublesome. A broom or a brush with a long handle, which can be used while a person is standing, is far more effective from the point of view of work and far less tiring to the person using it. So far as I know, all over the world these standing brooms or brushes are used. Why then do we carry on with a primitive, out of date, method which is inefficient and psychologically all wrong? Bending down in this way to sweep is physically more tiring and, I suppose, encourages a certain subservience in mind.
- 3. But the main consideration is not the individual householder but the large-scale cleaning operations done on behalf of Corporations and Municipalities. These can undoubtedly be made much more efficient by the use of the long-handled broom or brush. I think that every Corporation and Municipality must be induced to bring this small, but far-reaching, reform. They can easily supply the long-handled brooms and brushes to their sweepers and cleaners. In addition, every such sweeper or cleaner should be given a proper container with a lid to collect refuse, etc. It is a disgusting sight for open pans or baskets to be used for this purpose.
- 4. I, therefore, urge you earnestly to take up this matter with your Municipalities and Corporations and insist on long-handled brooms and proper containers being given to their staff of cleaners, etc. It is quite possible that, to begin with, the sweepers might themselves object to this change. But this should not come in the way.
- 5. I think also that all Municipal sweepers and cleaners must have a proper uniform. All this adds to efficiency and cleanliness; and further raises this class in their own and other people's esteem which is important.
- 26. A special letter in addition to the periodical letters to Chief Ministers; also sent to the Prime Minister of Jammu and Kashmir. File No. 25 (30)/60-PMS. This letter has been published in G. Parthasarathi (ed.), *Jawaharlal Nehru: Letters to Chief Ministers 1947-1964*, Vol. 5 (New Delhi: Jawaharlal Nehru Memorial Fund, 1989), pp. 372-373. Also available in JN Collection.

- 6. To turn to a completely different subject, I have frequently reminded you of the importance of our agriculturists using new ploughs. I am not referring to any complicated, expensive equipment, but just a modern plough costing probably from fifty to sixty rupees. It surprises me that we go on talking big about agricultural improvements and do not tackle immediately this basic implement, the plough, which everyone can change without any big effort. Such a change would immediately lead to better production and the poorest agriculturist would get back the price of the plough, and much more even, in one season. Such ploughs should not be left only to private manufacture, but Government should have them made in a big way and, where necessary, they should be given on credit.
- 7. I suggest that some kind of a record should be kept, and revised from time to time, as to the number of such new ploughs that are being used. That will be a true index of the agricultural progress in our big schemes.

Yours sincerely, Jawaharlal Nehru

3. Conferences and VIP Visits in J&K²⁷

Some two years ago or so, I addressed some of our Central Ministers as well as Chief Ministers on the subject of conferences in the Jammu & Kashmir State and visits to that State. I pointed out that these conferences and visits had become a great burden and embarrassment to the Jammu & Kashmir State Government and I expressed the hope that in future these would be avoided. If such visits took place, they should be personal visits for which the State Government should not be made financially responsible.

- 2. I find that the request I made then has perhaps been forgotten and conferences and visits continue in large numbers. Indeed, these visits are often entirely private visits when families are taken and they are all supposed to be guests of the State Government. Motor cars are required and asked for, sometimes even from Pathankot to Srinagar. Some cases have been brought to my notice where these visits have been prolonged to lengthy periods.
- 3. The Jammu & Kashmir State Government is hospitable and generous in these matters and is anxious to treat Ministers, Speakers and others with their
- 27. Note to the Ministers of the Central Government and all Chief Ministers, 15 June 1960, also copied to Shankar Prasad, Secretary for Kashmir Affairs. File No. 2 (285)/58-64-PMS. This letter has been published in G. Parthasarathi (ed.), Jawaharlal Nehru: Letters to Chief Ministers 1947-1964, Vol. 5 (New Delhi: Jawaharlal Nehru Memorial Fund, 1989), pp. 374-375. Also available in JN Collection.

well-known hospitality. But the fact is that this has become a burden too heavy to be borne by them. Also, this is not good for our prestige, and the other numerous tourists often suffer because of these special arrangements made for the so-called VIPs.

- 4. I would, therefore, request again all Ministers of the Central or State Governments as well as Speakers to be good enough to help us in putting an end to this practice. No conference should be held in the Jammu & Kashmir State and when any Minister or Speaker visits the State, this should not be done so as to place any financial or other burden on the State.
- 5. I have myself been embarrassed by the special arrangements made for me whenever I go to Kashmir. I have repeatedly requested the Prime Minister of Jammu & Kashmir not to do so, but I have been unable to convince him. In fact, because of this I go to Kashmir very seldom now and when I do go, it is only for two or three days. I hope the Prime Minister of Jammu & Kashmir²⁸ will agree in future to treat me as an ordinary citizen and not a VIP demanding special treatment.
- 6. I would beg of you to pay particular attention to what I have suggested above. I hope that the Chief Ministers of States will be good enough to draw the attention of their other Ministers and their Speakers to what I have written.

4. To Chief Ministers²⁹

18 June 1960

My dear Chief Minister,

In my last letter to you, I referred to the failure of the Summit Conference.³⁰ I added that in spite of this failure, the Disarmament Conference in Geneva was continuing to meet. This held out some hope, even though past experience and the present tensions did not warrant any optimism. Little progress has been made at this conference, although a number of proposals are before it. Among these proposals is a new one put forward on behalf of the Soviet Union.³¹ This as well as other proposals are complicated and I do not propose to discuss them. But it is generally recognised that the new Soviet proposals appear to be an earnest attempt to find some way out of the deadlock. They indicate a desire for disarmament. In the past it has often appeared from the proposals made either by the Soviet

^{28.} Bakhshi Ghulam Mohammed.

^{29.} Letter, also sent to the Prime Minister of Jammu and Kashmir. File No. 25 (30)/60-PMS. This letter has been published in G. Parthasarathi (ed.), Jawaharlal Nehru: Letters to Chief Ministers 1947-1964, Vol. 5 (New Delhi: Jawaharlal Nehru Memorial Fund, 1989), pp. 376-384. Also available in JN Collection.

^{30.} See item 1.

^{31.} See item 15, fn 105.

Government or by the Western Powers that there is no such desire behind them and that they are made in the expectation of the other side rejecting them. That can hardly be said of the present proposals and the least that can be done about them is to consider them with due care. To reject them out of hand would mean that there is no desire for any agreement on this vital issue.

- 2. India has, in the past, taken great interest in disarmament and we have not only participated in the debates in the UN, but have put forward a number of proposals. As with many others, our proposals met with a cold reception. It is interesting to find, however, that what we propose gradually becomes acceptable at a later period. Some important aspects of the Soviet proposals demonstrate this
- 3. Unless some progress is made towards real disarmament, the cold war atmosphere will continue and even become worse. At one time we thought that some kind of an agreement was near. This was when Russia agreed to control and inspection. Even so all kinds of other obstacles have been raised and I must say that doubts arise about the sincerity of the various parties concerned in this matter of disarmament
- 4. The recent demonstrations and conflicts in Tokyo, which ultimately resulted in President Eisenhower giving up his visit to Japan, 32 were distressing in many ways and may be exploited for wrong ends. But it would be wrong to think that there was any personal animosity to President Eisenhower behind these demonstrations. Essentially they were against the treaty between Japan and the US which is in effect a military alliance and which permits the stationing in Japan of American forces and aircraft. This treaty may be passed in the Diet there, 33 but there can be little doubt that the opposition to any such military entanglement is very great in Japan. It would be wrong to say, as has been said, that certain Communists or leftist groups are mainly responsible for this opposition, although no doubt they have played an important part in it. The fact is that there is strong feeling in Japan against these military pacts and a fear that this will involve them in wars which they wish to avoid. Having had experience of atomic bombs in Hiroshima and Nagasaki, they want no more of such unwelcome visitors.
- 5. Japan is a curious mixture today of the old militarism and something almost akin to pacifism. There is even a growing tendency for intellectuals to think in terms of Gandhism, as they conceive it. Quite a considerable number of Gandhi centres have been formed for the study of Gandhian literature. This does not mean that people in Japan are anxious to learn everything about Gandhism, but rather that they have a feeling that Gandhi stood for peace and India stands for non-alignment today.

33. The treaty became effective on 19 June 1960.

^{32.} His visit was planned for 19-22 June but was cancelled on 16 June after protests by trades unions and students against the treaty of 19 January 1960 renewing the 1951 defence treaty.

- 6. This recent unhappy incident in Japan brings out forcibly the virtue of non-alignment. In this world conflict, suspicion and fear, always hovering at the brink of catastrophe, the policy of non-alignment becomes not idealistic but eminently practical. It is surprising that a few persons in India should still hanker after some kind of military alliance in the hope that this will strengthen our country.
- 7. Some newspapers have been giving considerable publicity recently to the appearance of unidentified aircraft in Ladakh.³⁴ Much is also said about the building up of airstrips inside Tibet and of continuing conflicts in Tibet. It is rather difficult for us to know much about internal happenings in Tibet. Usually the news we see relayed in newspapers comes from refugees and the like who come from Tibet to India and is likely to be greatly exaggerated. It would appear, however, that the Chinese occupying forces in Tibet have had some trouble again with the Tibetans.
- 8. So far as the report that unidentified aircraft have been flying over Ladakh is concerned, we can say with assurance that we have had no foreign aircraft there. In the normal course of our work, our aircraft fly over Ladakh and carry supplies. Probably it is these aeroplanes which have led people to consider them foreign.³⁵
- 9. Recently many newspapers commented on the Evaluation Report on Community Development produced by some officers of the Planning Commission.³⁶ I have not yet had a chance to see this Evaluation Report which, it is reported, called Community Development work a patch-work of light and shadow, with shadow predominating.
- 10. This is distressing, even though it has been pointed out that this evaluation was concerned with only 16 blocks out of 3,000, it is always good for us to see our own errors and shortcomings so that we can try to put them right. The recent conference on Community Development held in Srinagar, Kashmir,³⁷ apparently expressed their disagreement with this Evaluation Report and said that it gave a one-sided picture of a small part of the work. Possibly both are correct, and it would be improper for a layman to express a firm opinion in spite of these expert statements. I might say, however, that my impression is that the Community

Unidentified twin-engined jets flying at over 25,000 feet from the direction of Western Tibet were seen over Eastern Ladakh during the second fortnight of May 1960. The Times of India, 14 June 1960.

^{35.} See also Appendices 29 (a) and 29 (b).

^{36.} According to *The Times of India* of 12 June 1960, the Seventh Evaluation Report released the previous day said that the general level of achievement of community development programme "is still low and far from adequate." On 14 June, the newspaper commented editorially: "One evaluation report after another has pointed out that the projects have failed to foster a spirit of self-reliance among the villagers."

^{37.} On 10-11 June 1960.

Development movement is now moving at a faster pace than before and is concentrating on production. The spirit underlying the conference on Community Development as well as the conference of State Ministers on Cooperation, ³⁸ both held recently in Srinagar, was definitely one of optimism and an acceptance of the challenge to make good. They report that the Colossus that is rural India is waking up. This means fresh problems, but it does not mean despondency.

11. Looking at other aspects of the Indian scene, we see an abundance of money. If any loan is floated or any company shares are issued, money flows in and the amount desired is over-subscribed. Shops are full of goods and full of purchasers. People generally in rural areas are obviously better fed and better clothed. It is, of course, true that there are large numbers of the under privileged in India who do not share in this general betterment in our economy. But that there is this betterment, there can be little doubt. The big plants in industries attract attention, but few people seem to be aware of the rapid development of small and medium sized industries in many parts of India.

12. We have been struggling with the draft of the Third Five Year Plan, and gradually it is nearing completion. Perhaps in the course of another two or three weeks it might be issued for public consideration and comment. Quite a great deal of thinking and discussion has gone towards making this draft, even though it is a provisional affair. We have had to balance our urge to go ahead fast with our capacity and our resources. On the whole, I think, this draft plan is going to be a brave effort and at the same time, not removed from the realities of the situation. The other day I was looking at the various indices of development in India ever since Independence. Even though I am connected with this work, I was surprised and pleased to see these charts because they showed quite surprising advance in a number of fields. Unfortunately many of us have developed a habit of depreciating our own efforts and running down what we do.

13. Education is one of the subjects which is being constantly talked about, discussed and sometimes condemned. So also what is called student indiscipline? No doubt there is a great deal that deserves criticism and change, and it is good that we are trying to do so. But it is well to remember that the growth in recent years has been fast. There are about fifty million boys and girls going to school. Even though most of the schools are not up to mark, the mere fact of such a vast and ever-growing number of our children going to school and college is significant. This in itself is a factor gradually bringing about a social revolution in the country.

14. We have decided to make education compulsory from 6 or 7 to 11 years of age all over India: later we propose to raise the age to 14 as demanded by our Constitution. This leaves out two important periods in the life of the boy or the girl, one is the pre-school period, that is, below 6 or 7 years of age, and the other

is after 11. Every educationist recognises now the great importance of the early years of a child's life which are more formative than the later years. Some little efforts are being made in this direction, but they are far from adequate.

15. But what I particularly wish to draw your attention to is the period after 11. Some children go to higher schools, but the vast numbers do not. There is no particular provision for these young people at that rather critical age. Our technical institutes, polytechnics, etc. begin, I think, at the age of 16 or more. What is the boy or girl to do between 11 and 16 if he or she does not go in for any higher education?

16. In other countries, there is provision for this period which chiefly consists in the teaching of specific trades. That is, while the polytechnic or the technical institute gives some kind of all-round technical education in the course of several years, some simpler provision is made for this age group between 11 and 16. They are made to learn some manual skills which may make them good fitters, welders, plumbers, house repairers, electricians, and the like. A person learning these manual skills may not have a good grounding in technical education, but he will be good at the particular skill he has learnt. There is at present a tremendous demand for skilled persons of this type.

17. Some little effort was made to provide this type of training to our displaced persons when they first came. But even that appears to have faded out and anyhow there is no organised approach to this problem. In some of the superior schools there are hobby centres which help in the educational process, but are seldom meant to train a person in a particular trade or manual skill.

18. This type of lower grade professional training is urgently needed for economic reasons as we want such trained persons. It is equally necessary in order to develop the creative and imaginative side of a child's character. Perhaps the Community Development movement does something to this end or, at any rate, thinks of doing it. In urban centres this is completely lacking. I think that an organised approach should be made to give this so-called lower grade professional training to boys and girls between 11 and 16. There should be a multitude of subjects for training and the boy or girl can make a choice. After a year or so of such training he or she will be an expert in that particular work.

19. All this leads one to think of the necessity for a coordinated approach to child welfare and development. Our educational apparatus at present fails in this and only touches some limited aspects. Our Health Departments vaguely touch this subject but again from a very limited point of view. There is no Ministry or Department which really has responsibility for child welfare and training.

20. There are some non-official organisations which deal with the child but they work in a limited sphere and have small resources and their competence is often very little. Probably child welfare should be largely dealt with by non-official agencies provided they are good. A purely official approach may not be successful and any such official approach will probably become top-heavy and

very expensive. Governments, Corporations and Municipalities can however help these non-official organisations and encourage them to expand their work under proper and trained auspices. It is not enough merely to have Bal Mandirs, good as they are.

- 21. You must have read of the Akali demonstration in Delhi a few days ago.³⁹ This particular agitation is singularly lacking in wisdom. It distresses me greatly to find how at a moment when India is struggling to break through the chains of poverty and under-development that have held her so long, many people should spend their energy in this type of conflict. The attraction of this kind of agitation and conflict is itself evidence of our lack of maturity. I should like to add that, during this recent big Akali demonstration in Delhi, the police showed remarkable patience and forbearance.
- 22. Our President is going to pay a fortnight's visit to the Soviet Union soon.⁴⁰ That will be good in many ways. More particularly it is important that at this time of growing cold war we should stretch out our hands of friendship to all countries and refuse to allow ourselves to become partners in the cold war or to drift away from our policy of non-alignment.

Yours sincerely, Jawaharlal Nehru

5. To Sampurnanand: Conferences and VIP Visits in J&K⁴¹

30 June 1960

My dear Sampurnanand,42

Your letter of 27th June. 43 I am sorry if what I said about Ministers going to Kashmir has received so much publicity. It was not my intention to give it publicity and I can well realise that our critics will try to take advantage of this.

But I felt I had to write because a number of rather glaring cases came to me and the Kashmir Government was really rather hard pressed. A newspaper from Srinagar wrote about this subject.

39. The Akalis organized a procession in Delhi on 12 June in support of their demand for Punjabi Suba or a unilingual Punjabi-speaking state in Punjab. Over 150 persons, including 75 police officers and men, were injured and one Akali demonstrator died in clashes between the police and Akalis. The Times of India, 13 June 1960. See also item 15, pp. 92-99 and passim.

40. From 20 June to 5 July 1960. The Times of India, 21 June and 6 July 1960.

- 41. Letter. File No. A/158, Sampurnanand Collection, National Archives of India. Also available in JN Collection.
- 42. The Chief Minister of Uttar Pradesh.

43. See Appendix 47.

It is true that this kind of criticism applies to a relatively few persons and it is very unfair to colour everyone with the same brush.

I might mention that some of the worst offenders in this respect have been Speakers from some States.

Yours sincerely, Jawaharlal Nehru

6. To Chief Ministers44

30 July 1960

My dear Chief Minister,

We seem to be living in strange and turbulent times. The long, continued efforts to reduce tensions in the international sphere, which promised some results, broke down with the failure of the Summit Conference and we reverted to the "cold war" in all its most disagreeable aspects. The only redeeming feature has been that no country appears to welcome the prospect of a big war. But that is poor consolation, because everything that is happening in the world deepens the crisis and, in that sense, brings us nearer to catastrophe. Practically no one wants a war, but there has been an increasing realisation of the facility with which some kind of an accident might lead to this kind of conflict. It is terrifying to realise how easy it is for an accident of this type to occur, plunging the world into the nightmare of nuclear war. The preamble of UNESCO says, I think, that wars have their origin in the minds of men. If that is so, and I believe it is so, then the continuance of the cold war, with all its fear and hatred, leads almost inevitably to the war that we all dread.

- 2. Occasionally there are pious protestations for peace and homage paid to the ideal of disarmament. But all that is happening is directly opposed to all this. Only the fear of war and, I believe, the wishes of the vast majority of human beings prevent the final step being taken. And so, we live in what has been called "a balance of terror". I have received many letters from prominent persons abroad asking why India does not take a lead and try to lessen these tensions. India, it is said, is favourably situated because of her policy of non-alignment and her well-known love of peace. Certainly India should do something provided that what she says or does has some meaning and promises some result. But I have always been reluctant for India to jump into international controversies merely to show
- 44. Letter, also sent to the Prime Minister of Jammu and Kashmir. File No. 25 (30)/60-PMS. This letter has been published in G. Parthasarathi (ed.), *Jawaharlal Nehru: Letters to Chief Ministers* 1947-1964, Vol. 5 (New Delhi: Jawaharlal Nehru Memorial Fund, 1989), pp. 393-403. Also available in JN Collection.

off that we are apparently better than others and have good advice for everyone.

- 3. For this reason, among others, we have kept rather quiet even when big things were happening in various parts of the world. Merely to denounce and condemn anything or anybody did not seem to help at all and probably merely produced more anger and emotion. Perhaps it might be a good thing if Foreign Ministers of the world and prominent politicians took a vow of silence for a while. I am sure the world would be a quieter and calmer place if that happened.
- 4. In Africa there has been a succession of independent States emerging one after another from the dark night of colonialism. Many people probably do not even know the names of some of these States and have only vague ideas about their geographical position. But everyone must surely have been stirred by this dynamic and dramatic awakening of the African people. This may well be the outstanding event of the present age. Even as we were rejoicing at these developments, the news from the Congo troubled us and made us wonder how the future in Africa will take shape. 45 The Congo, as a result of Belgium's policy in the past, is almost wholly lacking in educated and trained personnel. One might almost say that there is a vacuum, and mere enthusiasm cannot fill that vacuum. It will be a long and arduous journey before the Congo can look after its own affairs adequately, and there is always the danger of someone else trying to fill that vacuum. International intrigues and manoeuvring for position will add to Congo's difficulties. Fortunately, the coming in of the United Nations has brought a measure of balance and, to some extent, has prevented the ambitions of some Powers to take advantage of this situation.
- 5. At the request of the Secretary-General of the U.N., 46 we have supplied to the Congo some trained personnel, especially from our Air Services. There is a possibility of our sending some medical aid teams. We have also made a gift of some wheat.
- 6. All this and much more is happening in this troubled world of ours. But our attention has necessarily been concentrated on our own troubles and problems. There has been the Akali agitation for a Punjabi Suba, and though this has met with many rebuffs and has toned down, it is unfortunately still dragging on. There was a general strike, 47 and about the same time, the tragic occurrences in Assam. 48 During the last few days, I have been dealing with the Naga problem

Congo became independent on 30 June 1960; however, on 11 July 1960, the province of Katanga seceded from Congo and formed an independent state under Moise Tshombe. The Times of India, 1 and 13 July 1960.

^{46.} Dag Hammarskjold.

^{47.} See items 234 to 272 and passim...

^{48.} See items 97 to 132 and passim.

and meeting representatives of the Naga People's Convention. 49 Over-shadowing all this has been the general economic condition of the country, the Five Year Plan, the lessening of our Sterling Balances, and the question of price control, which is so vital. Each one of these problems is enough to occupy all our minds and energies. What then when we have to face a bunch of them together? I have not mentioned the situation on our border, and the talks our officials have had with Chinese officials in Peking. 50

- 7. The general strike has come and gone. But three outstanding features of this strike were the amazing irresponsibility of those who sponsored it, the efficient way in which the Central Government and the State Governments dealt with the situation that had arisen and, most heartening of all, the general public response to the menace of this strike. A general strike of Government employees and Essential Services must have a political content. It is not an industrial or trade dispute. If the strike succeeds, it would result in complete chaos in the country. Everyone with a modicum of intelligence must realise this. No Government can tolerate it, and no sensible person should encourage it. But in the conditions that exist today, logic and commonsense are not very evident. The strike failed, as it had to fail. It has taught us many lessons and raised new problems. It was pleasing to find that the administrative apparatus of the country could stand up squarely to face such a challenge and deal with it effectively. Even more pleasing was the response of the public and the innumerable volunteers that came to do some service during this emergency. These are healthy signs, and we should take advantage of them for constructive purposes.
- 8. We have to distinguish between those who deliberately created mischief and the many others who were misled in supporting the strike. We have to remember that even in the ranks of Government employees and their organisations, a very large number refused to obey the call for the strike. We may have to prevent such general strikes from occurring again. We may do so by law. But the constructive approach is to devise an adequate machinery which should deal effectively with disputes or problems that arise from time to time and settle them satisfactorily. We intend pursuing this course, and I am sure that we shall have your full support and cooperation in this matter.
- 9. The riots and disturbances in Assam were peculiarly bad. It is true that some newspapers have given exaggerated accounts. But the fact remains that fifty thousand or more Bengalee-speaking people of Assam became refugees. Many of these persons left their homes from fear of what might happen. Many

^{49.} The Convention however called itself the Naga Peoples' Convention, see its publication *The Third Naga Peoples' Convention*, Appendix 2 (a). See also items 133 to 155.

^{50.} J.S. Mehta of the MEA led a delegation for talks in Peking 15 June-25 July 1960. See also Appendix 14.

[LESSONS OF THE STRIKE]



[Top row, from left: G.L. Nanda, Morarji Desai, G.B. Pant, labour leaders; middle row, from left: strikers' group, Chou En-lai, Mao Tse-tung; bottom: E.M.S. Namboodiripad]

(From Shankar's Weekly, 24 July 1960, p. 13)

had actually to face attacks from excited mobs. It is a terrible thing to contemplate that tens of thousands of persons are driven away from their homes. One may analyse this and trace the causes of this conflict. The language issue was dominant and, yet, surely, it was not merely because of language that these passions were roused. There were economic causes, more especially unemployment, and the fear of the Assamese that outsiders, and especially Bengalees, got the lion's share of employment in their own State. There was the fear of the Bengalees which led so many to leave their homes, and there was the fear of the Assamese that they might be submerged in the influx of others and thus almost lose their identity. When fear grips any people, it is difficult to reason. I suppose almost all the problems of the world, international or national, have this complex of fear at their base. How to get rid of this fear and devote ourselves to solving the problems dispassionately?

- 10. One very depressing feature of the Assam disturbances was the part that young men played in it. And yet, these young men are basically good material and can be made into fine citizens. The Assamese are a very likable people. But the best of us, if we go astray, behave almost in an inhuman manner. Some of us saw extreme instances of this soon after the partition, here in Delhi city and elsewhere in Pakistan and India. I can never forget that sight.
- 11. Conditions in Assam are now outwardly more or less normal. There is no chance of any mob violence, and the immediate step to be taken is to bring back these refugees to their homes and help to rehabilitate them. This process has already begun insofar as the refugees are in camps in Assam. It will be more complicated for those who have crossed the borders of Assam and entered West Bengal. But this has to be done. The approach must be to give them full protection and sense of security. That is the external aspect. An equally important one is the internal aspect which removes fear and bitterness in people's minds. I was glad to find, when I visited Assam,⁵¹ a certain change in the mental atmosphere of the people, a feeling of shame at what had happened, and a desire to help in the rehabilitation of refugees.
- 12. Demands have been made, especially in Bengal, for President's rule in Assam. In the circumstances, such a demand has to be considered carefully and cannot be rejected out of hand. But we have given a good deal of thought to this and come to the conclusion that this would not be desirable at present and, we hope, in the future. We cannot rule out the possibility of it and if conditions do not improve, we shall have to find some other remedies. But President's rule, though it may have some external advantages, will not be able to bring about those internal changes in Assam which are so essential. Indeed, it will come in the way of them. The Assamese would feel angry and sullen and might retire into their shells. The atmosphere would remain strained and full of tension, even

^{51.} From 17 to 20 July 1960.

though nothing happened outside. We have to try to deal with these inner and deeper causes and emotions.

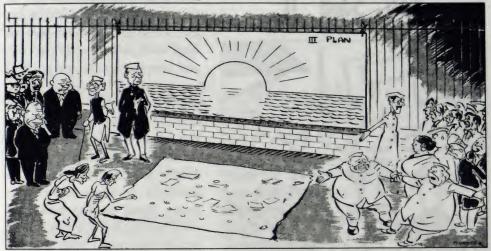
- 13. Yesterday, the Congress Working Committee passed a resolution on the Assam disturbances.⁵² I would like to invite your special attention to this resolution.
- 14. I have referred above to my talks with the Naga delegation which has been in Delhi. I am glad to say that we have arrived at an agreement, and I propose to make a statement in Parliament about it on the 1st August.⁵³ Broadly speaking, this agreement means establishment of a new State in the Naga country, to be called Nagaland, with the normal rights and obligations of a State. But it is obvious that so long as the law and order situation is not quite normal there, special arrangements will have to be made to deal with it. The Governor, therefore, will be responsible for law and order. There is likely to be a fairly long period of transition. But this too would depend on the situation.
- 15. It has to be remembered that the hostile hard core are not likely to accept this agreement, even though the great majority of the Naga people might approve of it. And so we may still have to continue to deal with the activities of these hostile groups. But I feel sure in my mind that the tide has turned in Nagaland and we move now towards more peaceful conditions and normality. The process of achieving peace and normality may well be a rather lengthy one. However that may be, I am very happy at this agreement because we have acted up to our principles and given the fullest freedom to the Naga people, as to any others in India. My conscience is at ease now.
- 16. The new State of Nagaland is, of course, a very small State compared to our great States. But that need not be a barrier. We have got too used to our States being big, and they have undoubtedly some super-structure of a big state. We have made this clear, and I think it is understood. It will be a special type of State because they will continue in many ways their tribal customs and laws.
- 17. You must have heard of Phizo's rather dramatic appearance in London and of the charges he has brought against the Indian Government and the Indian Army. These charges are very serious. I have been connected with the activities in Nagaland for these last few years rather intimately, and my own impression has been that our Army, in spite of great difficulties, has behaved rather well, probably better than any other Army in like circumstances. A few cases of individual misbehaviour came to us and we immediately took disciplinary action against those concerned. The charges of Phizo go far beyond this, and I can hardly

^{52.} See item 124.

^{53.} See SWJN/SS/62/item 85.

^{54.} A.Z. Phizo, the Naga rebel leader, arrived in London from Switzerland on 13 June 1960. In a press conference in London on 26 July, as reported by *The Times of India* on 27 July, he called for an "immediate ceasefire in Naga area followed by the appointment of an 'impartial' commission to investigate his allegations of atrocities against the Indian Army."

[PLANNING AS SACRIFICE] India Expects Every Man To Pay



Rs. 2200 crores external assistance and additional tax revenue of Rs. 1650 crores are included in the scheme for financing the Third Plan
[On the left: Western leaders, Morarji Desai, Nehru; on the right: G.B. Pant,
G.L. Nanda, others]

(From Shankar's Weekly, 10 July 1960, p. 5)

credit any of them. Some of them indeed were examined when they were made some years ago, and found to be without any valid foundation. We shall examine the others also.

- 18. It is in this background that we have to consider our major problem of India, how to bring about rapid development and a betterment of the living conditions of our people. We have put forward a draft of the Third Five Year Plan which will, no doubt, attract your close attention.⁵⁵ It presents a curious picture of great potentiality and a hope of rapid advance; also it brings out the magnitude of our problems and the hard work we shall have to do. There is no way of success without hard work.
- 19. Immediately, the most important problem for us is to hold down prices and, more especially, to check the prices of some basic commodities like foodgrains and cloth. That is of high importance. We know that we do not really lack foodgrains, more especially when we have arranged to get large quantities
- 55. The draft outline of the Third Five Year Plan envisaged a total outlay of Rs 11,250 crores, out of which Rs 7,250 crores was to be in the public sector, and Rs 4,000 crores in the private sector. *The Times of India*, 6 July 1960.

[PRICES RISE LIKE PLAN TARGETS]

You Said It



Do you think we can afford them?— the prices sound like III Plan investment targets (From The Times of India, 9 July 1960, p. 1)

from abroad. Cloth production also is considerable and can be increased. Sugar production has jumped up greatly and indeed we have to export a good deal of it and earn foreign exchange. And yet, prices tend to rise. It is true that in a developing economy that trend is to some extent natural. But much of this rise in prices is due to speculation and the desire of the intermediate traders to profiteer. In some States, not many, State trading has been fairly successful. Because of that prices have been held there. I have no doubt that prices can be held everywhere in regard to these basic commodities, and I feel that we must take every possible step to do so. We cannot tolerate groups of interested parties manoeuvring so as to profiteer by raising prices.

20. You may have seen that the prospects of oil production in India are becoming more and more promising.⁵⁶ We have also signed an agreement with the

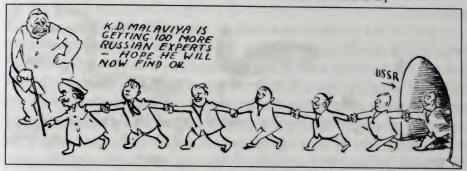
Soviet Union for the import of some kinds of oil.⁵⁷ I hope that in the course of a year or two, this production of indigenous oil will increase substantially,⁵⁸ but for us to derive full benefit from it will take a few years.

56. On 14 May 1960, oil was struck at Ankleshwar, about 100 miles south of Cambay.

57. K.D. Malaviya, Minister of Mines and Oil, on his return to Delhi after a three-week visit to the USSR, said on 30 June that an agreement would soon be signed with the Soviet Union for the supply of petroleum products to India. *The Times of India*, 1 July 1960.

58. An Indo-Soviet agreement for exploration, development and production of oil and gas was signed in New Delhi on 16 June 1960. The agreement covered the utilization of 277 million roubles allocated to oil exploration, out of the 1,500 million roubles of Soviet credit to India for the Third Plan. The Times of India, 17 June 1960.

[MALAVIYA EXTRACTS OIL WITH RUSSIANS]



[From left: G.B. Pant, K.D. Malaviya, Soviet experts] (From Shankar's Weekly, 10 July 1960, p. 12)

- 21. Early this month I paid a visit to our distant frontiers in Eastern Ladakh.⁵⁹ I was tremendously impressed by this visit. I was impressed at the sight of our magnificent Himalayan peaks covered with snow; I was impressed by our soldiers stationed far from every amenity of civilized life and living in very hard conditions and at high altitudes, guarding our country's borders.
- 22. The new session of Parliament begins on the 1st of August. It will be a brief session, as time goes, but a very full and arduous session.

Yours sincerely, Jawaharlal Nehru

(b) Speeches

(i) Poona Visit

7. At Poona: Public Meeting⁶⁰

बहनो और भाइयो,

आज ठीक एक सप्ताह हुआ जब मैं बाहर से, विदेश से भारत वापस आया और वहाँ एक मास तक मैं कुछ देशों में था। पहले तो इंग्लैण्ड गया था वहाँ प्रधानमंत्री Commonwealth के जो हैं उनकी एक सभा थी। फिर मैं मिस्र गया, Cairo नगर और और भी जगह, फिर टर्की गया, फिर लेबनान और फिर सीरिया। तो इस एक मास में जब मैं बाहर रहा बहुत कुछ बड़ी-बड़ी बातें हो गयीं। सबसे बड़ी बात जिसका आपने सुना होगा वो तो ये कि जो एक चोटी के लोगों की summit conference होने वाली थी। और जिसकी तैयारी बहुत धूमधाम से बहुत महीनों से हो रही थी

^{59.} On 4 July 1960; see items 77 and 78.

^{60.} S.P. College, Poona, 5 June 1960. AIR tapes, NMML.

बल्कि वर्षों से, वो टूट गयी, नहीं हुई। और इससे सारी दुनिया की हवा बिगड़ गयी। एक तो बड़ी

बात यह हुई।

दूसरी एक बात हुई जहाँ मैं गया था टर्की, मेरे जाने के दो दिन बाद ही, कि वहाँ की जो गवर्न्मन्ट थी वो बदल दी गयी और वहाँ फ़ौजी कानून चला। और भी बातें बहुत हुई और जब मैं वहाँ था इंग्लैण्ड में, एक बड़ा सवाल जो हमारे सामने था, वो यह था जो दक्षिण अफ्रीका में कि वहाँ जो कुछ गोरे लोग रहते हैं, सफेद चमड़ी के लोग, जो कानून बनाये हैं उन्होंने औरों के लिए, विशेषकर तो वहाँ के लोग जो अफ्रीका के लोग हैं बान्तू लोग उनके लिए लेकिन उसकी लपेट में हम सभी आ जाते हैं। इस सवाल का भी वहाँ यूरोप में, इंग्लैण्ड में, काफी चर्चा थी और हम लोग यानी एशिया के या अफ्रीका के लोग हमें तो यह बहुत बुरा लगता ही था। लेकिन मैंने देखा कि अंग्रेज़ों के देश में भी, वहाँ भी काफी आन्दोलन इसके विरोध में था। एक तो यह एक ऐसी अन्याय की बात है, आजकल के संसार में ऐसी बात का होना, एक अजीब बात है। दूसरे ये कि अगर यह बात मान ली जाये तो फिर हमारी जो कुछ थी Commonwealth प्राइम मिनिस्टर्स कॉन्फ्रेंस उसका क्या हो। क्योंकि उसमें तो लोग, यूरोप के लोग, अमरीका के लोग, एशिया के लोग, अफ्रीका के लोग, चारों तरफ़ के लोग थे। सब रंग के लोग थे, काले, गोरे, बीच के रंग के, सब रंग के थे। तो अगर एक दफ़े हम मान लें जो साउथ अफ्रीका की नीति है, दक्षिण अफ्रीका की, वह सही है तो यह Commonwealth तो ख़त्म हो जाता है और भी उसके बहुत असर होते हैं। और अफ्रीका में जाने क्या गृह युद्ध हो, क्या हो, क्योंकि अफ्रीका में भी अब बहुत सारे देश आज़ाद होते जाते हैं, अफ्रीका के लोग, होते जाते हैं, वो तो इस बात को बर्दाश्त नहीं करें। तो ये सब बातें कुछ मेरे सामने वहाँ गजरीं।

और टर्की गया, पुराना देश है, सुन्दर देश है। जब मैं गया वहाँ तब भी वहाँ कुछ आंदोलन हो रहा था और मैं कुछ झिझका भी था कि ऐसे समय जाऊँ कि न जाऊँ, लेकिन वहाँ की गवर्न्मन्ट ने कहा कि नहीं तुम ज़रूर आओ, तो मैं गया। अच्छा हुआ मैं गया, कुछ वहाँ के लोगों से मिलना हुआ। फिर मेरे आने के दो रोज़ बाद वहाँ मार्शल लॉ हो गया और गवर्न्सन्ट जो पहले की थी वो हटा दी गयी। तो ख़ैर ये तो जैसे टर्की वाले चाहें वैसा करें, मेरा या आपका तो उसमें कोई दख़ल है नहीं। लेकिन मुझे विचार हुआ। विचार किया कि एशिया में विशेषकर, और अफ्रीका में भी पुराने देश हैं, नये देश आज़ाद हुए हैं, उन सब को देखिये, तो इस पिछले दस-बारह बरस में भी कितना उलट-पलट हुआ है। सब देशों में हुआ है क़रीब-क़रीब और इन सबों को देखकर कुछ अपना देश हिन्दुस्तान, भारत, उनके मुक़ाबले में तो एक शान्ति का कुंज लगता है जहाँ कि, हाँ अन्दरुनी हमारे छोटे-मोटे झगड़े हो जायें, लेकिन एक मज़बूती से हम जमें हुए हैं इस देश में और कोशिश कर रहे हैं अपने देश की उन्नति की, आगे बढ़ने की। तो यह बात दिखती है और यह बात अच्छी है, अगर हमारा देश ऐसा रहे। लेकिन उसी के साथ इन सब देशों को देखकर यह भी विचार आता है कि हम अपने देश के मामले में भी कोई ढील नहीं दें और इसको मज़बूत करें, तैयार करें तेजी से। क्योंकि जहाँ देश दुर्बल हो जाते हैं या आपस में झगड़े करते हैं अंदर, तो वहाँ उनके दुश्मन को लाभ होता है। ख़ैर, हम तो किसी और देश को अपना दुश्मन समझते नहीं, लेकिन फिर भी हम समझें या न समझें, बाज़ और देश अच्छी आँखों से हमारी तरफ़ नहीं देखते हैं। और आप जानते हैं कुछ उत्तर में, हिमालय की पहाड़ी, कुछ हिस्सा भारत का आजकल चीन के कब्ज़े में है। तो इस सब नक्शे को देख के एक तरफ़ हमारी कठिनाइयाँ एक सीमा की, दूसरी तरफ़ और अन्दरुनी हमारे छोटे झगड़े

और इधर जो दुनिया में हो रहा है। यह summit conference के टूट जाने से हवा बिगड़ गयी है, फिर से चर्चा बड़ी लड़ाइयों का होता है। तो ऐसे मौके पर हमें क्या करना चाहिए? पहले तो उसे हमें समझना चाहिए, क्योंकि अगर हम समझते भी नहीं तो उसके लिए तैयार कैसे होंगे। क्योंकि हम एक क्रान्तिकारी दुनिया में रहते हैं, भरे हुए हैं, असल उसमें क्रान्ति से मेरा मतलब कोई आपस में लाठी चलाकर लड़ना-वड़ना नहीं, असल क्रान्ति वो होती है जो दुनिया को बदल दे, लोगों का रहन-सहन बदल दे। और आजकल सारे संसार में सबसे बड़ी क्रान्ति तो यही है कि जो बड़ी-बड़ी मशीन आयी हैं और मशीनों ने नयी-नयी चीज़ें बनायी हैं और उससे लोगों का रहन-सहन बदलता जाता है। हम सफ़र करते हैं। आप विचार करो एक सौ बरस पहले या सवा सौ बरस पहले आप पुणे से बम्बई जाते तो कैसे जाते? रेल से तो नहीं जाते, न हवाई जहाज़ से जाते, न मोटर से जाते । आप जाते घोड़े गाड़ी से या घोड़े पर सवार होकर, या पैदल जाते । अब तेजी से जा सकते हैं, हवाई जहाज़ से या रेल से या मोटर से। और ऐसे ही सारे भारत में यात्रा करनी बड़ी सरल हो गयी है। मैं एक महीना भर हुआ गया था यहाँ बम्बई से इंग्लैण्ड। तो मैं रात के एक बजे चढ़ा था हवाई जहाज़ पे और दस बजे लंदन पहुँच गया था। कुछ तो समय में फ़र्क़ है न, साढ़े चार घण्टे का अन्तर है समय में लंदन के और यहाँ के। तो बारह-तेरह घण्टे में मैं बम्बई से लंदन पहुँच गया था। आप सोचिए। बारह-तेरह घण्टे तो आप यहाँ से आस-पास कोई गाँव जाइये तो इत्ते लग जायें। इसी से आप देखें कि कैसे संसार में ये क्रान्तिकारी बातें हो रहीं हैं जिससे सारी हमारी दुनिया और जीवन बदलता जाता है। हमारी शक्ति बढ़ती जाती है। शक्ति बढ़ती है अच्छे काम करने के लिए और बुरे काम करने के लिए। यह सब चीज़ें हैं ये बिजली है ये सब हैं, ये क्या हैं, ये शक्ति हैं आदमी के हाथ में हैं। कारख़ाने चलते हैं, शक्ति से चलते हैं, पावर से चलते हैं, जो आदमी की, अपने हाथ की ताकृत बढ़ जाती है। पहले आदमी की शक्ति उतनी थी उसकी जितने हाथ में ताकृत है, बाहुबल जित्ता उसका हो। अब आदमी की शक्ति इत्ती बढ़ जाती है कि जैसे इंजन को कहा करते हैं आप कहते हैं, इस इंजन में बीस हॉर्स पावर है, पचास हॉर्स पावर है। घोड़े तो उसमें नहीं होते हैं, लेकिन हालाँकि, कुछ लोगों को मैंने देखा था जहाज़ पर, और उन्होंने सूना था कि जहाज़, मुझे मालूम नहीं क्या था, कित्ता हॉर्स पावर, बहुत था। तो ढूँढते थे कहाँ ये सब घोड़े बँधे हुए हैं। कहीं नीचे। तो ये नयी शक्ति आती है, और उस नयी शक्ति से चाहे वो बिजली की शक्ति हो, चाहे वो भाप की शक्ति हो जिससे कारख़ाने चलते हैं चाहे, अब वह आ गयी है अणु शक्ति, एटॉमिक एनर्जी। ये सब प्रकृति की शक्तियाँ हैं, जो आदमी के हाथ में आयीं। अब उस शक्ति से हम बहुत काम कर सकते हैं जो एक आदमी काम करता था, एक आदमी, दस हजार आदमी का काम कर सकता है उस शक्ति से। इसीलिए ज़्यादा काम होते हैं। उसी तरह से एक आदमी अब दस हजार, दस लाख आदिमयों को मार सकता है उसी शक्ति से, एटम बम से। तो उसी का मैं आपसे कहता था कि दुनिया इत्ती बदल रही है, बदलती जाती है कि पुराने गज से हम इसको नाप नहीं सकते। और अगर आप अपने को निकाले नहीं ज़रा उन पुराने विचारों से तो आप उस दुनिया को नहीं समझेंगे। हमारा देश तो फिर भी पूरेतौर से उसमें नहीं आया है, आता जाता है। लेकिन अमरीका, रूस वग़ैरह और देश यूरोप के, वो काफी इस नयी दुनिया में आ गये हैं। उनके लिए भला भी है ये और उसमें हानि भी है। दोनों बातें हैं, भय भी है और हमारा देश भी उसी तरफ़ जा रहा है क्योंकि उस तरफ़ हम नहीं जायें अगर हम इन शक्तियों का प्रयोग न करें जो प्रकृति में हैं, तो हम अपनी जनता का काम कर नहीं सकते। क्या हम चाहते हैं? हम चाहते हैं जनता

के दुःख दूर हों। हम चाहते हैं कि जितने लोग रहते हैं चालीस करोड़ इस देश में, उनको खाना ठीक मिले, कपड़ा पहनने को मिले, घर रहने को हो, उनके स्वास्थ्य का प्रबंध हो, उनकी पढ़ाई का प्रबंध हो ठीक और उनके काम का प्रबंध हो। ये चीज़ें हम चाहते हैं सबके लिए कैसे हों? बग़ैर आजकल के विज्ञान से लाभ उठाये, नहीं हो सकता यह। क्योंकि विज्ञान काम करने की शक्ति बढ़ा देता है हमारी, हमें नये-नये औज़ार देता है, हथियार देता है, नयी मशीन देता है, जिससे हम बहुत काम करें। उसी विज्ञान से हम खेती करें तो हम खेती में दुगुना पैदा करते हैं, दुगुना-चौगुना पैक्ष करते हैं, जैसे और देशों में हुआ है। बहुत अधिक पैदा करते हैं और कारख़ाने भी। इसलिए हमारे लिए भी आवश्यक हो जाता है कि हम इस नये विज्ञान से लाभ उठायें और प्रकृति की शक्तियों को लेकर उससे अपनी जनता की सेवा करें। जनता खुद अपनी सेवा करे।

तो हमें भी उसी रास्ते पर चलना है, बहुत कुछ जिस रास्ते पर यूरोप, अमरीका, रूस इत्यादि चले हैं। और यह आप याद रखें कि आप पढ़ते हैं अख़वारों में कि अमरीका में और रूस में बड़ी कटुता है, और लड़ाई लड़ने को कहते हैं और बड़ी आपस में दुश्मनी है। ये सब बाते हैं। ठीक है, लेकिन सच बात यह है कि दोनों एक ही रास्ते पर चल रहे हैं, ये बड़ी मशीन के रास्ते पर दोनों चल रहे हैं। दोनों अब कहते हैं कि हम चाँद तक जायेंगे, पहुँचेंगे अपने वो रॉकेट-बम पर पहुँच के। तो हमारे लिए कोई रास्ता नहीं है अपने को बचाने के लिए, अपनी स्वतंत्रता को रखने के लिए या अपने देश की जनता के हालात को अच्छा करने के लिए कोई रास्ता नहीं है। सिवाय इसके कि हम आजकल के विज्ञान से लाभ उठायें और खेती में, कारख़ानों में, काम में, सब बातों में, और उससे हमारी शक्ति बढ़ेगी। और देश की जनता के दुःख भी अधिकतर दूर होंगे।

अब यह मैंने कह तो दिया लेकिन बात तो बड़ी भारी है, कैसे चालीस करोड़ आदमी उससे लाभ उठायें? समय लगता है, अंग्रेज़ों ने लाभ उठाया-कैसे? दो सौ वर्ष से कर रहे हैं उसको। दो सौ वर्ष से ऊपर से, अमरीका वाले भी कोई एक डेढ़ सौ वर्ष से ऊपर से कर रहे हैं। यूरोप के सब देश डेढ़ सौ वर्ष से कर रहे हैं। यूरोप के सब देश डेढ़ सौ वर्ष से कर रहे हैं। समय लगता है अब हम डेढ़ सौ, दो सौ वर्ष तक तो नहीं बैठे रहते,

बैठ सकते नहीं हम, क्योंकि हमारे पीछे बहुत सारी शक्तियाँ हमको धकेलती हैं।

एक तो यह लीजिए आप कि हमारे देश की आबादी बढ़ती जाती है बहुत। अब इसके माने क्या हैं कि हमारे देश में हर साल पचास-साठ लाख अधिक खाने वाले हो जाते हैं। अगर हम वहीं के वहीं रहें जैसे हम हैं तो हमारे पास पचास लाख का खाना नहीं होता, हमारे पास खाना कम हो जायेगा। अब खाना ख़ाली नहीं, पचास-साठ लाख कपड़े पहनने वाले हो जाते हैं, पचास-साठ लाख घर में रहने वाले होते हैं, उनके पढ़ाई का प्रबंध करना होता है स्कूल इत्यादि में और उनके लिए काम ढूँढना पड़ता है काफी, हर साल इत्ते बढ़ते जाते हैं। ये सवाल पेचीदा हो जाता है। और इसके हल करने के लिए इसलिए तेजी से हमें चलना होता है। अगर हम उस बात को छोड़ दें, हरेक आदमी जो चाहे करे तो ठीक है कुछ-न-कुछ हो ही जायेगा, लेकिन हमारी सामूहिक शक्ति नष्ट हो जायेगी, इधर-उधर ज़ाया हो। इसलिए यह आवश्यक हो जाता है कि देश की ताकृत को समझबूझ कर सही रास्ते पर लगायें। इसी को प्लानिंग कहते हैं, योजना बनाना। योजना कमीशन हमारा है, कि विचार करें कि किस तरह से जो हमारे पास पैसा है, शक्ति है, लोग हैं, किस तरह से वो काम करें जिससे देश को अधिक से अधिक लाभ हो। उनको भी लाभ हो और देश को हो।

कुछ लोग कभी-कभी कहा करते हैं कि यह प्लानिंग करना तो एक गलत बात है, फ़िजूल बात है। और मुझे वड़ा आश्चर्य होता है यह सुनकर। क्योंकि कोई आदमी जो बहुत अक्लमंद नहीं हो वो भी देख सकता है कि हमारे ऐसे देश के लिए चाहे भारत हो, चाहे कोई और देश हो एशिया में या अफ्रीका में या कहीं और देश हो, उसके लिए बढ़ना तरक्की करना बग़ैर प्लानिंग के, असम्भव है। हाँ, अगर हमारी हालत अमरीका की होती, धनी देश है तब हम पैसा भी ज़ाया कर सकते हैं, फेंक सकते हैं जैसे वो फेंकते हैं, फिर भी काम चलता जायेगा। लेकिन एक गरीब देश के लिए, बढ़ने के लिए, कोई फेंकने की जगह नहीं होती। क्योंकि हमारे पास यों ही इत्ता कम है कि हम फेंकना शुरु करें, या हम फ़िजूल बातों में पैसा ज़ाया करें, तब फिर असली बातें नहीं होतीं। इसलिए प्लानिंग होती है, पहले क्या किया जाये, बाद में क्या किया जाये। कैसे ये अंग्रेज़ धनी हो गये? बात सही है कि जब उनको धन की बड़ी आवश्यकता थी उस वक्त भारत से बहुत कुछ ले गये वो, सोना-चाँदी। लेकिन सोना-चाँदी तो पहले भी लोग ले गये थे यहाँ से। वो धनी हुए इसलिए कि उनके देश में दो आवश्यक वस्तुएँ थीं-एक तो लोहा और दूसरा कोयला। आप याद रखें सोने-चाँदी से लोहा-कोयला अधिक कीमती चीज़ है। सोने-चाँदी से कोई देश बहुत नहीं बढ़ता। यों साहूकार लोग उसका जो चाहें कर लें या हमारी बहनें अपने गले में लटका लें, जो चाहें करें, लेकिन असल में लोहा और कोयला देश को बढ़ाता है आजकल।

तो अंग्रेज़ों के देश में लोहा और कोयला था और उन्होंने पहले तो बहुत रोज़ से था तो लाखों बरस से, उनको ठीक समझ में नहीं आता था क्या करें। फिर विज्ञान से उन्होंने देखा कि उन दोनों बातों को जोड़ कैसे दें। और जब उन्होंने जोड़ा तब यह नया युग शुरु हुआ, उद्योग का युग, industrialisation, उद्योग का युग शुरु हुआ, बड़े उद्योग का, मशीन का और उससे उनकी शक्ति बढ़ी। और शक्ति बढ़ने से उन्होंने दुनिया पर और कब्ज़ा किया। भारत में बढ़ी हुई शक्ति और अफ्रीका पहुँचे और कहाँ-कहाँ पहुँचे और धन बढ़ने लगा उनके पास। क्योंकि अधिक पैदा करने लगे वो अपने धन से, अपने देश में। तो इस तरह से बढ़े वो। इसी तरह से जर्मनी, फ्राँस, इटली और अमरीका, सब देश ऐसे ही बढ़े हैं, उसी ढँग से कि कोयला और लोहा इनकी मदद से उन्होंने बड़े-बड़े मशीन बनाये, बड़े-बड़े कारख़ाने बनाये, उससे सामान अधिक पैदा किया, धन अधिक पैदा किया। क्योंकि धन तो सामान होता है, सोना-चाँदी धन नहीं होता, वो तो व्यापार की चीज़ है। धन होता है, सामान, चाहे खेत का पैदा हुआ सामान हो, चाहे कारख़ाने का हो, जो चीज़ आप ओढ़ते, पहनते हैं, खाते-पीते हैं वह धन है। इस तरह से ये देश धनी हो गये। तो उसके पीछे विज्ञान था और उसके पीछे कोयला और लोहा ये चीज़ें थीं। तो अगर हम धनी होना चाहें और उसके माने हैं कि हम सामान अधिक पैदा करें, खेती से, शेतकरी लोग पैदा करें अधिक, कर सकते हैं, कर रहे हैं। आजकल के नये तरीकों से, ज़्यादा अच्छा हल हो, अच्छा फर्टिलाइज़र हो और ऐसी बातें हैं खाद इत्यादि हो। उससे अधिक पैदा करते हैं। और इसी तरह से कारखाने में पैदा करें तो इससे देश धनी होने लगता है। और देश बहुत काम कर सकता है जो कि धन के होने से होते हैं। और नये कारख़ाने बनायेगा, नये सामान बनायेगा, नये घर बनायेगा लोगों के रहने के लिए और सब बातें होंगी। तो हमें यह करना है। लेकिन हमारे पास सौ वर्ष तो नहीं हैं करने के लिए. जैसे अंग्रेजों ने सौ वर्ष, डेढ़ सौ वर्ष लगाये हल्के-हल्के किया, हम डेढ़ सौ वर्ष में तो नहीं कर सकते, हम तो चौपट हो जायें तब तक। तो एक तो यही मैंने आपसे कहा। इसलिए नहीं कर सकते कि पचास लाख तो हमारी आबादी हर साल बढ जाती है। तो अगर हम कम से कम उस पचास लाख के लिए तो हमें खाना अधिक पैदा करना है, खाना, कपड़ा, घर रहने का, पढ़ने के लिए प्रबंध, यह सब करना है और हम करें भी तब भी हम वहीं के वहीं रहते हैं। तो हमें तो इतना पैदा करना है जिससे उन

पचास लाख का भी प्रबंध हो और कुछ बच जाये, जिससे हम आगे बढ़ें। क्योंकि जितना बचता है उससे देश आगे बढ़ता है। उसके नये कारख़ाने बनायेगा, नये स्कूल बनायेगा, नये अस्पताल बनायेगा, नयी बहुत सारी बातें करेगा उससे देश आगे बढ़ता है। तो यह हमारे सामने है।

अब कठिनाई यह हो जाती है गरीब देश को कि गरीब आदमी और गरीब देश के पास बचता कम है, बचे कैसे? और गरीब बेचारा है तो बचाये कैसे, कम बचता है। अमरीका ऐसा देश है। वहाँ इत्ता वो पैदा करते हैं कि बिल्कुल फेंकते हैं, फेंके, उसकी फ़िक्र न करें तब भी बचा रहता है बहुत कुछ। जैसे कोई अमीर आदमी पैसा फेंके भी तब भी बचा रहता है उसके पास। वैसे ही अमीर और गरीब देश हो जाते हैं। तो फिर हमारा ऐसा देश कैसे बचाये, जित्ता बचायेगा और बचाके लगायेगा और कामों में देश के बढ़ने के, उत्ता ही देश बढ़ेगा। ये बड़े प्रश्न हो जाते हैं। ये तो पैसे के कारण हैं बचाने के।

दूसरे ये कि आजकल की दुनिया में अगर हम विज्ञान से लाभ उठायें तब लोगों को नयी दुनिया को समझना है। हमारे लड़के-लड़िकयाँ हैं, स्कूल-कॉलेज जाते हैं, पढ़ते हैं। ठीक है पहले बहुत कुछ बी.ए. हो जाता था अब भी हो जाता है। ख़ैर, बी.ए. होना कोई बुरा तो नहीं है, लेकिन बहुत सारे बी.ए. आप देखेंगे बी.ए., एम.ए. जो जिनको कोई काम नहीं मिलता, बेकार हैं। लेकिन आप आजकल नहीं देखेंगे कोई आदमी इंजीनियर हो, वो बेकार नहीं होगा। उसकी आवश्यकता है आज देश में। या कोई आदमी विज्ञान की बातें जानता हो, उसको पकड़ लेंगे फ़ौरन। क्योंकि उसकी आवश्यकता है आजकल की दुनिया में। इसलिए हमारी शिक्षा भी बदलती जाती है देश में। अब अधिक-से-अधिक शिक्षा वैज्ञानिक होती जाती है उस तरह की। और ख़ाली जिसको Arts कहते हैं वो कम होती जाती है। इस तरह से देश बदल रहा है क्योंकि आख़िर में देश की शक्ति क्या है? देश की शक्ति उसके सीखे हुए आदमी हैं। सीखे हुए याद रखिये। आख़िर में शक्ति सोना, चाँदी नहीं है। आदमी सोना पैदा करता है, सोना आदमी को नहीं पैदा करता है। लेकिन मामूली आदमी शक्ति नहीं है, सीखा हुआ आदमी शक्ति है। यानी trained आदमी शक्ति है जो कुछ कर सकता है और अगर किसी देश का आप देखना चाहें कि कैसा है तो आप देखें उस देश में कित्ते सीखें हुए लोग हैं। कोई काम सीखा हुआ हो, चाहे वो इंजीनियर हो, चाहे डॉक्टर हो, चाहे और कोई काम हो, चाहे बढ़ई हो, चाहे लोहार हो, कुछ काम सीखे हुए हों, उत्ता ही बढ़ेंगे। और आजकल खासतौर से उस वैज्ञानिक युग में विज्ञान को सीखना और टेक्नोलोजी सीखना और मशीन चलाना सीखना। कैसे? ये चीज़ें सीखनी पड़ती हैं। तो हमारे सामने प्रश्न हो जाता है कि हम जल्दी से जल्दी लोगों को सिखायें और बढ़ें इस रास्ते पर विज्ञान के और बड़े मशीन के, बड़े-छोटे मशीन के। अच्छा हमें अगर मशीन के रास्ते पर बढ़ना है तो मशीन कहाँ से आये? हम जाके क्या विलायत से, जर्मनी से, जापान से मशीन खरीदें। एक दो खरीद सकते हैं, दस-बीस, लेकिन लाखों तो नहीं खरीद सकते। तो हम जभी बढ़ें जब हम मशीन को अपने घर में बनायें। जब तक दूर से लानी है, वो गाड़ी हमारी तेज चलती नहीं। कोई मशीन का पुर्ज़ा टूट जाये तो हमें जाकर जापान से लाना पड़े, बात नहीं चलेगी। इसलिए यह जरूरी हो जाता है कि हम मशीन बनायें अपने घर में, यानी मशीन बनाने की बड़ी मशीन यहाँ हो, और फिर ज़रूरी हो जाता है कि उस बड़ी मशीन को भी हम यहाँ बनायें। यानी हम अपने देश में लोहा, कोयला इत्यादि को लेकर हम ये सब चीज़ें बनायें, मशीन बनाने की और मशीनों से कारख़ाने शुरु करें। और मशीन वो चले कैसे? मशीन कैसे चलती है? पावर से चलती है, शक्ति से चलती है। चाहे वो कोयले की शक्ति हो, चाहे वो बिजली की शक्ति हो, चाहे आजकल नयी शक्ति पैदा हुई है एटॉमिक एनर्जी, अणु शक्ति वो हो। कोई आदमी अपनी शक्ति से नहीं चला सकता बड़ी मशीन, वो चलाता है और शक्ति से। तो ये बातें हमें करनी हैं। इसमें तो कित्ती ही बातें हो जाती हैं आप सोचें कि हम, जो हमें आवश्यक वस्तुएँ हैं लोगों के लिए, उसको हमें पैदा करना है। जो लोगों को चाहिए सबसे पहले खाना है खाना, कपड़ा, जो मैंने आपसे कहा था वो है; खाना, कपड़ा, घर रहने का, पढ़ाई का प्रबंध, स्वास्थ्य का प्रबंध, ये सब हो। फिर अपने देश की रक्षा करने का प्रबंध, वह चीज़ें हम पैदा करें। और ऐसी चीज़ें जिससे हम अपने देश में सब चीज़ें पैदा कर सकते हैं। तो यह सब माने हो जाते हैं कि सारे देश को हम बदल दें। खेती को बदल दें, बड़े कारख़ाने बनें, छोटे कारख़ाने वनें, एक, दो, तीन, चार नहीं, लाखों कारख़ाने सब जगह हों, छोटे-छोटे, बड़े कम हों, छोटे हर जगह हों।

हमारे लोग अधिकतर आजकल ज़मीन पर काम करते हैं। अच्छा हो अगर वो ज़मीन से ज़रा कुछ लोग निकलकर कारख़ानों में काम करें। ज़मीन पर बहुत काफी लोग हैं कम हो जायें तो कोई हानि हो। कारख़ाने हो जायें तो अधिक हम पैदा करें। तो ये सब बातें मैंने आपसे बताईं। इसलिए कि ये हम अपने देश के बारे में बड़े-बड़े नारे उठाते हैं। ये करें और वो करें, और आवाज़ उठायें देश के बारे में और महाराष्ट्र के बारे में। लेकिन उस सबके पीछे परिश्रम है, समझना है क्या सवाल है और परिश्रम है, बग़ैर परिश्रम के नहीं कुछ होता। और ये सब देश चाहे जापान हो, चाहे चीन हो, चाहे साम्यवादी देश हो, चाहे पूंजीवादी हो, परिश्रम से बढ़े हैं, और बातें ऊपरी हैं। और हम भी जो बढ़ेंगे वो परिश्रम से बढ़ेंगे। तो ये बात आप याद रखें, क्योंकि हमारे सामने, देश के सामने कठिन समस्याएँ हैं, सारी दुनिया में हैं। एक तो ये लड़ाई का सवाल है जाने कब दुनिया में आ जाये, क्या करें क्या न करें। जितनी जल्दी उस लड़ाई से पहले हम अपने देश को मज़बूत कर लेते हैं और अपने देश में ये मशीन वग़ैरह का सामान बनाने लगते हैं उत्ता ही किसी तरह से हम आगे बढ़ सकते हैं। और नहीं उस समय, तो फिर हम फँस जायेंगे मुसीबत में। इसलिए और भी आवश्यक होता है कि हम तेजी से अपने देश को आगे बढ़ायें।

ये एक दूसरा पहलू है। सीमा पर हमारे भय हैं। मैंने आपसे कहा चीनी फ़ौजें हमारी सीमा पर हैं। सीमा के इस पार आ गयी हैं। यह बड़ा सवाल है। अभी मैं समझता हूँ कल या परसों हमारे कुछ अफ़सर जा रहे हैं, भेज रहे हैं हम उनको, चीन पीकिंग भेज रहे हैं इसी बारे में बातचीत करने। क्या उनका सामान है नक्शे वग़ैरह सब। क्योंकि हमेशा हमारी कोशिश होती है कि जो भी झगड़े की बात हो, बन पड़े तो उसको शांति से उससे समझौता करें। शांति से कोई उस सवाल का जवाब हूँढ लें। और हम भेज रहे हैं क्योंकि लड़ाई बुरी चीज़ होती है। लेकिन उसी के साथ अगर कोई दुश्मन हमला करे तो उससे भाग तो नहीं जाना है, वो तो बड़ी बुरी बात होगी। तो देश की रक्षा करनी है। तो इन सब बातों से दुनिया के ख़तरे, हमारे ख़तरे और हमारी इस वक्त जो आवश्यकता है कि हमारी जनता की तरक्की हो ये सब बातें ज़ोर देती हैं कि हम जल्दी-से-जल्दी देश के अन्दर तरक्की करें।

तरक्की कैसे हो? यों तो हजारों तरीक़े हैं लेकिन उसी के लिए हम ये पंचवर्षीय योजनाएँ बनाते हैं। इसलिए कि आवश्यक चीज़ों पर ज़ोर हो। क्या आवश्यक चीज़ें हैं? मैंने आपसे कहा कि कारख़ाने बनें और क्या। क्या, कैसे बनें? कारख़ाने के लिए दो चीज़ों की ज़रूरत है, एक तो लोहा, दूसरे पावर। पावर समझे आप, शक्ति। चाहे वो कोयले से हम लें, चाहे बिजली से, और तीसरे, सीखे हुए लोग जो कारख़ाना चला सकें। अगर हमारे पास लोहा काफी न हो, तो कारख़ाने हम नहीं

बना सकते। हम बाहर से लोहा तो ला नहीं सकते, थोड़ा सा ले आयें, कहाँ तक खरीदें। हमारे दिवाले निकल जायें। तो यह इसलिए हमारे लिए आवश्यक हो जाता है कि लोहा जुमीन से निकालें और उसको शक्ल दें, उसको स्टील बनायें। ये पिछले चार-पांच बरस में चार बड़े-बड़े कारखाने लोहे के बनाये हैं, अब चल रहे हैं। और बनेंगे, क्योंकि लोहे की तो हमेशा कमी हमारे देश में रहेगी। जो देश आगे बढ़ते हैं वहाँ कभी लोहा पूरा नहीं पड़ता। बढ़ते जाते हैं, और लोहे की आवश्यकता है। किसान को भी लोहे की ज़रूरत है। छोटे कारखाने वाले को. बड़े कारखाने वाले को. मकान बनाने वाले को, चारों तरफ से लोहा-ही-लोहा चलता है आजकल। इसलिए हमारे लिए आवश्यक हो जाता है हम लोहे के कारख़ाने बनायें। हम पावर पैदा करने का, शक्ति पैदा करने का प्रबंध करें। चाहे बिजली का, चाहे थर्मल पावर जो कोयले से बनता है, चाहे अणु शक्ति हो एटॉमिक एनर्जी। वो बात। और हम लोगों को सिखायें, लोगों को सिखायें मशीन चलाना, हर तरह से, बड़ा, खूब सीखा हुआ हो, बड़े कारख़ाने चला सकें, या कोई मैकेनिक हो, जो कुछ हो, हर दर्जे के मशीन चलाने के लोग हों। यह सवाल हमारे सामने आ जाते हैं। और चालीस करोड़ आदिमयों का प्रबंध करना, आप समझ सकते हैं कित्ता पेचीदा है। कुछ दिन हुए मैंने हिसाब लगाया कि जैसा हम चाहते हैं प्रबंध शिक्षा का अगर वो पूरा करें तो कित्ते लोग शिक्षा पायेंगे। तो आजकल की हमारी आबादी के लिहाज़ से, यानी चालीस करोड़ समझो, चार सौ मिलियन, हिसाब लगाया कि उसमें दस करोड़ यानी सौ मिलियन लोग तो शिक्षा में व्यस्त हों। यानी शिक्षा लेने में या शिक्षा देने में। पढ़ाने में या पढ़ने में दस करोड़ हमारी आबादी खप जाये उसमें, काफी बड़ी तादाद है आप समझो। तब यह स्कूल कॉलेज वग़ैरह यूनिवर्सिटी सब मिलाकर। और उसमें पढ़ाने में भी कित्ते लाख, जब दस करोड़ पढ़ने वाले हों तो आप समझ सकते हैं, पढ़ाने वाले भी कित्ते हों, बहुत हों, पचास लाख लोग हों, साठ लाख हों, कित्ते हों। आजकल भी ठीक मुझे मालूम नहीं, लेकिन मेरा विचार है कि कोई एक सवा चार करोड़ हमारे स्कूल कॉलेज में लड़के-लड़कियाँ हैं। काफी बड़ा नम्बर है सवा चार करोड़ का। और इसी वजह से एक देश में जो देश बदल रहा है सबसे बड़ी क्रान्तिकारी चीज़ शिक्षा होती है। शिक्षा से आदमी बदलता है, समाज बदलता है। और जब बचपन से करोड़ों हमारे बच्चे स्कूल कॉलेज जा रहे हैं तो यकीनन एक देश बदलता जायेगा। ये सब बातें हो रही हैं हमारे देश में। और इसी ज़माने में जबिक रोज़ आप अख़बार पढ़िये कोई नयी ख़बर होगी, कि कोई विज्ञान की नयी जीत हुई। विज्ञान वाले अब चाँद पर जायेंगे। अब कहाँ जायेंगे, वो चाँद पर जाकर क्या करेंगे? मुझे कुछ इससे मतलब नहीं, उससे कोई खास लाभ होगा कि नहीं। लेकिन उससे आप देखते हैं कि कैसे दुनिया बदल रही है और कैसे हमें भी अपने देश में जागता रहना है, महज़ एक छोटी बातों में पड़कर हम बह जायें, तो हम फिर गिर जायेंगे।

मैं आपको एक बात बताऊँ। भारत के इतिहास से दो-तीन बातें, बहुत सारे सबक हम सीख सकते हैं। एक तो ख़ैर यह है कि हम लोगों में आपस में फूट बहुत जल्दी हो जाती है भारत में। दूसरे यह बड़ी कमेज़ोरी थी कि हमारे बड़े-बड़े राजा-महाराजा थे, सम्राट थे। उनके पास अच्छा नक्शा भारत का कभी नहीं होता था। उनकी पूरीतौर से जाँच नहीं कर सकते थे कि भारत का, जिस देश पर राज करते हैं, जब उसका ही ठीक नक्शा उनके पास नहीं होता था, कुछ होता था, अच्छा नहीं। अंग्रेज़ यहाँ आये। अंग्रेज़ों ने पहली बात क्या की? उन्होंने नक्शे बनाये। पहले तो अंग्रेज़ आये थे यहाँ, कोई हाकिम की तरह नहीं आये थे। वो तो एक व्यापारी के तौर पर आये और बहुत अदब से रहते थे। हल्के-हल्के उन्होंने अपना सिक्का जमाया। नक्शे उन्होंने बनाये सबसे पहले। समझ

लें कौन कहाँ राजा, महाराजा, नवाब है उसको। फिर उन्होंने बड़ी जाँच पड़ताल की कि उन नवाब के लोग कौन हैं, उनके मुसाहिब कौन हैं, मिनिस्टर कौन हैं, मंत्रीगण कौन हैं। उनसे दोस्ती की और इस तरह से उन्होंने अपना सिक्का जमाया, एक तो नवाब के मंत्री वगैरह से दोस्ती करके, पैसा देकर उनको अपना कर लेते थे, दूसरे असली बात ये कि वो कुछ नक्शा जानते थे देश का और जो बड़े-बड़े यहाँ के बड़े महाराजा लोग थे बड़े वीर पुरुष और बहुत बहादुर। लेकिन नक्शा तक नहीं जाने कि क्या है, ख़ाली बहादुरी जानते थे। तो आजकल की दुनिया में ख़ाली वीरता काफी नहीं है, समझना है इन बातों को। वैज्ञानिक दुनिया में नक्शा तो सीधी सी चीज़ है, और ज़्यादा बड़ी चीज़ें हैं तो इनसे हमें सीखना है। एक तो सबसे बड़ा सबक तो एकता का है और दूसरा सबक यही है कि आजकल वैज्ञानिक दुनिया में विज्ञान की तरफ़ हमें जाना है और दुनिया सिकुड़ती जाती है। भारत एक बड़ा देश है लेकिन यह बड़ा देश भी अब आजकल हवाई सफर वग़ैरह करने से छोटा सा हो गया और सारी दुनिया छोटी हो गयी और सारी दुनिया के देश हमारे पड़ोसी हो गये। जब वहाँ आप दुनिया के दूर से दूर के देश में पांच-सात घण्टे में पहुँच जायें, दूर कैसे रहा, पास आ गया। तो अब सारे प्रश्न बदल गये। हमारे पहले बहस के झगड़े के प्रश्न, वो सब उलट-पलट हो गये और हम अगर अपने को रख सकते हैं एक ही तरह से कि हम पक्केतौर से समझ लें भारत को एकता की आवश्यकता है। भारत में एक सहयोग से हम सब रहें और ये पुराने झगड़े होते थे। चाहे वो धर्म के नाम पर हों, जाति के नाम पर हों, अलग-अलग प्रदेश के नाम पर या भाषा के नाम पर, निकम्मे हो गये सब, माने नहीं रखते। देशों का अलग रहना भी माने नहीं रखता। आप हवा में उड़कर जाइये तो दो देशों की सरहद कहाँ दिखती है, हवा में तो नहीं होती। तो ये एक जो नयी दुनिया निकल रही है उसके लिए हमें तैयार होना है। और विशेषकर जो आजकल नौजवान लड़के-लड़कियाँ पढ़ते हैं स्कूल-कॉलेज में उनके सामने तो दुनिया पूरेतौर से आयेगी, मेरे सामने न हो और मेरी उम्र वालों के सामने, उनके सामने तो आयेगी। उसके लिए वो तैयार हों। मेरे सामने जबसे मैं कॉलेज में पढ़ता था दुनिया काफी बदल गयी, सारी दुनिया, इस पिछले पचास वर्ष में। यूरोप की दुनिया, भारत की दुनिया सब बदल गयी है। और मैं सोचता हूँ अब अलगे चालीस-पचास वर्ष में कितनी बदलेगी और अब बहुत तेजी से बदल रही है, पहले से अधिक तेजी से। तो ये हमें और आपको समझना है और इस दुनिया के लिए तैयार होना है। लड़ाई का सामान इत्ता बढ़ गया है, इत्ता भयानक हो गया कि अब लड़ाई लड़ना दुनिया को तबाह कर देना है। ये लड़ाई के माने हो गये। एटम बम वग़ैरह, एक एटम बम सारे आपके पुणे को खत्म कर दे, और उसी को नहीं करे, सारे देहात भी उसके ख़त्म हो जायें आसपास के। तो कौन ऐसी हालत में लड़ाई में जीते, कौन हारे। सब हारते हैं, कोई जीत सकता ही नहीं, दुनिया हार जाती है। ऐसी दुनिया में हम रहते हैं। अब इससे, अगर हम बुद्धिमान हैं, अक्लमंद हैं तो हम लाभ उठा सकते हैं। अपनी तेजी से तरक्की कर सकते हैं और अगर हम मूर्ख हैं तो हम तबाह हो सकते हैं। और-और लोग हमें फिर गुलाम बना सकते हैं, दास बना सकते हैं। ये बड़े प्रश्न आजकल के ज़माने में हैं हर देश के सामने और हमारे देश के सामने।

अब कुछ ऐसा इत्तिफाक हुआ है कि दुनिया के देशों में हमारे देश का काफी आदर होता है। क्यों? आमतौर से आदर करते हैं लोग दो बातों का, या तो बड़ी फ़ौज उसके पास हो, या बड़े पैसे जिसके पास हों। यही आदर की चीज़ है। तो हमारे देश में तो न बड़ी फ़ौज है, बहुत बड़ी, न बहुत पैसा है। फिर भी आदर करते हैं। क्यों आदर करते हैं? क्योंकि उन्होंने देखा एक तो हमारी स्वराज

की लड़ाई में, जिस तरह से वह स्वराज की लड़ाई हुई थी गांधी जी के नेतृत्व में, एक कमोबेश शांति के साथ, एक बग़ैर बहुत क्रोध किये, बहुत दुश्मनी किये, फिर भी हमने स्वराज हासिल किया और उसके बाद भी हमने जो नीति अपनी रखी वो किसी देश से लड़ाई मोल लेने की नहीं थी। हाँ बाज़ देश से हमारे बड़े-बड़े प्रश्न थे, पाकिस्तान से हैं, चीन ने हमारे ऊपर कब्ज़ा हमारे हिस्से पर किया है भारत के। वो है, उसका हमें सामना करना है। लेकिन फिर भी हम कोशिश करते हैं कि जहाँ तक बन पड़े लड़ाई की आवश्यकता न हो।

लड़ाई इसलिए नहीं कि कोई लड़ाई से हम डरते हैं। लेकिन लड़ाई से तबाह होता है मुल्क़। आजकल की दुनिया में आसानी से कोई लड़ाई पर नहीं जा सकता है, हथियार की लड़ाई पर । कुछ लोग हमारे भाई बहुत अपनी वीरता दिखाते हैं। चलो उठाओ तलवार, उठाओ बंदूक और ये करो वो करो। ख़ैर, बंदूक तलवार उठने के वक्त तो उठती है और उठेगी। लेकिन आसानी से नहीं उठती है, और-और तरह से ताकृत देश की बढ़ाई जाती है। नहीं तो फिर वही होगी पुराने ज़माने में, कि हमारी वीरता तो बहुत थी लेकिन उसके साथ मूर्खता भी बहुत थी। तो वीरता वो नष्ट हो गयी हमारी उस मूर्खता में। इस ढँग से हमें इन सवालों को देखना है। और एक समझना है कि जो हमारा काम है देश को बढ़ाने का, यह भी तो एक बड़ी भारी लड़ाई है। किससे? किसी दूसरे देश से नहीं, अपनी दुर्बलता से, अपनी दरिद्रता से, कमज़ोरी से। उससे लड़ाई है, और उसमें भी ज़रूरत है जैसे बड़ी लड़ाई में जनरल स्टॉफ होता है फ़ौजी स्टाफ, किधर पहले उठें, पहले कदम उठायें, किधर दूसरी तरफ़ उठायें, उस तरह से काम करना है। यह नहीं कि हुल्लड़बाजी की, जिसका जिधर मन चाहे जाये, तो उसमें ज़्यादा शक्ति नहीं आती है। कोई इधर जा रहा है कोई उधर। लड़ाई लड़ी जाती है फ़ौजी तरीक़े से। फ़ौजी तरीक़े से लड़ाई लड़ी जाती है तो कुछ फ़ौजीपन हममें आना चाहिए। हथियार हो चाहे न हो, हमारे मन में, शरीर में फ़ौजीपन आ़ना चाहिए। काम करने के लिए फ़ौजीपन आना चाहिए। और मैं तो चाहता हूँ कि सब हमारे लड़के और लड़कियों को जो कॉलिज में पढ़ते हैं कम-से-कम एक साल कुछ फ़ौजी तालीम हो उनकी। मेरा मतलब कुछ बहुत बंदूक चलाने से नहीं है, बंदूक चलाना तो आजकल बच्चों का खेल है, बड़े आदमी बंदूक नहीं चलाते हैं। लेकिन वो तालीम, वो डिसिप्लिन, वो नियम से रहना, या कमर सीधी होना, सिर ऊँचा होना, छोटी-छोटी बातें हैं जिससे एक कौम की शक्ति बढ़ जाती है हमारे। मैं अक्सर सड़क पर चलता हूँ तो देखता हूँ कित्ते लोगों की कमर सीधी है जब वो चलते हैं, कित्ते नहीं चलते हैं, झुका के, दो आदमी चलते हैं तो पैर मिलाकर चलते हैं कि नहीं चलते हैं। छोटी-छोटी बातें हैं। आप कभी वहाँ यूरोप में जाइये और दो-तीन आदिमयों को साथ चलते देखियेगा तो हमेशा पैर मिलाकर चलेंगे। सीखा है बचपन से उन्होंने कुछ थोड़ा सा सिपाहीपना। हिन्दुस्तान में कभी कोई सोचेगा भी नहीं पैर मिलाना। कोई इधर जाता है कोई उधर जाता है। पैर उसके अलग-अलग जाते हैं। तो ये तो ऊपर की बातें हैं। लेकिन इसके पीछे होता है एक मानसिक ट्रेनिंग। जो ज्यादा आवश्यक है। कुछ-न-कुछ तो हमें स्कूल कॉलेज में मिलती है, लेकिन ज़रा ज़्यादा उसको मज़बूत रखना कि हमारा देश एक इस तरह के उसमें एक फ़ौजीपन आ जाये। बंदूक चलाना तो चाहे न आये। मुझे उसकी फिक्र नहीं है क्योंकि आजकल की लड़ाइयाँ बंदूकों से बहुत नहीं लड़ी जाती हैं, और तरह से।

तो आख़िर में बहुत बातें हमें करनी हैं लेकिन आख़िर में तो ये हो जाता है हमें अपने आपको बनाना है, अपनी जनता को बनाना है। ज़ाहिर है बनाना सबसे अधिक है बच्चों वग़ैरह को जिससे बढ़ें वो, स्कूल-कॉलिज जायें हर तरह से। सब लोग स्कूल जायें, यहाँ तो सब स्कूल भी नहीं जाते, स्कल-कॉलिज भी नहीं जाते। सभी को जाने का मौका मिले, इस तरह से अगर हम कोशिश करें तो एक दस-पंद्रह वर्ष के अंदर बिल्कल देश का रूप बदल जाये। और बदल रहा है और बदलेगा। खाली हम बहक बहुत जल्दी जाते हैं छोटी-छोटी बातों में और फिर उत्साह, सारी हमारी शक्ति नारों . में निकल जाती है, गुलशोर मचाने में, बातों में। जबिक इतना काम पड़ा हुआ है करने के लिए। तो ये इससे हमें जुरा, इसको हमें समझ लेना है।

तो अब यहाँ मैं पुणे थोड़े दिन हुए आया था, डेढ़ महीना हुआ, फिर इस समय आने का अवसर मिला। तो मैं जो इन पिछले बरसों में आया हूँ और मैं देखता हूँ कैसे पूना बढ़ता जाता है तेजी से। जैसे भारत की आबादी बढ़ती है पूना की आबादी भी बढ़ती जाती है। यह एक बड़ा केन्द्र है, महाराष्ट्र का खाली नहीं, भारत भर का केन्द्र है, पढाई-लिखाई में, इमामी लोगों के मामले में। तो जो पूना करता है या करे वो सुना जाता है और भी भारत के हिस्सों में। इसलिए आपके ऊपर एक बोझा है, ज़िम्मेदारी है, खुद करने की नहीं, खुद तो विशेष करना ही है। लेकिन औरों के सामने एक नमूना रखने की, भारत के सामने। तो यह जिम्मेदारी आपकी बढ़ जाती है पूना के रहने वालों में। तो यह ऐतिहासिक जगह है, प्रसिद्ध है, भारत की कहानी में और अब जो भारत की नयी कहानी हम और आप सब लिख रहे हैं। इसमें भी फिर पूना को और-और भारत की जगहों को मज़बूती से कलम हाथ में ले के लिख देने का है, लिखनी होगी।

जय हिन्द।

[Translation begins:

Sisters and Brothers.

Exactly a week ago, I returned to India after a month of touring abroad. I went first to England to attend the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference. Then I went to Egypt, to the city of Cairo, and then to Turkey, Lebanon and Syria. A great many developments have taken place during this one month. You must have heard about the calling off of the summit of the Big Powers which had been talked about for months and years. Preparations had been going on for a long time and now this sudden breaking down of plans has vitiated the atmosphere in the world. Secondly, two days after my visit to Turkey, the government fell and martial law was imposed there.

In England, the most important issue before us was apartheid in South Africa. The discrimination against the blacks in Africa has been agitating all of us a long time. The countries of Asia and Africa are naturally opposed to it. But I found that even in England and the rest of Europe, there were agitations and movements against apartheid. For one thing, it is extremely unjust and totally anomalous in this day and age. Secondly, unless we agreed that apartheid must go, the question arose as to what was to happen to the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference which was represented by people of various nationalities, race and colour. If we condoned the policy being followed by South Africa, that would mean the end of the Commonwealth, apart from the other consequences that would have followed. There will be a civil war in Africa because the newly emerging independent nations in Africa will not tolerate such injustice any longer.

These various issues were in my mind when I was abroad. Turkey is an ancient beautiful country. There was a movement on even when I went there. In fact, I hesitated a little, wondering if I should go there at such a time. But their government insisted, so I went. Anyhow, that was a good thing because I met a number of people. Just two days later, the government fell and martial law was imposed. It is not that we have anything to do with the internal affairs of Turkey. But the thought did cross my mind that if you look at all the newly independent countries of Asia and Africa, you find that they have all been in a great turmoil during the last ten to twelve years. Compared to that India has been a haven of peace and stability. There are minor problems and upsets but India's feet are set firmly on the path of progress. I hope we continue in this way. Conditions in the other countries also make one realize that we cannot afford to slacken for a moment in what we are doing. The moment we allow India's unity to weaken through fissiparous tendencies, it will help the enemy.

Anyhow, we do not think of any country as our enemy. But whether we do or not, there are some countries which do not have good intentions towards India. As you know, a part of the mountainous region in the Himalayas is under the control of China. So our border problems on the one hand and the breakdown of the summit talks on the other have led to talk of war once again in the world. What is our role at such a time? It is extremely important that we should understand that because unless we do so, we cannot be prepared.

We are living in a revolutionary age. I do not mean violence and chaos but the revolution that is taking place in the lifestyle of the people all over the world. The new machines have led to quicker means of mass production of goods which are revolutionizing the people's way of life. Our mode of travel has been completely revolutionized. Just 100 years or so ago, there were no trains or aeroplanes or motor cars in India. The fastest means of travel was on horseback. Now we can travel extremely quickly from one part of the country to the other by rail, plane or car. Last month when I had to go to England I got into a plane at one o'clock in the morning and was in London at ten o'clock. If you take the difference in time of four and a half hours between London and Bombay, it took me just thirteen hours to travel that distance. It would take us that long to reach some of the outlying villages by a slower transport.

You can see for yourselves the tremendous changes that are taking place in the world today. Our power to do good as well as evil has increased. Take electricity, for instance. It is a great source of power in the hands of man. It is used to run huge machines. Man has acquired unlimited power today. An engine works on the basis of horse power. I believe people used to wonder what was meant when a ship was supposed to have so much horse power. Anyhow, electricity and

steam are great sources of power. So is atomic energy now. These are all natural sources of power that have come into the hands of man. They can be used to do the work of ten thousand men at a time. So our capacity for production has gone up. At the same time, mankind has now acquired an immense capacity for destruction too. A single bomb can kill millions of people.

So, as I said, the world is changing so rapidly that we cannot apply the old yardsticks. Unless we shake ourselves out of the mental rut, we cannot grasp what the modem civilization is all about. India is just stepping into the new era. But the West has advanced very far. There are good as well as bad points in that, and there is great fear too. India is moving in that direction. Unless we adopt the modern techniques of production and harness the new sources of energy to our use, we cannot improve the standard of living of the masses. We want to alleviate the suffering and hardship of the masses. We want to ensure the basic necessities of life for the forty crores of people who live in India. They must have enough to eat, clothes, shelter, health care, education and the means of livelihood. We cannot achieve all this without the help of modern science and technology, which give us the tools and machines to increase production. Modern scientific methods can immediately double and treble our agricultural production. The rate of production in the West is very high. It has become imperative for us to take advantage of modern science and the new sources of energy to improve the condition of the masses. The people must be made to take advantage of it.

So we too must follow the path which the United States, the Soviet Union and Europe have been following. You read about the superpower rivalry and the arms race and whatnot. Though the fact of the matter is that both these countries have been moving in the same direction of high technology, both are vying with each other to reach the moon and they will succeed. We have no alternative before us if we are to preserve our freedom and to improve the condition of the masses except to take advantage of modern science and technology in every sphere of activity, in agriculture, industry and other areas of production. It will make us economically strong and enable us to alleviate the suffering of the masses to a very large extent.

It is easy to say but an extremely difficult task to uplift forty crores of human beings. It takes time. The West has taken two hundred years or more to reach the position they are in today. We cannot wait for two hundred years. There are innumerable forces propelling us forward.

For one thing, the population of the country is increasing very rapidly. It means that five to six million new mouths have to be fed every year. If our rate of production remains the same, we will face food shortages. It also means that many more people to clothe, provide shelter, health care, education and jobs for. It has complicated the situation greatly and so we have to accelerate the pace of progress. If we leave it to individuals to do what they like, there is bound to be some progress but our combined strength will be frittered away. So it is essential

[DEMOGRAPHY AND PARANOIA] You Said It

By LAXMAN



Why are they alarmed about the increase in population and overcrowding? There's still unoccupied space like this all over the city! (From The Times of India, 23 June 1960, p. 1)

to use the national resources in a planned, coordinated manner. The Planning Commission has been set up to go into all this and suggest the best way of utilizing the country's meagre resources and what our priorities ought to be. We want to evolve a plan of action by which individuals and the nation benefit.

Some people seem to think that it is unnecessary to do planning. I am amazed to hear that because even people who are not very intelligent can see that for a country like India or any other country in Asia or Africa development without planning is impossible. If India had been enormously wealthy like the United States, we could also throw money around. But for a poor country like ours there is no room for waste. If we fritter away our meagre resources in useless exercises, the real work of development will not take place. So it is essential to plan and get our priorities straight.

England became affluent, partly, it is true, by draining India of its wealth. But ultimately, their wealth increased because they had two essential things—steel and coal. You must bear in mind that steel and coal are far more valuable than gold and silver. A country needs them for development. Gold and silver may be useful for ornaments. The vast reserves of coal and iron ore had remained untapped for millions of years in England until the beginning of the age of industrialization. Heavy machinery was invented and gradually England grew powerful and wealthy. Soon they had carved out huge empire for themselves including India and Africa and other parts of the world. Their wealth also continued to grow as production kept increasing. Similarly Germany, France, Italy, America and other Western countries advanced, accumulating wealth and power. Huge industries came up and production of goods increased by leaps and bounds.

Real wealth consists of essential goods, not gold and silver. Agricultural and industrial goods, essential consumer goods are the real wealth of a nation. The West took advantage of the advance in modern science and technology and of the vast natural resources of coal and iron ore. If we want India to become wealthy we must also produce more goods from our land, factories, cottage industries, etc. We can do it. Once we have a surplus, we can progress faster. We can build more houses and factories with it.

The thing is that we do not have one hundred years as the West had. If we waited that long, we will be ruined. As I said, our population is increasing by fifty lakhs a year. So we have to produce at least enough to feed them, clothe them, and provide shelter, education and health care for them. Even if we manage to do that, we will remain where we were. So we have to produce enough to cover the needs of the additional population and have a surplus for development. The more we can save, the more we will have to invest in new industries, schools, hospitals, etc. This is the objective we have in mind.

The problem is that an individual or a nation which is poor is not able to save very much. In a fabulously rich country like the United States, they can afford to throw away goods and yet they have a surplus. A rich man can afford to waste and yet will have a surplus. It is a vicious circle in a poor country for unless it can save there can be no development. Secondly, the people's outlook must change and grasp the world of modern science and technology. Boys and girls go to schools and colleges and get degrees. It is no bad thing to get a BA or MA degree. But you will find the greatest number of unemployed among the arts graduates. You will not find an unemployed engineer because he is needed. Similarly a man of science is at once snapped up.

So the pattern of education is changing in our country. It is becoming more and more science oriented. The demand for education in the art subjects is diminishing. India is changing on all fronts. Ultimately, it is human beings of quality, educated and trained men and women, who are a nation's strength. Gold and silver do not constitute strength. Man produces gold and silver, not the other way round. A trained human being can achieve a great deal. You can best judge the capacity of a nation to progress by the number of qualified and trained human beings there are—doctors, engineers, scientists, carpenters, ironsmiths and others. In this age of science and technology, it is particularly necessary to learn to handle machines. More and more people must learn all this.

So the urgent priority today is to train human beings in science and technology. At the same time, we have to start making the machines which we need. We cannot continue to import them from other countries forever. We can really progress only when we make our own machines. So long as we have to import them, we cannot go very far. We are dependent on others for repairs and spare parts. Therefore, it is very essential that we should set up machine building industries in India. Along with that, we need to produce steel and coal and power to run the

machines—electricity and steam power and atomic energy. We have to do all these things. That in turn involves the production of various other essential consumer goods like food, clothes, and houses, and arrangements for education and health care for the people. Then we have to produce the equipment for our defence. All this means that we should change India completely. We have to change our techniques of agriculture and set up millions of industries—heavy, medium and small—all over the country.

India is a predominantly an agricultural country today. It would be a good thing if people were to go out and work in factories. It will be a good thing to reduce the pressure on the land. I have told you all this because when we shout slogans, we must not lose sight of the fact that everything requires hard work and effort. We can achieve nothing without that. Both the capitalist and the communist countries of the world today have progressed by sheer dint of hard labour. Other things are superficial. We too can progress only by hard work. I want you to remember this because there are grave problems facing the country and the world. For one thing, nobody knows when war may break out and lead to total destruction. We need to become strong economically in order to defend ourselves. Otherwise, we will find ourselves in terrible difficulties.

The other aspect is the border issue. As I said, the Chinese forces are on our borders. We have sent our officials to Peking to discuss this issue and to clarify the differences in the maps. Our effort is to solve any dispute amicably as far as possible. We do not want war. But we will not run away if the enemy attacks. We have to defend the nation. So looking to all these dangers, it is imperative that on the domestic front we should lay great stress on economic progress.

There are various ways of going about it. We have adopted planning and are laying stress on production of essential commodities. As I said, we need steel, power and trained manpower for industrialization. We cannot set up heavy industries without steel and nor can we import it in large quantities. We will go bankrupt. Therefore, it is imperative to increase the production of iron ore and produce steel. We have set up four huge steel plants, which have gone into production. A nation on the march is always hungry for steel. Steel is necessary in agriculture, small industries as well as house-building and other sectors. So it is very essential that we produce steel. Then we have to make arrangements to produce power, electricity, thermal power and atomic energy. We have to train people to handle machines and need machines and engineers at all levels. These are the problems before us.

It is an extremely complex task to uplift forty crores of human beings. A few days ago, I calculated that if, as we want to, we provide education for every child in the country, the number of teachers and taught will rise up to a hundred million. It is a very large number. We will need at least fifty to sixty lakh teachers. I think at the moment there are nearly four crore and twenty five lakhs of boys and girls in schools and colleges. Education is the most revolutionary aspect of

changing India. It is changing human beings and society.

There are great advances in the world of science and technology. You hear of new inventions every day, new victories of science. Man is aspiring to go to the Moon. What he will do when he reaches there or how it will benefit mankind, is not the question. It shows how the world is changing and the need for us to remain constantly vigilant. If we are preoccupied with petty things, we stand in danger.

There are two or three lessons that Indian history can teach us. One is our tendency towards disunity. Two, India was ruled by great monarchs, but they never bothered about proper maps of the empire they ruled over. It is for the first time under the British that proper maps of India were drawn up. The British came not as conquerors but as traders and were very humble and polite in the beginning. Then they gradually started gaining control. They defined the territories under the various rulers and carefully investigated the set-up of ministers and councillors. They gained control over them by bribing them. But the important thing is that they had a very accurate idea of the topography of the country, unlike the great heroes and warriors who ruled this country. Sheer bravery is not enough in the modern world. There must be a grasp of facts. Maps are simple, straightforward affairs. Science is far more complicated.

We must learn the lesson of unity and the need for mastery over scientific and technological knowhow. The world is shrinking with the fast mode of travel and communication. You can go from one corner of the world to another in a few hours. Therefore, the problems today are different. We can remain as one nation only by learning to maintain unity. Quarrels in the name of religion, caste, language and province have become meaningless today. Nor can nations remain aloof from one another. Air travel has brought the world closer. We must prepare ourselves for a new world, particularly the youth. My generation has grown old now. The youth will face the new world. There have been great changes since my days in college during the last fifty years. India and the world have changed. I wonder how much more it will change in the next fifty years. We have to be prepared for it. War has become a terrible thing with the lethal weapons which have been invented. One atom bomb can destroy the whole of Poona and the surrounding countryside. There can be no victor or vanquished in such circumstances. A war will mean the defeat of modern civilization, as we know it.

If we are intelligent, we can take advantage of the world we live in and progress quickly. Otherwise, we will be ruined and be enslaved once more by others. This is the question which stares every nation in the world today in the face.

India is held in respect in the world today, not for the usual reasons of military might or great affluence, for we have neither. We are respected, firstly, because of the manner in which we got freedom under Gandhiji's leadership—peacefully, without resorting to arms and as far as possible without bitterness and hatred for

the enemy. Since independence, our policy has been one of friendship towards all. We have problems with Pakistan and China and we shall sort them out. Our effort is to find an amicable solution to our problems and to avoid war.

It is not that we are afraid of fighting. But wars bring destruction. Modern weapons make a decision to go to war unacceptable. Some people even in India demand that we go to war on any pretext. Well, if necessary, we shall certainly fight. But we have to build up our economic strength. We have to make India strong in other ways. Otherwise, our show of heroism will be merely foolish.

Moreover, we are engaged in a great war at the moment, a war against poverty and our weaknesses. That too requires great planning and strategy. We cannot afford to fritter away our chances in futile activity. We have to wage this war scientifically, not with weapons but with martial discipline and skills. I want that all boys and girls in India should be given a year's military training in college. I do not mean that all of them should learn to shoot a gun; that is child's play today. I mean military discipline, the habit of obedience and walking with straight backs and heads held high. These are all small things, which make for a nation's strength. Often I see people walking on the streets, slouching and ambling along. In Europe, you will find people walking with rapid strides. There is a martial bearing among them. In India also, we need to learn these things. Above all, what we need is mental training. We must train our boys and girls in colleges. I am not bothered about their learning to handle guns. In any case, guns are becoming obsolete in modern warfare.

Ultimately, what we have to do is to mould the character of the people. It is obvious that we have to pay great attention to this in schools and colleges. Everybody must get opportunities for education. If we try hard, we can transform the face of the country in ten to fifteen years. The only problem is that we are easily carried away by petty things and our enthusiasm and energy are frittered away in slogan mongering and making a noise. We must guard against these tendencies.

I had come to Poona six weeks ago⁶² and am here today. I have seen this city changing rapidly over the last few years. The population has grown. Today it has become a great centre not only of Maharashtra but of India, of learning and professional training. The whole country hears about what happens in Poona. Therefore, there is a special responsibility, a burden, on your shoulders, not only to do the work but also to set an example to the rest of the country. Poona is a historic city and famous in Indian history. You are all writing a new chapter in India's history and Poona must make a secure place for itself in it.

Jai Hind

Translation ends]

8. At Kachholi: Public Meeting⁶³

बहिनो और भाइयो,

थोड़े दिन हुए, हाजी युसुफ साहब⁶⁴ आये थे दिल्ली, मुझसे मिलने आये थे और मुझे निमंत्रण दिया यहाँ कच्छोली आने को 1⁶⁵ तो आज मैं यहाँ हाज़िर हो गया, और मुझे मौक़ा मिला उनसे मिलने का। कुछ हमारे भाई और आये थे दक्षिण अफ्रीका से, उनसे मिलने का और आप सब लोगों से मिलने का। तो मुझे खुशी हुई।

और इस समय मुझसे जो कार्य कराया गया, यह वाटरवर्क्स का, पानी का सिलसिला, यह भी एक बहुत आवश्यक काम है और हम चाहते हैं कि भारत भर में कोई गाँव न हो जहाँ अच्छा शुद्ध पानी न मिल सके, अक्सर सब जगह मिले। सब जगह ऐसे वाटर वर्क्स तो नहीं बनेंगे, क्योंकि हमारे देश में साढ़े पाँच लाख गाँव है। लेकिन कुछ-न-कुछ पम्प वग़ैरह लगा के पानी वहाँ मिले। तो आप खुशनसीब हैं कि आपका यहाँ यह वाटरवर्क्स है। सारे सूरत जिले में मैंने सुना कि बहुत सारे बन गये हैं। इन सब बातों में हमारे लोग बहुत देखते हैं कि गवर्न्मन्ट क्या करे, सरकार क्या करे? यह बात अच्छी नहीं है। सरकार को भूल जाना चाहिए और काम को खुद करना चाहिए। सरकार को जो कुछ करना है वो करेगी, लेकिन उसके लिए आप ठहरे रहें कि गवर्न्मन्ट सब बातें करे? तो इससे काम बहुत हल्का हो जाता है। इसलिए हमने निश्चय किया है कि बहुत कुछ अधिकार म्युनिसिपैलिटी को, पंचायतों को होने चाहिए और उनको पैसे का भी प्रबंध हो। वो करें जो कुछ करना है उन्हें। वो नहीं करेंगे तो फिर लोग, गाँव के अपने पंच बदलेंगे। क्योंकि ये देश ख़ाली सरकारी काम से नहीं चल सकता, जनता का काम होना चाहिए। मिल के लोग मदद करें, और ये भी नहीं ख़ाली पैसे से। पैसा तो लगता ही है, पैसे से मदद होवे। लेकिन इसके अलावा अपने कार्य से, सहयोग से, अपने उत्साह से, उससे मदद करें, तब आप देखेंगे, कितनी जल्दी सारा रूप बदल जाता है हमारे ग्रामों का।

आप लोगों को याद होगा, जो आप में से छोटे लोग हैं, छोटी उम्र के, उनको नहीं याद होगा, जिनकी उम्र ज़्यादा है, महात्माजी तीस बरस हुए इधर आये थे और जब यहाँ आये थे और दांडी गये थे, दांडी की यात्रा की थी, तो सारा भारत हिल गया था और उससे बड़े आंदोलन उठे, अंग्रेज़ी राज्य हिल गया, सब कुछ हुआ था, सारी दुनिया में वो प्रसिद्ध हो गये और उसको भारत के इतिहास में भी लिखा है। तो यह सारा इलाक़ा तो बँधा हुआ है, गांधीजी की दांडी की यात्रा से। तो आपको तो चाहिए कि और भी कोशिश करें [...] कि सारे इलाक़े को खूब अच्छा करें और महात्माजी के जो उद्देश्य थे, उनको याद रखें, उस रास्ते पर चलें, सब मिल जुलकर रहें और अपना काम करें, उसमें आपका भी लाभ है और देश का तो है।

65. See also item 53.

At the inauguration of a waterworks at Kachholi village, Gujarat, 21 June 1960. AIR tapes, NMML.

^{64.} Yusuf Mohammed Nagdhi, also spelt Mohamad Issop Nagdee, associate of Mahatma Gandhi during the satyagraha movement in South Africa. *National Herald*, 22 June 1960.

SELECTED WORKS OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

आपने मेरा जो यहाँ प्रेम से स्वागत किया, उसके लिए धन्यवाद।

अब आप लोग सब मेरे साथ किहए जय हिन्द। जय हिन्द। मैंने कहा मेरे साथ। आप भूल जाते हैं, काम साथ होने चाहिए, अलग-अलग नहीं होने चाहिए। जय हिन्द। कहा न मिलकर ज़ोर से कहो... जय हिन्द। ये अलग-अलग कहते हैं। अभी तक आपके स्कूलों में बच्चों को साथ मिल के कहना नहीं सिखाया जाता। ये स्कूल में बच्चों को सीखना चाहिए, एक ध्वनि से, एक आवाज़ से कहें। फिर किहए जय हिन्द। अरे इतनी जल्दी आपको होती है कि मैं ख़त्म भी नहीं करता हूँ, आप कूद पड़ते हैं। मैं जब, मेरे कहने का अंत हो जाये, तब किहए। जय हिन्द।

[Translation begins:

Sisters and Brothers,

A few days ago, Haji Yusufji⁶⁶ came to Delhi to meet me and invited me to come to Kachholi.⁶⁷ So I am here today and have had the opportunity of meeting him and our other comrades from South Africa as well as all of you. I am very happy about that.

The task which I have been asked to perform of inaugurating the waterworks for it is an extremely important one. We want that there should be no village in India where pure drinking water is not available. We cannot build waterworks like this one everywhere because there are five and a half lakh villages in India. But pumps will be installed to supply water. You are lucky to have a waterworks here. I have heard that many others have been built all over Surat. Unfortunately, the people often look to the government to do everything, which is not a good thing. You must forget about the government and do the work yourselves. The Government will do what it has to. But if you wait for it to do everything, the pace of progress becomes very slow. So we have decided to delegate the authority and financial powers to the municipality and the panchayats to make these arrangements. If they do not do their work well, the villagers can elect others to the panchayats. India cannot progress by the efforts of the government alone. The people must cooperate and work hard, and help not only with money but by their enthusiasm and interest. Then you will see how quickly the face of our villages is transformed.

Those of you who are not very young will remember the occasion when Gandhiji came here thirty years ago on his Dandi March. The whole of India was shaken to the core and there was a widespread movement. It shook the British empire and Gandhiji has become famous all over the world. Dandi March is part of India's history now. This entire region is tied up with that. So you must also make an effort to improve conditions here. You must keep Mahatma Gandhiji's principles in mind and try to adhere to the path that he showed us. It is in our

^{66.} See fn 64 in this section.

^{67.} See fn 65 in this section.

own interest to maintain unity and work hard.

Thank you for the warm welcome that you have given me.

Please say Jai Hind with me thrice. Jai Hind. I said, with me. You keep forgetting that we must work together, not separately. Jai Hind. Please say it loudly and all together. Why do they all say it one by one? Children are not taught in schools to say things in unison. They ought to be taught. Again, Jai Hind. Why are you in such a hurry? I have not even finished when you start off. Wait for me to finish and then repeat. Jai Hind.

Translation ends]

9. At Maroli: Kasturba Sevashram⁶⁸

बहिनो और भाइयो,

यह तो निश्चय हुआ था कि यहाँ कोई व्याख्यान नहीं होगा। तो वो तो मैं कहूँगा नहीं कोई बात, लेकिन यहाँ आ के, इस आश्रम में आ के बहुत पुराने चित्र आँखों के सामने आते हैं। और ऐसी बातें हैं जो कि भारत के इतिहास में लिखी जा चुकी हैं। जब गाँधी जी यहाँ आये थे इधर और उनकी दांडी की यात्रा हुई थी, वो सब चित्र आते हैं क्योंकि बहुत प्रसिद्ध हो गये हैं और दांडी का नाम भी, एक छोटी सी जगह है यहाँ लेकिन दुनिया के बहुत लोगों ने सुना था और अब भी याद है। तो इस तरफ आ के यह सब बातें याद आती हैं और इस आश्रम में आ के जो कि एक तरफ से उस समय का स्मारक है, और उस समय से यहाँ अच्छा काम कर रहा है, मुझे और भी प्रसन्नता होती है। आपने एक छोटा सा काम मुझसे शिलान्यास का करवाया, यहाँ तो थोड़ा सा मुझे भी मौक़ा दिया कुछ संबंध इस आश्रम से हो जाने का। 10 उसके लिए आपको धन्यवाद।

दांडी की यात्रा हुई और उसके बाद क्या-क्या बातें हुईं और स्वराज्य आया, लेकिन याद रखिए कि किसी जाति की, किसी देश की यात्रा का अंत कभी नहीं होता। यात्राएँ होती हैं नाम उनका जो कुछ हो, लोग बढ़ते हैं या गिरते हैं। अगर जीवित देश है तो आगे बढ़ता है। यह हमारा देश भी इस समय, मैं समझता हूँ, ज़ोरों से आगे बढ़ रहा है। हम उसका कैसे ही नाम रखें, कोई पंचवर्षीय योजना होती है चाहे जो कुछ। लेकिन असल बात तो यह है वह कार्य होता ही जाता है बढ़ने का। कैसे होता है? अपने आपसे नहीं लोगों के कार्य से, लोगों के परिश्रम से, लोगों के सहयोग से। तो यह बड़ी यात्रा हमारे सामने है और हमें सबको मिल के इस यात्रा को करना है।

जय हिन्द।

68. Speech on the occasion of the foundation-stone laying ceremony of a hospital at Maroli village, Surat District, Gujarat, 21 June 1960. AIR tapes, NMML.

69. Kasturba Sevashram, an independent non-profit making organisation formed in Maroli in 1930 for education of the poor. From the website of Kasturba Sevashram, http://kasturbasevashram.org/about.html, accessed on 8 October 2013.

70. Nehru laid the foundation of a new building for a mental hospital run by the Kasturba

Sevashram.

SELECTED WORKS OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

[Translation begins:

Sisters and Brothers,

It has been decided that there will be no speeches. So I shall not say very much. But coming to this ashram⁷¹ brings alive old memories and events which are part and parcel of India's history now. I am reminded of the time when Gandhiji came here on his famous Dandi March. Dandi is a small little place in Gujarat and yet it has become famous all over the world. It is remembered to this day. All those events come to mind in this ashram which is in a sense a memorial to that era. I am glad to see the good work that is being carried on. You have given me the opportunity to link myself with this ashram in a small way by asking me to lay the foundation.⁷² I thank you for that.

The Dandi March took place. Then followed other events and finally India got freedom. But please remember that there is no end to the journey of a nation or race. It continues in some form or the other, and peoples and nations move on. Nothing stands still. Either they go up or come down. A nation full of vitality progresses as I think India is doing at the moment. We can call it the Five Year Plan or something else. But the fact is that the work of progress goes on. It does not happen by itself but by the efforts of the people, their hard work and cooperation. We are all embarked on a great journey and we must march ahead in unity and cooperation.

Jai Hind.

Translation ends]

10. At Maroli: Public Meeting⁷³

बहनो और भाइयो और बच्चो.

आप लोग कठिन धूप में यहाँ ताप में बैठे हैं बड़ी देर से। तो बड़ा कष्ट आपने उठाया और मैं तो यहाँ आके साये में बैठ गया। तो अब यह ठीक नहीं है कि मैं बहुत समय तक आपसे कुछ कहूँ, आपको और कष्ट दूँ। लेकिन आज यहाँ मरौली ग्राम आकर मेरा मन बहुत दूर-दूर गया, पुराना इतिहास याद आया, जब इस तरफ गांधीजी आए थे और जब वो अपनी प्रसिद्ध यात्रा कर रहे थे दांडी की, तो और बहुत सारे चित्र आए मेरे सामने, इसको तीस बरस हो गए और तीस बरस में बहुत कुछ हमारे भारत में हुआ, अच्छा हुआ, बुरा भी हुआ, सब कुछ। क्योंकि देश का इतिहास तो चलता ही जाता है कभी रुकता नहीं। तो इस समय आकर विचार करना होता है कि इस तीस बरस में हम कितने आगे बढ़े, कहाँ तक महात्मा जी के सिद्धान्तों पर हम रहे, कहाँ तक उनको भूल गये,

- 71. See fn 69 in this section.
- 72. See fn 70 in this section.
- 73. Maroli, Gujarat, 21 June 1960. AIR tapes, NMML.

और विशेषकर हमारा अब कर्तव्य क्या है? यह तो लम्बी कहानी हो जाती है भारत की, उसमें तो मैं सब जा नहीं सकता। लेकिन आप जानते हैं, तेरह बरस हुए, भारत स्वतंत्र हुआ और भारत स्वतंत्र हुआ, इसमें कोई संदेह नहीं, महात्मा जी के त्याग से, उनके जो उन्होंने हमें रास्ता दिखाया था, जो उन्होंने हमको सिखाया था और देश ने उनका साथ दिया था। तो फिर हमारा देश स्वतंत्र हुआ और स्वतंत्र होते ही हमारे सामने बड़े-बड़े प्रश्न आ गये, बड़े प्रश्न। पहले एक यात्रा, हमारी एक यात्रा का अंत हुआ और दूसरी यात्रा शुरु हुई।

पहली यात्रा थी स्वराज लेने की, दूसरी यात्रा हुई स्वराज लेकर आगे बढ़ें और जनता के जो बहुत दुःख हैं, दिरद्रता है उसको दूर करें। यानी एक तरफ से आर्थिक स्वराज सभों का हो जाये, राजनैतिक स्वराज तो हो गया। इस काम में हम पिछले बारह-तेरह बरस से लगे हैं और इसमें बडी कठिनाइयाँ हुई हैं। पहले तो, सब में पहले हमारा देश का एक बड़ा भाग अलग हो गया, पाकिस्तान बन गया। उससे बड़ी चोट लगी, फिर और बहुत बातें हुई। लेकिन फिर हमने देश में यह ये बड़ी-बड़ी योजनाएँ शुरु की, आप जानते हैं। योजना क्यों की? इसलिए कि हमारे देश की जनता आगे बढ़े। देश की जनता आगे कैसे बढ़ती है? कोई मंतर पढ़ के नहीं बढ़ती, परिश्रम से बढ़ती है। जो देश आजकल अच्छे देश हैं, ख़ुशहाल हैं, ख़ुशी देश हैं दुनिया में, दिरद्रता जहाँ नहीं है, वहाँ आप जाओ तो देखेंगे कि वहाँ बड़े परिश्रमी लोग हैं, परिश्रम करके देश बढ़ता है और परिश्रम अलग-अलग करके नहीं, सहयोग से मिलकर, सबों की शक्ति मिल जाये तब बडी ताकत हो जाती है। इसी तरह से सहयोग से हमें स्वराज मिला था। तो अब हमें सब लोगों को मिलकर सहयोग से, मिल कर काम करके, परिश्रम करके आगे बढ़ना है। अगर, हमारे यहाँ दरिद्रता है, कैसे दूर हो, देश में धन पैदा करें। धन क्या है सोना-चांदी रुपया पैसा नहीं, वह तो व्यापार के काम का है। धन है जो हम खेती से पैदा करें, धन है जो हम कारखाने में पैदा करें, उद्योग धंधों से करें, ग्रामोद्योग से करें। ये सब चीजें जो नई पैदा होती हैं वो धन है। अमेरिका धनी देश है, इसलिए कि वहाँ अधिक पैदा होता है, भूमि से भी और कारखाने से। तो हमें भी सब तरह से पैदा करना है और जो हम पैदा करें, फिर एक और हमें एक बात याद रखनी है कि जो पैदा करें, उसका ठीक-ठीक जनता में बंटवारा हो, सबों को उससे लाभ हो, यह नहीं कि थोड़े से आदमी बड़े धनी हो जायें और और लोग गरीब रहें। दो बातें हुईं। एक तो हमें परिश्रम से पैदा करना है, दूसरे ऐसा समाज का संगठन हो कि जो पैदा हो उससे सारी जनता को लाभ हो, खाली थोड़े से धनी पुरुषों को नहीं। इसलिए हमने कहा कि हम जो समाज बनायेंगे यहाँ, उसको हमने कहा समाजवादी ढंग की होगी, क्योंकि समाजवादी ढंग में हमेशा सामने चित्र रहा है सबों की बराबरी का, समानता का। अब सब लोग समान नहीं होते हैं, यह तो आप जानते हैं कोई बुद्धिमान होता है, कोई मूर्ख होता है, कोई किसी का शरीर बलवान होता है, किसी का दुर्बल होता है, सब एक से नहीं होते लेकिन सब लोगों को बराबर से लाभ हो, मौका मिलना चाहिए और जितनी शक्ति हो उतना बढ़े। यह बात अच्छी नहीं है किसी देश में कि थोड़े से आदमी बड़े धनी हों और जनता दु:खी हो, यह अच्छी बात नहीं है, और ऐसा देश बढता नहीं है।

यह हमने अपने सामने लक्ष्य रखा और फिर बड़ी-बड़ी योजनाएँ बनाईं, पंचवर्षीय योजना। पहली रही, फिर दूसरी पंचवर्षीय योजना। अब हम सोच रहे हैं, विचार कर रहे हैं तीसरी योजना का। किसलिए? कि जो काम करें सारे देश को सामने रख के, वैसे ही योजनाएँ बनाएँ। अगर हम ख़ाली हरेक आदमी जो चाहता है करे, तो उससे ठीक लाभ न हो, सारे देश का। हमेशा हमें देश

को सामने रखना है, अपने व्यक्ति को नहीं खाली, अपनी जाति को नहीं, अपने प्रदेश को नहीं, अपने जिले को और ग्राम को नहीं, सारे भारत को सामने रखना है। क्योंकि अगर हमारी उन्नित होगी तो तभी होगी, जब सारे भारत की उन्नित होती है। स्वराज मिला सारे भारत को। स्वराज खाली गजरात और बम्बई और महाराष्ट्र को नहीं मिला. सारे भारत को मिला, तब सबको मिला और इसी तरह से उन्नित होगी तो सारे भारत की। तो पहली बात तो आप यह याद रखें कि हमें हर प्रश्न को सोचना है कि भारत का लाभ उसमें कैसे होता है, उसी से हमारा होगा और उसी से हमारे राज्य का होगा। और दूसरे हमें याद रखना है कि सारे भारत को उठाने के माने क्या हैं? चालीस करोड? चालीस कोटि लोग यहाँ रहते हैं उनको उठाना है। तो हम यात्रा करते हैं बडी तो चालीस करोड की यात्रा है, दो-चार आदमी की नहीं। इसलिए कठिनाई होती है, मुश्किल हो जाता है क्योंकि बहुत दिनों से, कई सौ बरसों से जो जनता दबी हुई है, गिरी है उसको उठाना कठिन हो जाता है। उठाना मैंने कहा, कौन उसको उठाए? कोई उठा नहीं सकता। वो तो अपने परिश्रम से उठती है, अपने बल से उठती है दूसरा कोई नहीं उठाता। इसीलिए महात्मा जी ने हमको सिखाया, हमारे किसानों को, हमारी सब जनता को, खुद अपने बल से उठना, पुरुष-स्त्री सब को, और सब लोगों को उन्होंने अपने बड़े-बड़े आंदोलन में लगाया था और उससे उनकी शक्ति बढ़ी. सहयोग करने की शक्ति। तो हम बढ़े। अब ये बड़े-बड़े काम हमारे सामने हैं। इन कामों में हमें और देशों से भी बहुत सीखना है, और देश आगे बढ़ गये, चाहे अमरीका हो, चाहे रूस हो, चाहे अंग्रेज़ों का देश हो, आगे बढ़ गये विज्ञान से, बड़े-बड़े कारखाने बनाये, क्या-क्या, बढ़ गये, धनी हो गये। हम और देशों की नकल तो नहीं करेंगे हमारा देश अपना देश रहेगा। लेकिन हमें और देशों से विज्ञान सीखना है और जो नई-नई बातें आई हैं, उसको सीखना है। खेती कैसे अच्छी करें? खेती करें, कारखाने कैसे बनाएँ उससे अधिक हमारा पैदा हो, उत्पादन हो, यह हमें सीखना है। और जितना हम सीखेंगे उतनी ही हमारी तरक्की होगी लेकिन उन सबको सीख के हमें तो [...] सुन नहीं सकते तो मैं क्या करूँ। पुलिस उसमें सुनती है कि नहीं मालूम नहीं। कैसा यह है आपका लाउड स्पीकर, उधर आवाज़ नहीं जाती। तो यह आप लोग हमारे, इसको इधर खिसका दीजिए। चलता है कि नहीं शायद चले। इससे आप सुन सकते हैं कि कोई भी नहीं [...] कोई भी कुछ नहीं कर रहा है। ख़ैर, तो अब यह बड़े-बड़े काम हैं हमारे सामने।

अभी आपका यह गुजरात एक नया प्रदेश बना, यह आपको मुबारिक हो, धन्य हो। लेकिन कोई अलग प्रदेश बन जाने से कोई देश भारत के बाहर तो नहीं हो गया वह, वह तो ख़ाली एक अंदर प्रबंध करने के लिए यह इंतजाम होता है। बड़ी ख़ुशी की बात हो कि गुजरात की उन्नित हो, तरक्की हो और होएगी मुझे इसमें विश्वास है। लेकिन हमेशा आप लोग याद रखें कि भारत की उन्नित से सबकी होती है। आप कहीं बाहर जाओ, विदेश में जाओ, तो आप पासपोर्ट ले के जाते हो, जिसमें आपका चिन्ह होता है, आपकी तस्वीर, आपका नाम, जिससे और दुनिया में आपकी पहचान हो। तो उसमें पासपोर्ट में क्या लिखा होता है? यह नहीं लिखा होता है कि आप एक नागरिक हैं अहमदाबाद के या गुजरात के। लिखा होता है कि आप भारत के नागरिक हैं, आप रिपब्लिक ऑफ इंडिया के सिटिज़न हैं। आपकी पहचान दुनिया में है कि आप भारत के हैं। महाराष्ट्र के, गुजरात के, उत्तर प्रदेश के, पंजाब के, यह पहचान नहीं है तो यह हमेशा आपको याद रखना है।

और दूसरी बात यह याद रखनी है कि भारत की उन्नित जभी होगी कि जब हम सब लोग मिलकर चलें, चाहे किसी भारत के प्रदेश में हों, चाहे कोई भाषा हो, चाहे कोई हमारा धर्म हो। धर्म

जो कुछ है अलग आपका है, रखें। लेकिन हरेक का पहला धर्म है भारतीय होने का और और भारतीयों से मिलके चलने का, चाहे उनका कोई धर्म हो, सब धर्म भारत के, भारत के धर्म हैं, चाहे हिंदुओं का हो, चाहे मुसलमानों का, चाहे ईसाई हो, चाहे जैन हो, चाहे बौद्ध हो, चाहे सिक्ख हो, चाहे पारसी हो, सब भारत के धर्म हैं। अपने-अपने धर्म पर चलें। लेकिन सबसे पहले धर्म देश का धर्म है, जिसमें सबको मिलकर चलना है, यह महात्मा जी ने हमें सिखाया था। इसी से हमारी शक्ति बढ़ी और एक और बात इसमें, हमारे यहाँ बहुत जातियाँ हैं, आप जानते हैं बहुत जातिभेद हैं। यह चीज अच्छी नहीं है और इसी ने भारत को गिराया जातिभेद ने। कोई अपने को ऊँचा समझता है, कोई अपने को नीचा समझता है। समाजवाद में जातिभेद नहीं चल सकता। हम तो कहते हैं समानता होनी चाहिए। ऊँच-नीच क्या? तो इसको भी हमें हटाना है और इसीलिए जो कोई लोग समझें कि यह नीच जाति के हैं, ये ऊँच जाति के हैं, वो बात अब चलती नहीं है। तो इन बातों को आप याद रखें और यह कि हमारे सामने बड़े परिश्रम करने हैं। आजकल की दुनिया, आजकल का संसार, बड़ा भयानक है, एटम-बम्ब का संसार है। इसमें जो लोग, जो देश दुर्बल हैं उनकी देखभाल कोई नहीं कर सकता। हम तो एटम-बम्ब नहीं लेंगे। लेकिन हमें अपनी शक्ति बढानी है, अपनी राजनीतिक शक्ति, अपनी आर्थिक शक्ति और हमारी ऐसी शक्ति कि हर मनुष्य में अपने ऊपर भरोसा हो, अपनी शक्ति में, अपने काम में, अपने देश पर। जिस देश में जिसका दिल मजबूत होता है, ह़दय मजबूत होता है, जिसका मन मजबूत होता है उसको कोई गिरा नहीं सकता। और हमें छोटे-छोटे झगड़ों में नहीं पड़ना है क्योंकि हमने तो बहुत बड़ा काम उठाया, चालीस कोटि आदिमयों को उठाना, तो छोटे कामों में हम कैसे पड जायें।

तो अब जो विशेषकर काम हमारे हैं वो, यह बातें याद रखें कि सारे भारत को, कि हमें अधिक पैदा करना है, अधिक खेत से पैदा करना है, अधिक कारखाने बनाने हैं छोटे बड़े। कैसे करेंगे, किस ढंग से करें, विज्ञान सीखें, विज्ञान जाने और, और जहाँ तक बन पड़े उसमें सहयोग लायें, सहकारी तरीके से काम करें क्योंकि सहकारी संघ बनते हैं। आपने बनाया यह... फैक्ट्री भी मैंने सुना है एक सहकारी है। यह बड़ी अच्छी बात है। इस तरह से लोगों को सहकारी संघ से काम करने में चाहे जमीन का, भूमि का काम हो, खेती का हो, चाहे कारखाने का हो वो काम तेजी से चलता है और आम जनता को उससे लाभ होता है। इसलिए हमने निश्चय किया है कि सारे देश में, खेती करने वालों में सहकारी संघ हर गांव में हो, यह होना चाहिए। हर गांव में एक तो पंचायत होनी चाहिए, दूसरे सहकारी संघ और तीसरे विद्यालय स्कूल होना चाहिए और उससे हमारे देश की बुनियाद बहुत मजबूत हो जायेगी। तो हम चाहते हैं कि ख़ाली ऊपर से बड़े-बड़े नेता नहीं हुकुम चलायें, लेकिन हर ग्राम में अधिकार हो, हर ग्राम के पंच अपने हाथ में गांव का काम लें और गांव को चलायें। इस तरह से जब सारे देश के गांव में मजबूत काम होगा, तब देश मजबूत हो जायेगा। तो यह हमें काम करने हैं, मिलकर मजबूती से। और आप लोग जो यहाँ रहते हैं इधर, जहाँ गांधीजी गये, रहे, कितने दिन हुए और जिससे उनके चलने से सारा देश जागृत हो गया था, उठ गया था और बड़े साम्राज्य का सामना किया था, तो आपके सामने तो बड़ी सुंदर यह एक चित्र है, मिसाल है। और उसको याद रखें कि आपको भी इस यात्रा पर चलना है। देश की यात्रा पर। और विशेषकर हमारे जो बालक, बालिकाएँ हैं, बच्चे हैं, उनको ठीक-ठीक रास्ता पर चलना है। क्योंकि उनके ऊपर तो बड़े काम आयेंगे। देश बढ़ रहा है वो भी उसके साथ बढें और, और बढ़कर जिम्मेदारी के काम करें।

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आपके गुजरात में और-और जगह बहुत सारे आदिवासी रहते हैं, वो विशेषकर, हमारा कर्तव्य है उनकी सहायता करना, उनको आगे बढ़ने देना। बड़े तगड़े होते हैं। मुझे उनसे बहुत प्रेम है। उनको, पिछले समय में लोगों ने बहुत उनकी सहायता नहीं की, लेकिन वो भी महात्मा जी ने हमें बताया कि हमारा कर्तव्य है कि उनकी सेवा करना, उनको अपनाना। यह सब काम हमारे सामने हैं, इससे देश बढ़ेगा और हम सब बढ़ेंगे। और इस तरह से आप गांधीजी को याद, स्मरण ठीक रखेंगे, ख़ाली महात्मा गांधी की जय पुकारने से तो नहीं, उनका उद्देश्य याद रखने और उसी रास्ते पर चलने से।

बस अब मैं आपको और अधिक कष्ट नहीं दूँगा इस धूप में। मेरे साथ आप जय हिन्द कहें। तीन दफे। जय हिन्द। जय हिन्द। जय हिन्द।

[Translation begins:

Sisters, Brothers and Children,

You have been sitting in the hot sun for a long time while I am in the shade. It would not be proper for me to take up too much of your time. But coming to Marauli today my thoughts go back to the time when Gandhiji had passed through here on his famous Dandi March. Thirty years have gone by and a great deal has happened in this time. The history of a country never comes to a standstill.

Now the time has come for us to evaluate how far we have progressed during the last thirty years, whether we have remained faithful to Mahatmaji's principles or not, and where our duty lies now. India's story is a long, long one. I shall not go into that. But, as you know, India became free thirteen years ago, doubtless due to the sacrifices made by Mahatma Gandhi. He showed us the path and his countrymen followed his lead. Immediately after independence, we were faced with tremendous problems. We had reached one goal and immediately had to embark upon another towards the alleviation of poverty and the ills that afflicted the masses in India. We wanted economic freedom for all as well as political freedom. We have been engaged in this task for the last twelve to thirteen years. There have been innumerable difficulties. For one thing, a great chunk of India was truncated and Pakistan came into being. It was a great trauma. Then other developments took place.

We have adopted planning as the means of ensuring betterment of economic standards of the people. A nation does not progress by reciting mantras but only through hard work. You will find that the people in the affluent countries are extremely hard working. Hard work in cooperation with one another is very essential because that gives strength to the nation. We got independence because we cooperated with one another. Now we must forge ahead on the path of progress in mutual cooperation.

We have to produce new wealth in the country. Wealth does not mean gold and silver but goods produced from land, industries, village craft, etc. The United States of America is extremely affluent because their production is enormous.

[THE PILGRIMAGE TO SOCIALISM] The Lone Pilgrim



Speaking at Maroli (Surat Dist.) Prime Minister Nehru exhorted people to join in the exciting pilgrimage to a socialist society.—Report.

(From Shankar's Weekly, 26 June 1960, p. 9)

We must do the same. Secondly, we must ensure the equitable distribution of the goods produced so that everyone may benefit and a handful of people do not become rich at the expense of others.

So there are two things to be done: one, to work hard to increase production and two, to build a social structure in which the masses and not just a handful of rich men stand to gain. That is why we have adopted a socialist pattern of society as our goal. The main principle of such a society is equality.

Now it is true that everybody is not exactly alike. Some are more intelligent than others, some physically stronger while others are weak. But we must ensure that everybody gets equal opportunities so that each individual may progress as far his ability permits. It is not a good thing in any country to allow a few to become rich at the expense of the masses. There can be no progress in such a society.

Anyhow, those are our goals and we have taken up the Five Year Plans. Two are over and now we are on the third. If we followed the policy of laissez faire, it will not benefit the whole country. We have to keep the national perspective in mind at all times, not the interests of an individual, community, province, district or village alone. There will be progress only if the entire country progresses. After all, independence came to the whole of India, not only to Gujarat, Bombay or Maharashtra. Similarly, progress has to be in the entire country.

So the first thing that all of us have to bear in mind is that we must always consider every issue from the national perspective because that is where our own

interests lie. Secondly, we have to strive for the uplift of all the forty crores of human beings in the country, not of a handful of people. This makes the task an extremely difficult one. It is very difficult to uplift a population which has been downtrodden for centuries. Moreover, we cannot do anything on our own. The people must lift themselves out of the mire on their own. Mahatma Gandhi taught us the principle of self reliance. He encouraged every man and woman to come forth and do their bit in the national struggle for liberation. Their strength grew in proportion to their capacity to cooperate.

Now that we have embarked on some major tasks, we must learn to work together as a nation. We must learn from other advanced countries of the world like the United States, the Soviet Union, England and others. They have advanced by taking advantage of modern science and technology, and through industrialization. We do not wish to copy anyone. But we must learn from the others and adopt new techniques of working. We have to learn ways of improving production from land and industries. The more we adopt new techniques, the greater will our progress be. [...] Anyhow, there are big tasks before us.

I congratulate you on the formation of the new state of Gujarat. But creation of a new province does not mean it is outside the country. That is merely an internal arrangement. We will be very happy if there is progress in Gujarat. But I want you to bear in mind that our progress is linked to that of India. When you go abroad, your passport shows that you are a citizen of the Republic of India. It does not indicate that you come from Ahmedabad, Gujarat or Maharashtra, Uttar Pradesh, Punjab. Moreover, you must also remember that India can progress only when all of us march together in step, irrespective of the province to which we belong, the language we speak or religion we follow. Everyone is free to follow his or her own religion. But the primary religion of every one of us is to our country, to cooperate with our countrymen. Various religions are practised in India, Hinduism, Islam, Christianity, Buddhism, Jainism, Sikhism and Zoroastrianism. We must accord equal respect to all religions. But our foremost duty is to our country, as Mahatmaji taught us. Our strength lies in that.

There is one thing more. As you know, there are innumerable castes in India. Casteism has been responsible for the downfall of India again and again in the past. People consider themselves superior to others and suppress them. But casteism cannot exist side by side with socialism. We say we want equality in India. So we must get rid of the caste system.

I want you to bear all these things in mind because we have to work hard. We are living in a ruthless world of nuclear weapons and there is no place in it for the weak. We do not want nuclear weapons. But we must make India strong, politically and economically, and inculcate the spirit of self-reliance and the determination to stand on their own feet in our people. A nation with a stout heart and determination can never be overcome by adversity. We must eschew petty quarrels and dissensions. We have taken on a very great task of uplifting India's

forty crores of human beings. We cannot afford to be engaged in petty preoccupations.

Among the big tasks which await us, the most important one is to improve agricultural production and set up industries, big and small, all over the country. We need scientific know-how and cooperation, cooperative method of functioning. I have heard that your new ginning factory is a cooperative. It is a very good thing. Cooperation benefits the producer and the consumer. That is why we have decided that there should be an agricultural cooperative in every village as well as a panchayat and a good school in order to have a firm foundation for our society. We do not want the country to be administered from the top. There should be greater decentralization and autonomy of the panchayats. India can have a strong base when the administration at the grass-roots level is strengthened. You have before you the glorious example set up by Gandhiji who spent a great deal of his life working in these parts. So you must bear in mind that you have to participate in this great pilgrimage. The young ones in particular have a great role to play because the responsibility of governing the country will descend on their shoulders in future. They must prepare themselves for that day.

There are tribals living in many parts of Gujarat. It is our special duty to help them to progress. They are strong people and I have great affection for them. They were sadly neglected in the past. But Mahatma Gandhi showed us that it was our duty to serve them.

These are the tasks before us. It is only by doing them that India will progress, we will progress. That is also the way in which we shall keep the memory of Gandhiji alive, not by shouting Mahatma Gandhi ki jai. We must keep his ideals in mind and follow the path that he showed us.

All right, I shall take your leave now. Please say Jai Hind with me thrice. Jai Hind. Jai Hind. Jai Hind.

Translation ends]

11. To the Arabic Academy, Surat⁷⁴

Mr. Nehru Visits Arabic College in Surat Work In Cause Of Islamic Culture Praised "The Times of India" News Service

Surat, June 22.

Addressing a gathering of distinguished citizens of Surat and alumni of the city's 200-year-old Arabic college, Al Jamiat-ul-Saifiyah, the Prime Minister, Mr. Nehru, today paid a tribute to the leading lights of the Islamic world who had nurtured

^{74.} Report of speech, Surat, 22 June 1960. From The Times of India, 23 June 1960.

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and developed Islamic culture and literature and preserved it for posterity.

His Holiness Syedna Dr. Taher Saifuddin Saheb, ⁷⁵ head of the Dawoodi Bohra community presided. The Speaker of the Gujerat Assembly Mr. Kalyanji Mehta, the Chief Minister, Dr. Jivraj Mehta, and the Education Minister, Mr. Hitendra Desai, were present.

Earlier, Mr. Nehru went round the institution and saw some rare Arabic manuscripts dating back to the Middle Ages. He was presented with four microfilmed photo copies of some outstanding historical manuscripts including one by which the Emperor Humayun issued a fiat assuring freedom of trade to the Dawoodi Bohra community in 1627 at a time when they were subjected to considerable harassment.

In his speech, Mr. Nehru traced the development of communications in the modern age and explained how it had become necessary for all progressive countries to adapt themselves to the changes. Revolutionary changes in communications had transformed people's lives everywhere, he said.

The Prime Minister reiterated his view that the next 10 years would witness major changes in Africa and the current resurgence of nationalism would change the entire political complexion there.

Welcoming Mr. Nehru, Dr. Saifuddin Saheb referred to the constant interchange of knowledge and ideas between scholars of West Asia and India in the past and said they had a clear impact on each other.

He hoped that the study of Arabic at the college in Surat would help in maintaining and promoting goodwill and understanding between India and the Arab world.

The 200-year-old college was initially located in Ahmedabad and moved over to Surat around 1800.

12. At Kathor: Flood in Tapi76

Much Good in Floods: Nehru

Surat, June 22. Prime Minister Nehru declared today that only a nation capable of "facing calamities bravely can prosper."

Pandit Nehru said this while visiting the Kathor township and the village of Kholvad on the banks of the Tapi which were ravaged by unprecedented floods in the river in September last.

76. Report of speech, near Surat, 22 June 1960. From the National Herald, 24 June 1960.

^{75.} Syedna Taher Saifuddin (1888-1965); head of the Dawoodi Bohra community, 1915-65; Chancellor of the Aligarh Muslim University, 1953-65.

Pandit Nehru said floods were bad but they did good as well in as much as they brought out in the people qualities of fortitude and capacity to face calamities.

The Prime Minister congratu-lated the people of the Surat district for the work done during and after the floods.

Pandit Nehru went round the Harijaniwas [sic] where forty-eight buildings were almost destroyed during the floods and later rebuilt. He also visited the Viveknagar colony built for persons who were rendered homeless.

The Prime Minister remarked after the visit that some more money could have been spent on these newly built houses as the existing "kutcha" hutments did not look very promising.

The Prime Minister, as he motored down to Kathor, was loudly cheered by large crowds gathered at wayside villages of Umparpada, Kumbharia, Antroli, Kadodara, Umbhel, Kosmadi and Kholvad.

Pandit Nehru advised the villagers to shout "Jai-Hind" instead of "Nehru Zindabad," and such other slogans.

[SWIMMING THE ENGLISH CHANNEL IN INDIA]

You Said It



Stop saying "Let's go!" Who do you think you are— Arati Saha?

(From *The Times of India*, 29 June 1960, p. 1)

The Prime Minister also declared open a water supply scheme completed at a cost of about Rs. 50,000 at the village of Vav.

As Pandit Nehru motored down to Udhna Udyognagar, the first cooperative estate of its kind in the country, three miles from here, torrential rains began. It was estimated that there was more than four inches of rain in less than an hour flooding up to four to five feet the route along which he was passing. – PTI.

13. At Surat: Public Meeting⁷⁷

Industrial Truce Essential

P.M. on Need for Development "The Times of India" News Service

Surat, 22 June.

Mr. Nehru today called for an industrial truce in the country so that production and employment opportunities might be increased.

Management and labour would help the implementation of five-year plans if

they agreed not to force issues for a certain period, he added.

Mr. Nehru was addressing a public meeting on the banks of Tapi river here. More than 75,000 people stood in ankle-deep water and mud caused by a heavy downpour in the afternoon to listen to his 70-minute speech.

The Prime Minister dwelt at length on the economic problems facing the country and stressed the need for hard work and sacrifice to put into on the road to prosperity. He referred to the India-China border dispute and criticised the advocates of a strong-arm policy towards China.

Mr. Nehru reiterated India's desire to solve the border issue through peaceful methods.

Mr. Nehru suggested to the advocates of "strong-arm" tactics to divert their energies to constructive efforts.

He pointed out that a strong industrial base was the country's defence bulwark. It could be created by persistent efforts to fulfil the country's Plan targets.

He said that it was natural that with an increase in national income and productivity, labour should demand higher wages. After all, it was one of the aims of planning to increase the people's earnings. The demand for higher emoluments should however be in keeping with the needs of national economy.

Planning aimed at self-sufficiency and also the creation of self-confidence in the people. The Government's intention of vesting gram panchayats with more power was aimed at creating self-confidence and a sense of participation among the people in national reconstruction work.

14. At Broach: Public Meeting⁷⁸

बहनो, भाइयो और बच्चो,

अभी आपने सुना कि मैं पाँच बरस बाद यहाँ आया। वो बात सही भी है और सही नहीं भी है, क्योंकि मैं नहीं आया था, रेल आई थी, जिसमें में बैठा हुआ था। असल में भड़ौंच मुझे आये हुए तेईस बरस हो गये। यह अभी उन्होंने बताया। बहुत दिन हो गये, और आपमें से बहुत लोग यहाँ होंगे जो शायद

78. 23 June 1960. AIR tapes, NMML.

^{77. 22} June 1960. Report in *The Times of India*, 23 June 1960.

उस समय उनका जन्म भी न हुआ हो। तो अब एक इत्तिफ़ाक़ से मैं यहाँ हूँ थोड़ी देर के लिए, एक-आधे घण्टे के लिए और फिर मुझे दिल्ली जाना है। भड़ौंच आकर बहुत सारे विचार और बहुत सारे चित्र आते हैं मेरे मन में।

आप जानते हों शायद भड़ौंच के रहने वाले कि यह कितना प्राचीन नगर है। बहुत बरस हुए मैं जब इतिहास पढ़ता था तो उसमें देखता था कि भड़ौंच में एक बड़ी बंदरगाह है और वहाँ रोम से और कहाँ-कहाँ के देशों से दो हज़ार बरस हुए जहाज़ आते थे और यहाँ से जहाज़ जाते थे। तो भड़ौंच बहुत पुरानी जगह है और अब एक उसके लिए शायद एक नया, नया चित्र उसका बनने वाला है। यों भी आजकल के हमारे भारत में और नये गुजरात में भड़ौंच बढ़ेगा कोई संदेह नहीं। लेकिन उसके अलावा ख़बर आपने सुनी हो कि इसके आसपास कुछ तेल निकला है।

आजकल की दुनिया बड़ी तेलिया है, और तेल के ऊपर बड़े झगड़े होते हैं, लड़ाईयाँ हुई हैं और बहुत कुछ दुनिया तेल से चलती है। कोई बहुत अच्छी बात नहीं है यह, क्योंकि तेल एक फिसलती हुई चीज़ है, आदमी को स्थिर ज़्यादा होना चाहिए, लेकिन ख़ैर, तेल का प्रयोग होता है और होगा और एक देश के लिए बड़ी आवश्यक चीज़ है। तो यहाँ निकलना तेल का यहाँ और उधर वो खम्भात में, देश के लिए एक अच्छी चीज़ है, और गुजरात के लिए। अभी एक यह पूरेतौर से निश्चय नहीं है कि कितना तेल निकलेगा। लेकिन इसमें कोई संदेह नहीं कि तेल निकलेगा, निकला है, अभी मेरे पास भी एक बोतल उसकी रखी हुई है और अच्छा तेल है यहाँ का, अंकलेश्वर का। ये सब बातें तो होंगी और इसके अलावा देश में और भी बहुत बातें होंगी। लेकिन सवाल तो यह है, प्रश्न यह है कि आप लोग यहाँ जो बैठे हैं उसमें क्या करेंगे, ख़ाली जैसे कोई तमाशा देखता है, देखेंगे भारत के तमाशे को? कि कुछ आप भी करेंगे या ख़ाली जब कोई बड़ी बात होती है तो आप ताली बजा देंगे या कुछ और करेंगे। आपने ताली बजा ही दी, मैंने आपसे पूछा। ताली बजाना तो समय पर ठीक होता है लेकिन ख़ाली ताली बजाने से तो संसार नहीं चलता है, कुछ और भी परिश्रम करना होता है। तो यही विचार करने की बात है हमारे लिए सब, देशभर में लोगों के लिए कि इस समय एक ऐतिहासिक समय भारत के लिए और संसार के लिए हमारा कर्तव्य क्या है?

एक बात आप याद रखें कि देश बढ़ते हैं, कोई जाति, कोई देश बढ़ता है अपने परिश्रम से। जितना परिश्रम करेगा उतना ही बढ़ेगा, कोई जादू नहीं है, कोई मंत्र नहीं है, कोई ज्योतिष नहीं है, जो उसको अपने परिश्रम से अधिक बढ़ा दे। यह बात याद रखें आप। तो जितना हमारे देश में परिश्रम होगा, मेहनत होगी, काम होगा, उतना ही देश बढ़ेगा, कोई भी। हाँ, कभी-कभी कुछ और देशों की कुछ सहायता से काम सरल हो जाता है। लेकिन वो तो थोड़ी सहायता होती है। असल में बोझा देश के बढ़ने का अपने ऊपर है। मैं इसलिए यह कहता हूँ कि बाज़ लोग समझें कि हमें अमेरिका से सहायता मिलती है और रूस से मिलती है, और लाओ तो हम आगे बढ़ते जायें, तो यह बड़ा गलत विचार है। अमेरिका से सहायता हमें मिलती है, रूस से भी कुछ मिली है अच्छी बात है, और उससे हमें मदद कुछ मिलती है हम उससे अपने काम को कुछ बढ़ा सकते हैं, लेकिन काम करने वाले हम हैं, देश के रहने वाले। अगर हम नहीं काम करेंगे, परिश्रम करेंगे, मेहनत करेंगे तो सारे अमेरिका और रूस और संसार की सहायता हमें नहीं उठा सकती है। और अगर आप ज़रा सा इतिहास को जानते हैं तो इसको आप समझेंगे। जब भारत गिरा है, भारत अपने ऊपर भरोसा नहीं कर सकता था, आपस में लड़ता था, फूट थी, और कितनी बातें। और दुनिया आगे बढ़ गयी, भारत भूल गये। हम समझें, सब समझें कि हम तो बड़े ऋषियों के कुटुम्ब के हैं। हमें क्या करना

है? ऋषि-मुनि हमारे बुजुर्ग रहे तो ऋषि-मुनि की याद में हम आजकल की दुनिया भूल गये, दुनिया बढ़ गयी आगे और हम वहीं-के-वहीं रह गये। ऋषि-मुनि तो बहुत बड़े आदमी थे। लेकिन इसके माने यह नहीं होते कि ऋषि-मुनि का पुत्र भी बड़ा हो, अक्सर मूर्ख होते हैं ऋषि-मुनि के पुत्र। यह तो व्यक्तिगत बात होती है।

तो हमारा देश गिरा इसलिए कि हम भूल गये हम दुनिया से अलग हो गये, दुनिया बढ़ती गयी तेजी से, नयी-नयी बातें निकलीं यूरोप में, उनकी शक्ति बढ़ी, उनकी विद्या बढ़ी, उनका विज्ञान बढ़ा और हम वहीं-के-वहीं रहे और हमारी ताकृत आपस में फूट में, लड़ाई लड़ने में होती थी। अलग-अलग राजा लोग यह, वो, कभी धर्म के नाम से, कभी राजनैतिक लड़ाई, कभी जातिभेद से लड़ाई कभी प्रान्त, कभी भाषा, इन्हीं बातों में हम पड़े रहे। और दुनिया बढ़ती गयी और आख़िर में अंग्रेज़ों ने आकर हम पर कब्ज़ा कर लिया। ख़ैर, फिर हम जागे और जागकर कुछ हममें एकता आयी, कुछ हममें कार्यशीलता आयी, परिश्रम करने की आदत आई, कुछ मिलकर काम करने की बात आई, सहयोग करने की। और हम महात्मा जी के नेतृत्व में, आख़िर में हमने देश को आज़ाद किया। और आज़ाद करते ही कुछ लोग समझने लगे, कि बस अब फिर हम चारपाई पर लेट जायें आराम से, अब कुछ करने की आवश्यकता नहीं है, और कुछ करना हो तो ख़ैर, हम एक बड़े-बड़े नारे उठा दें। यह तो अपने को बड़ा धोखा देना है, क्योंकि आजकल का संसार बड़ा कठिन संसार है, बड़ा मुश्किल है और जो लोग ज़रा भी दुबले हों, ज़रा भी जिनमें हिम्मत न हो और कार्यशक्ति न हो काम करने की वह देश गिर जाता है और आपका हमारा देश गिर जायेगा अगर हममें काम करने की शक्ति न हो। बड़े कठिन मुक़ाबले हैं। हर देश में कोशिश है आगे बढ़ने की। आप कभी-कभी सुनते हैं यह एटम बम और लड़ाई के सिलसिले। कैसी दुनिया है यह आप विचार करें। यह कोई हँसी मज़ाक की दुनिया तो रही नहीं, यह तो एक भयानक दुनिया है और जिसकी शक्ति है, मानसिक शक्ति, शारीरिक शक्ति, सहयोग की शक्ति हर तरह की शक्ति है, विज्ञान की शक्ति, वो देश आगे बढ़ते हैं। और वो देश अपनी रक्षा कर सकते हैं। यह याद रखने की बात है, क्योंकि हम इन्हें भूल जाते हैं अपने छोटे-मोटे झगड़ों में, आपके ग्राम का झगड़ा या जिले का झगड़ा, या मण्डल का झगड़ा या प्रदेश का या कुछ और।

आप ज़रा अपना ध्यान आजकल के एशिया पर, आजकल के अफ्रीका पर डालें बहुत सारे नये-नये देश हुए हैं, आज़ाद हो गये हैं, होते जाते हैं अफ्रीका में। और बड़ी खुशी की बात है कि अफ्रीका के लोग जागृत हो गये। एशिया पर नज़र डालें आप, बहुत सारे देश हैं पुराने और नये और आप देखें उन सब देशों में कैसे कठिन सवाल हैं, कैसे उलट-पलट हुआ है, कैसे प्रजातंत्र चल रहा था वो उलट गया, फ़ौजी, फ़ौजी राज्य हो गया वहाँ। तरह-तरह की बातें हैं। इससे आप देखेंगे कि कैसे ये देश एक डावांडोल रहते हैं, मज़बूती से जमे नहीं और वो सब देश हमारे मित्र देश हैं, मैं उनका नाम क्यों लूँ। और मैं उनसे नहीं चाहता कि भारत का मुक़ाबला हो। मैं नहीं किया चाहता। लेकिन फिर भी यह आपके और हमारे विचार की बात है कि इस बदलती हुई दुनिया में जिसके पैर उखड़ जाते हैं कभी ठोकर खाकर गिर जाती है, इस बदलती हुई क्रान्तिकारी दुनिया में भारत का क्या हाल दस-पन्द्रह बरस से रहा, जब से स्वराज आया। आपके विचार करने की बात है और आप मुक़ाबला कर लें किसी गज से नाप लें और देशों के [sic] भारत में, हमारे यहाँ काफी बड़े झगड़े हुये। सबसे पहले तो भारत का एक बड़ा टुकड़ा अलग हो गया एक नया देश बन गया पाकिस्तान, उसकी बड़ी चोट लगी। फिर भी हम सँभल गये, सँभल गये, जमे और आपस की बहुत

सारी बातें ऊँच-नीच की हुईं। लेकिन देश जमा रहा और देश ने बड़े कदम उठाये। हमने सोचा कि हमारा पहला काम, अव्वल काम है देश की दरिद्रता को दूर करना, जनता को उठाना। तो उसके लिए विचार किया, उसके लिए जो आपने सुना पंचवर्षीय योजना, पाँच बरस की योजना बनी, पहली, दूसरी, अब तीसरी का विचार हो रहा है।

तो आप देखें किस तरह से इस दस-बारह बरस में ध्यान बड़ी बातों की तरफ़ दिया गया। पहले तो एक देश मज़बूत रहा, स्थिर रहा, बड़ी किठनाई, बड़े-बड़े भूकम्प आये क्या-क्या हुआ लेकिन स्थिर मज़बूत रहा और जो देश स्थिर मज़बूत नहीं रहता, वो बढ़े कैसे आगे, पहली बात थी। और किसी कृदर बहुत तो नहीं एकता भी रही। तो इससे हमने सारा ध्यान अपना आर्थिक उन्नति की तरफ़, पंचवर्षीय योजना इत्यादि की तरफ़ रखा। क्योंकि वो आवश्यक थी एक तो इसलिए कि हम अपनी दरिद्रता दूर करना चाहते हैं, हम चाहते हैं एक-एक पुरुष, स्त्री, बच्चा जो भारत में रहता है उसको अच्छी तरह से जीवन में रहने का मौका मिले। सब लोग एक से तो होते नहीं, हम समानता पसंद करते हैं, लेकिन सब लोग समान होते नहीं हैं, सब तरह के लोग होते हैं। आप जानते हैं कुछ अक्लमंद होते हैं, कुछ मूर्ख होते हैं, समान कह देना तो फिजूल बात है सबको, कुछ तगड़े होते हैं कुछ दुर्बल होते हैं, कोई वीर पुरुष होते हैं, कोई डरपोक होते हैं, भाग जाते हैं, कोई ताली बजायें तो भाग जायें डर के मारे, अजीव तमाशा है। तो ऐसे तो कोई सबों को बरावर नहीं कर सकता, लेकिन सबों को बराबर का मौका होना चाहिए तरक्की का। आजकल नहीं होता, कितने हमारे बच्चों को नहीं मिलता। हमारे बच्चे हैं, सुंदर बच्चे हैं, वो हमारी दौलत हैं धन हैं, असली धन तो वही होता है। तो उनको पूरा मौका मिले भारत के अच्छे नागरिक होने का, अपनी देखभाल करने का, समाज की सेवा करने का, देश की। तो यह तो था ही आवश्यक हमारे लिए। लेकिन एक दूसरी तरफ़ से हमारी उन्नति और भी आवश्यक हो गयी कि अगर हम नहीं उसको करते जोरों से तो देश दुर्बल हो जाये, कमज़ोर हो जाये, फिर हम गुलाम हो जायें। आप यहाँ बहुत सारे लड़के नौजवान बैठे हैं। यह आप भूलिए नहीं कि उसी समय तक देश स्वतंत्र रहता है जब तक उसमें दम है। जब तक उसमें शक्ति हो, तब तक वो त्याग कर सकता है। आख़िर में वही देश स्वतंत्र होते हैं जो स्वतंत्रता के लिए सब कुछ त्याग करने को तैयार हैं और जान तक भी देने को तैयार हैं। तब असली शक्ति होती है लेकिन जान देना भी काफी नहीं होता है। हमारे यहाँ भी बड़े जान देने वाले आदमी थे, बड़े वीर पुरुष, देशभर में। वहाँ राजस्थान में, किसने नहीं राजस्थान की कहानियाँ पढ़ी हैं वीरता की। लेकिन मुझे दुःख होता है कहते हुए कि उस वीरता के साथ मूर्खता भी बहुत थी, आपस में लड़े वो राजस्थान के लोग, बड़े वीर पुरुष अपनी जान दें, किसकी मूँछ ऊँची है किसकी नीची है, और देश को भूल जायें और आख़िर में हारे, वीर पुरुष होते हुए भी हारे।

तो आजकल की दुनिया को समझना है। शक्ति कैसे आती है? दिल में होती है माना मैंने, लेकिन शक्ति आती है आजकल की दुनिया को समझ के, आजकल की दुनिया में जो शक्तियाँ हैं विज्ञान की, उसको समझ के, विज्ञान को समझ के। विज्ञान ने इन देशों की शक्ति बढ़ाई, अंग्रेज़ हैं, अमेरिका है, रूस है इनकी, इनकी धन-दौलत बढ़ायी, उस तरह से। यह बातें हैं। तो इस सारे चित्र को अपने सामने रख कर हमें आगे बढ़ना है। और उसमें परिश्रम से बढ़ना है कोई और उपाय नहीं है, और चाहे कोई आपकी नीति हो, आप बड़ी बहस करो बैठ के कि समाजवाद है, साम्यवाद है और गांधीवाद है और पूंजीवाद है और कितने वाद हैं आप बैठ के बहस करो। लेकिन कोई वाद हो, उसके पीछे परिश्रम वाद है, उसके पीछे एकतावाद है, उसके पीछे जो हममें फूट रहती है उसको

निकालना है और मिलकर काम करना है। क्योंकि आख़िर में उतना ही दूर आप जायेंगे जितना काम आप करें कोई। इसलिए आजकल के ज़माने में मुझे दुःख होता है जब मैं देखता हूँ कोई बात जिससे काम में रुकावट हो, चाहे वो हड़ताल हो, चाहे वो लॉकआउट हो, चाहे कुछ हो, वो ठीक नहीं है। क्योंकि इस समय हमारे आगे बढ़ने का उपाय एक ही है कि हम देश में अधिक से अधिक पैदा करें, खेती से, कारख़ाने से, यंत्र से, मशीन से, ग्रामोद्योग से, हर उपाय, जितने उपाय हैं। और दूसरी बात यह कि जो हम पैदा करें देश में धन, धन होता है सामान, वो ठीकतौर से फैले। और थोड़े से धनी लोगों के पास न रह जाये। इसीलिए हमने अपने सामने जो रखा है, चित्र रखा है भारत का, वो रखा है एक समाजवाद का यानी हमारा समाज जो हो, वो उसका ढँग संगठन गठित हा समाजवाद के ढँग पर, बराबर का सबको मौका मिले। बहुत ऊँच-नीच न हो। अब जितनी किसी आदमी की ज़्यादा शक्ति है, ज़्यादा अक्ल है वो आगे जायेगा वो तो ठीक है। क्योंकि हम कोई मूरखें का समाजवाद नहीं बनाना चाहते, न दुर्बल लोगों का, तगड़े लोगों का जो देश चल सके। तो यह हमारे सामने है और ज़रा भी हम इसमें ढील दें तो मालूम नहीं दुनिया में क्या तूफान आए, उसमें हम गोता खा जायें।

तो मैं चाहता हूँ, अधिक तो मैं यहाँ आज ठहर नहीं सकता थोड़ी देर में रेल आयेगी, मुझे जाना है। लेकिन मैं चाहता हूँ आपको याद दिलाये कि आप सोचें कि हम एक बड़े क्रान्तिकारी समय पर जीवित हैं और क्रान्तिकारी समय में विशेषकर वहीं लोग सिर ऊँचे रख सकते हैं, आगे बढ़ते हैं, जिनमें एकता हो, जिनमें दृढ़ता हो, जिनमें काम करने की शक्ति हो, और जो छोटे-छोटे झगड़ों में नहीं पड़ें। यह हमारा बड़ा इम्तहान है।

अभी थोड़े दिन में तीसरी पंचवर्षीय योजना आने वाली है। अगले वर्ष में आयेगी, उसका एक मसविदा अभी से छपेगा। उस पर आप विचार करें, देखें। यह आपस के बहस की बात नहीं है। यह तो देखना है कि कौन-सा ठीक रास्ता है किस पर हम चलें, जिससे जल्दी-से-जल्दी हम आगे बढ़ें। अब इसमें पुरुष-स्त्री सबों का भाग है। क्योंकि असल में देश बढ़ता है तो तीन तरह बढ़ता है एक तरह से नहीं। एक तो राजनैतिक। तो हमारे देश में राजनैतिक क्रान्ति हुई, अंग्रेज़ हटे यहाँ से, स्वराज हुआ, वो बात हो गयी। दूसरा और बहुत आवश्यक है आर्थिक क्रान्ति, जिससे लोगों की आर्थिक स्थिति अच्छी हो। वो होती है उसी तरह से कि अधिक हम पैदा करें और उसका बँटवारा ठीक हो। तीसरे उससे जुड़ी हुई है सामाजिक क्रान्ति, समाज का संगठन कैसे हो? यह बहुत आवश्यक है। हमारे समाज में बहुत अच्छी बातें हैं, और हमारे समाज में बहुत ख़राब बातें हैं। जातिभेद हमारे समाज की ऐसी चीज़ है जिसने हमारे देश को गिराकर दुर्बल किया, वो रह नहीं सकता इस देश में, उसको हटाना है और जड़ से हटाना है उससे कोई समझौता नहीं हो सकता, जातिभेद से। क्योंकि जातिभेद समाजवाद के विरुद्ध है, विरोधी है, वो समानता का विरोधी है, ऊँच-नीच बातें करता है और हमारे देश में खाने कर देता है, अलग-अलग खानों में रहो। हाँ, पूरेतौर से हटाने में कुछ समय लगे। लेकिन इसको याद रखना है कि इसको हटाना है।

एक बात में आपको विशेषकर बताऊँ जिससे गुजरात कुछ बदनाम है। आप जानते हैं कि गुजरात में कितनी स्त्रियाँ आत्महत्या करती हैं। यह बड़े आश्चर्य और शर्म की बात है कि ऐसी बात एक ऐसे प्रदेश में हमारे हो जो कि एक अगुवा प्रदेश गिना जाता है। यहाँ की स्त्रियाँ अच्छी हैं, सुंदर हैं, काम करने वाली हैं, पिरश्रम करने वाली हैं, हमारे स्वराज की लड़ाई में बड़ा भाग लिया, सब कुछ। तो इसके माने क्या कि आत्महत्या करें? इसके माने यही हैं कि आपके समाज में ख़राबी

है, आपके समाज के संगठन में ख़राबी है कुछ न कुछ। और यह कोई पर्दा डालने की बात नहीं है। पर्दा हटा के देखना है कि किस तरह से होता है और इस बड़ी बीमारी का इलाज निकालना है। सौराष्ट्र में बहुत, मैं तो हैरान हो गया देख के कि कितनी आत्महत्याएँ वहाँ स्त्रियाँ करती हैं।

तो यह सब, चारों तरफ़ से हमें बढ़ना है एक तरफ़ से नहीं बढ़ते हैं। हमें पुराने ज़माने से निकल कर नये युग में आना है। हमें पुराने भारत को तो रखना ही है लेकिन उसके ऊपर नया भारत बनाना है। जिसमें सब लोग भारत के रहने वाले पुरुष-स्त्री और विशेषकर बच्चे आगे बढ़ सकें, यह हमें काम करने हैं और यह कोई सरकारी हुकुम से नहीं चलती गाड़ी। सरकार तो मदद करती है। जनता, सब इसमें काम करें तब जनता उठती है। चालीस करोड़ आदमी का बोझा कौन उठाये? कोई सरकार, कोई गवर्न्मन्ट नहीं उठा सकती है। लेकिन चालीस करोड़ खुद उठा सकते हैं अपना बोझा, और आगे बढ़ सकते हैं। इसलिए हरेक को अपना कर्तव्य करना है। इसलिए हम चाहते हैं कि यह फैलें, यह पंचायत समितियाँ बन रही हैं, जिनको अधिकार दिया जाता है कि वो खुद काम करें, अफसरों के पास नहीं दौड़ें। इसलिए हम सहकारी संघ बनाना चाहते हैं सब जगह, जहाँ तक बन पड़े, चाहे ग्रामों में, देहात में, किसानो का, या शहरों में, कारख़ानों में, क्योंकि सहकारी ढँग से काम करना एक अच्छी बात है। उसमें बँट जाता है जो कुछ उसमें लाभ हो और हरेक बराबर का हिस्सेदार होता है। इसलिए यह सब कम्युनिटी ब्लॉक इत्यादि फैलाये गये हैं कि लोगों में दम आये काम करने का, खुद काम करने का और यह नहीं कि बैठे हैं कोई ऊपर से आकर कर दे।

मैंने आपसे इधर-उधर की कुछ बातें कीं। बातें तो बहुत होती हैं क्योंकि भारत की कहानी लम्बी है, और आजकल जो भारत में हो रहा है वो भी एक अजीबो-ग़रीब कहानी है। संसार की कहानी और भी अजीब है। आप लोगों ने शायद बचपन में वो कहानियाँ पढ़ी हों कुछ अलिफ-लैला की कहानियाँ, Arabian Nights जिसको अंग्रेज़ी में कहते थे। अजीव-अजीव उसमें कहानियाँ हैं कोई djinn आता है कोई कुछ। लेकिन आजकल के संसार में जो बातें हो रही हैं वो अलिफ-लैला की कहानी से कहीं ज़्यादा अजीब हैं, यह आप याद रखें। और हमारे देश में भी बहुत कुछ बातें ऐसी हुईं और होंगी। तो ऐसे समय हम और आप जीवित हैं। ऐसे समय में हरेक की कठिन परीक्षा होती है, देश की, हर व्यक्ति की, और जो देश कामकाजी हैं, तगड़े देश हैं वो आगे बढ़ते हैं। नहीं हैं वो पिछड़े रहते हैं। कितना ही हाय-हाय करें कुछ नहीं होता, हाय-हाय करने से तो कुछ नहीं मदद होती। यह तो एक दुर्बलता की निशानी है हाय-हाय करना। तो ऐसा मौका है। बहुत सारे आप में जो नवयुवक हैं जिनकी शायद उम्र अठारह-बीस बरस की हो, जितने स्कूल में पढ़ते हैं कुछ, कॉलेज में भी, उनको उसकी याद भी न हो, हमारी आजादी की लड़ाई के ख़ाली उन्होंने किस्से कहानी सुने हों। ख़ाली उन्होंने किताबों में, इतिहास में कुछ उसको पढ़ लिया उनको खुद उसका कुछ अभ्यास नहीं हुआ। तो इसलिए शायद वो भूल जायें। इसलिए वो शायद समझें कि स्वराज लेना तो आसान होंता है ख़ाली गुल मचा देना, नारा उठा देना बस काम हो जाता है। तो अगर ऐसा वो समझतें हैं तो बड़े धोख़े में हैं। स्वराज लेना एक बड़ी कठिन बात थी, मर्दों की बात थी। मज़बूत मर्द और यह मज़बूत औरतों की। गुल मचाने वाले, नारे उठाने वालों ने स्वराज नहीं लिया है। उन लोगों ने लिया जो जान पर खेलने को तैयार थे, जान पर खेले वो। और कितने लोग जान पर खेले कि अन्त हो गया उनका, जिनका नाम भी आपको नहीं मालूम है। और आप दो-चार आदिमयों को, जिनको आप अपना नेता बनाते हैं उनको हार पहनाते हैं, ताली बजा देते हैं। आप उससे प्रेम, मुझे प्रेम दिखाते हैं और मुझ पर भरोसा करते हैं, समझते हैं मैं कोई अजीब हूँ। लेकिन मुझसे बड़े आदमी बहुत जिनका नाम आप नहीं जानते हैं इस स्वराज की लड़ाई में उनका अंत हुआ।

तो स्वराज लेना कोई, कोई सरल बात नहीं थी, कोई बड़ा काम भी सरल नहीं होता है। अगर सरल काम होते हैं तो बड़े काम नहीं होते हैं, फुटकर छोटे काम होते हैं। और ऐसे मौक़े पर हिम्मत वाले मर्दों और हिम्मत वाली औरतों की ज़रूरत होती है और हमारे देश में थे ऐसे, इसलिए स्वराज लिया। हमारे नेता थे बहुत बड़े-बड़े ज़बरदस्त। गांधीजी, इसमें कोई संदेह नहीं। लेकिन उनके, उनके साथ भी लोग थे अच्छे सिपाही। बड़े से बड़ा नेता बग़ैर फ़ौज के कुछ नहीं कर सकता है। उन्होंने सिपाही बनाये अपनी हिम्मत वाले, वो हमारी स्त्रियों को, उनको अपने घरों से निकाला और आज़ादी का काम करवाया, और हज़ार मुसीबतें झेलीं, गोली खायी, लाठी खायी, हज़ार बातें। हल्के-हल्के इस तरह उन्होंने हमारे देश को संगठित किया, मज़बूत किया, आगे बढ़ाया और विजय दी।

तो यह सब हुआ, कहानी हो गयी। लेकिन अब जो हमारा काम है इस वक़्त उससे बड़ा काम है। उससे ठंडा काम है, लेकिन उससे बड़ा काम है। दिखाने का काम नहीं है कि गुलशोर मचायें हम। लेकिन एक परिश्रम, रोज़ परिश्रम, अपना कर्तव्य पूरा करना। हमेशा याद रखें कि हम इस ऐतिहासिक समय पर जीवित हैं जब कि भारत एक नये युग में जा रहा है जब कि संसार एक नये युग में जा रहा है। ऐसे [समय में] हम जीवित हैं और ऐसे मौक़े पर क्या हम करें जिससे भारत को इस नये युग में पहुँचा सकें अच्छी तरह से, मज़बूती से और इसका भविष्य भी हम एक तरह से मज़बूत कर दें। यह आपके सामने प्रश्न और सवाल हैं।

दस बरस बाद, बीस बरस में तो शायद नहीं हूँ, होऊँ, लेकिन आप तो होंगे, और मैं आपसे कहता हूँ कि दस और बीस बरस बाद भारत का रूप दूसरा होगा। हाँ, हमारे पुराने सिद्धान्त तो रहेंगे लेकिन रूप बदलेगा, क्योंकि हम उसको बदलेंगे। इसको नहीं हम ऐसा एक दिद और ग़रीब देश रखेंगे। और हज़ार चीज़ें विज्ञान से, अपनी बुद्धि से, अपने पिरश्रम से, और कार्यशीलता से इसको बढ़ायेंगे। दुनिया बदल रही है और हम फिर से अपने को पीछे नहीं हटने देंगे। तो यह बड़ी-बड़ी बातें हैं आप देखेंगे आते हुए। लेकिन फिर भी प्रश्न यह होता है इस बदलती हुई दुनिया में आप क्या करेंगे और हम क्या करेंगे। आप, भाई, बहन और कैसे अपने बच्चों को तैयार करेंगे इसके लिए।

अब डॉ. जीव राज मेहता⁷⁹ पीछे मेरे खड़े हैं तकाज़ा करते हैं कि चलो, तो मैं जाता हूँ। तो आप मुझे माफ़ करेंगे अब जाने का समय हो गया। अब मेरे साथ तीन बार जय हिन्द कहिए। जय हिन्द। जय हिन्द।

[Translation begins:

Sisters, Brothers and Children,

As you heard just now, I came here once five years ago. That is only partly true because it is the train in which I was travelling which passed through Broach then. Actually it is twenty-three years since I came to Broach. That is a long time and many of you may not have been born then. I am here again by chance for half an hour. Then I shall have to leave for Delhi. Broach conjures up in my mind old memories and thoughts.

79. The Chief Minister of Gujarat.

As the citizens of Broach, you would be well aware of its historicity. Many years ago when I used to read history, I learnt that Broach was a great naval port and two thousand years ago, ships from Rome and other distant places used to dock here. Broach then is a very ancient city which is beginning to don a new garb today. There is no doubt about it in any case that Broach will progress in the new state of Gujarat. But you must have also heard that oil has been discovered here.

The modern world depends a great deal on oil. It is a commodity over which wars have been fought. It is not a very good thing because oil is a slippery thing. Human beings ought to be more stable. Anyhow, oil is used extensively and is very essential for any country. So it is a good thing for India as well as Gujarat that oil has been discovered here and in Khambhat. It is not very clear yet as to how much of it there is. But there is no doubt about it that we have struck oil. I have got a bottle of it from Ankaleshwar.

All these things are happening in the country. But the important thing is what you are going to do. Are you going to be mere spectators, cheering when something happens? Or will you do something constructive? Cheering is all very well but you have to work hard in order to progress. All of us in India today must think seriously as to where our duty lies in these historic times.

Please remember that a nation or race progresses by its own effort and the harder it works, the farther it can go. There is no magic formula or astrological predictions for this. The harder we work the faster India will progress. Sometimes it helps to get aid from other countries. But that is only a drop in the ocean. The real burden rests with us, the people of India. I am saying this because some people seem to think that we can get by entirely with help from the United States or the Soviet Union. That is wrong. We get some aid from the superpowers which certainly helps. But it is we who have to do the work. If we are not willing to work not all the air from anywhere in the world can help. You will understand this if you have read history. India's periods of downfall have always coincided with the times when India lost confidence in herself and disunity and fissiparous tendencies were rampant in the country. The world went ahead while we remained smug and complacent, claiming descent from the great sages. Steeped in our past, we remained stagnant and forgot the world outside. Our ancestors were great but that does not necessarily mean that their descendants should also be great. Usually it is just the reverse. It is a personal matter.

India's downfall came about because we isolated ourselves from the rest of the world. There was tremendous advance in the West in the field of science and technology. Their knowledge and skills grew rapidly while we remained stagnant, divided by fissiparous tendencies, constantly at loggerheads with one another in the name of religion, caste, province, language and whatnot. We were bogged down by these petty preoccupations while the rest of the world went ahead and ultimately the British came and conquered us. Anyhow, there was an awakening

among the people. We became united and acquired a sense of purpose and discipline, the habit of working hard in mutual cooperation, etc. We marched to freedom under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi.

Some people seem to think that now that we are free, we can sit back and relax and need not do anything. We seem to think that it is enough if we shout slogans. We are deceiving ourselves because we are living in very difficult times. At the slightest hint of weakness or complacency our freedom will crumble away. There are great challenges ahead and we can face them only by working hard. You must have heard about nuclear weapons and the arms race going on in the world today. We are living in a dangerous world in which only the nations with great physical and moral strength, a spirit of cooperation and mastery over the forces of science and technology can survive and progress. We must bear this in mind because we often tend to forget this in our petty preoccupations and feuds over trifles.

Take a look at the situation in Asia and Africa. Innumerable new countries have emerged today and gained freedom. It is a very good thing that there is an awakening among the people of Asia and Africa. But you will find that there have been great upheavals in the newly emerging countries. Democracy has been overturned by military rule. There is no stability in the region. I do not wish to make any comparisons because all those countries are our friends. But we can justly be proud of the fact that in the midst of all this turmoil and upheavals, India has presented a picture of stability and progress during the last ten to fifteen years. Judged by any yardstick, India has successfully overcome the obstacles that have arisen since independence. First of all came the trauma of partition and the creation of partition. It inflicted a deep wound on the body politic from which we recovered. There have been great ups and downs and yet there has been continued stability in the country. We have taken great strides towards the eradication of poverty and unemployment. As you know we have completed two five year plans and will shortly embark upon the third.

So you can see for yourselves how we have set our sights high during these last ten to twelve years. First of all, there has been stability in the country in spite of the tremendous upheavals and problems that arose. We could not have achieved anything without stability and unity in the country. We have been able to devote our attention entirely towards economic betterment through the five year plans. We want to ensure a better standard of living for the coming generations and equal opportunity for progress for every man, woman and child in the country. There are bound to be inequalities, physical, mental and intellectual. Some are brave while others are cowards. Some are more intelligent than the others. So everyone cannot be exactly alike. But everyone must get equal opportunity for progress which is not available today.

The children of today are the real wealth of India. They are the country's future. They must be given full opportunity for becoming good citizens of the

country, of serving society and their country. All this was necessary anyhow. But progress has become absolutely essential for yet another reason. If we fail to go ahead, India will become weak and fall prey once again to external forces. Our youngmen and women must not lose sight of the fact that a nation can hold on to its freedom only so long as it has vitality and the spirit of sacrifice. It is only those who are willing to sacrifice their very lives for freedom who can hold on to it. But even that is not enough. We have had great heroes in India, in Rajasthan and elsewhere whose tales of bravery thrill us to this day. But at the same time, their bravery was mingled with great stupidity too for the brave heroes of Rajasthan fought over petty trifles and shed blood for no reason, forgetting the larger national interest. So in spite of their bravery they lost everything.

We must have a grasp of the world situation. I agree that you can get stre ngth from having confidence in oneself. But India can become powerful only by understanding and grasping the forces of modern science and technology. The West has become enormously wealthy by their advance in the field of science and technology. So we must keep this broader picture in mind and progress. There is no alternative to hard work. No matter which ideology you choose, whether it is socialism, communism, capitalism or Gandhism, every one of them requires hard work and unity. We must get rid of the fissiparous tendencies and learn to work in mutual cooperation. We can go only as far our capacity for hard work will take us. I feel sad when I hear of strikes and lockouts which are great obstacles to production. At the moment the only course open to us is to increase production by every possible means, in agriculture, industry, from heavy industries or cottage and village industries. Secondly, we must ensure the equitable distribution of wealth so that the new wealth is not concentrated in the hands of a few people. That is why we have kept before us the goal of a socialist pattern of society based on equality and equal opportunities for all. We do not want great disparities of wealth. Now, it is true that the brighter ones will go farther than the others. We do not want a socialism of fools and weaklings. We want to build a strong nation. If we allow ourselves to slacken even a little we will flounder in this stormy world of ours.

I cannot stay very long. I have to go in a little while. But I want to remind you that we are living in a revolutionary era and only the nations which are strong and united and determined to work hard can survive. We must not get bogged down in petty quarrels. This is a great testing time for us.

Soon we are going to embark upon the Third Five Year Plan. We will bring out a Draft Plan soon for your consideration. We have to choose the path that will enable us to progress quickly. Every man and woman in India has a role to play in this. A nation's progress has to be on three fronts. One is political. We had a political revolution in India when we got rid of British rule and got freedom. The second and extremely important revolution is on the economic front to improve the standard of living of the masses and ensure the equitable distribution of the

new wealth being produced in the country. Linked to that is the social revolution, the building of a just structure of society. Our society has its own good as well as bad points. Casteism has been responsible for the downfall of our country in the past. It cannot be allowed to continue. We must root it out completely. There can be no compromise with casteism. It is totally opposed to socialism and equality and widens the gulf between people of higher and lower castes by putting them into separate compartments. It may take time to get rid of it completely. But we must always remember that it has to go.

Let me tell you one other thing which gets Gujarat a bad name. As you know, the number of women committing suicide is very large. It is extremely shameful that such things should happen in a progressive state like Gujarat. The women here are beautiful, strong and hard working. They played a leading role in the freedom struggle. Why should they commit suicide? It shows that there is a very deep-seated malaise in your society in the social structure. It cannot be kept secret. You must try to find out what the problem is and remedy it. I was amazed to hear of the large number of suicides which occur in Saurashtra.

We need to develop on all fronts and emerge out of the past into the new age. We must hold on to all that is best in our past and build a new India on its foundations. We must ensure equal opportunities for all in the country, men, women and children. It cannot be done by official fiat alone. Government can only help. It is the people who must do the work themselves. Which government can shoulder the burden of forty crores of people? They have to do it themselves. Everyone must do his duty diligently. We want that panchayat samitis must come up all over the country, enjoying greater autonomy instead of looking to the officials for everything. We want that cooperative societies should come up everywhere in villages, in cities and in factories. Cooperation will lead to greater production, which can be distributed among the people. We have also taken up the community development schemes to inculcate a spirit of self-reliance and service instead of always looking to others.

I have talked at random to you about various matters. The story of India is a never-ending one and what is happening in the country today is an extraordinary tale. The situation in the world is stranger still. You may have read fairy tales and stories of the Arabian Nights in your childhood. But what is happening in the world today is even stranger. India cannot remain unaffected by these events. We are living through these extraordinary times. It is a time of great challenges for the entire nation, for every individual. The hard working strong countries will go ahead while the others lag behind. Self-pity will take us nowhere. That is a sign of weakness.

There is a splendid opportunity for the youth of today to prove their mettle. Most of you would have read of the freedom struggle only from books. They have not had first-hand experience of those years. So they may feel that freedom came to us easily and that great things can be achieved by shouting slogans. If

so, they are completely mistaken. Freedom is not easily come by; it requires men and women of caliber and strength. It is not by shouting slogans that freedom was won but by the sacrifices and effort of millions of human beings, many of whom you have not even heard of. You honour the leaders at the top and cheer. You have given me your love and confidence in great abundance. But there were human beings far greater than me whom you have not even heard of but who sacrificed their lives for India's freedom.

So getting freedom was no joke. No big task is ever done easily. Big tasks require men and women of courage and daring. We had people of such mettle and so we were able to win swaraj. There was no doubt about it that we had a very great leader, Gandhiji. But he had good followers. A great general can do nothing without a good army. He moulded the people into good soldiers, men as well as women, and engaged them in the freedom struggle. They braved grave dangers and challenges, bullets and lathis, and gradually India marched towards freedom.

All this is past history. But at the moment, the task at hand requires infinite patience and hard work. There is no room for show or slogan mongering; we have to do our duty quietly, bearing in mind that we are living in historic times when India is on the threshold of a new era. We must do everything that we can to help India through the period of transition and usher in a bright future.

I will not be alive twenty years hence. But you will witness the new India built on the foundations of our ancient heritage. We will take advantage of science and technology and work hard to make India prosperous. The world is in a flux and we shall not lag behind. The question before us today is what our role is going to be in this changing world. You must prepare yourselves to meet this challenge.

Dr Jivraj Mehta⁸⁰ is standing behind me urging me to stop. So you will excuse me. I must go now.

Jai Hind. Jai Hind. Jai Hind.

Translation ends]

(c) The Press

15. Press Conference⁸¹

Question: Whether it is a fact that the University of Moscow has been entertaining applications from Indian students without any reference to the Government of India? If so, whether the Government of India intend to issue passports to such students?

^{80.} See fn 79 in this section.

Held at Vigyan Bhavan, New Delhi, 24 June 1960. AIR tapes, NMML. Also available in JN Collection.

Prime Minister: I do not know. Normally, all such applications go through the Government of India. I have not been informed if any direct applications have been sent. Of course, some individuals not knowing the rules sent them direct. Usually what has happened in the past, not about this particular university, is that where applications are sent direct they come back to us in a roundabout way. That is a practice we intend to follow in any way.⁸²

Question: The applications were referred to the Government of Nepal and the Nepal Government therefore has decided to refuse passports to such students?⁸³

Prime Minister: You may be right.

Question: What do you think of President Eisenhower and Mr Khrushchev? Do you still believe they are men of peace?

Prime Minister: Well, this kind of personal questions are hardly desirable. Each one of us, I hope, is a man of peace at heart. Each one of us is a bit of a devil too sometimes. How can we sit in judgment over others holding positions of high responsibility? We can judge the actions and express approval or disapproval of them, but judging individuals, whether they are in high positions or low, is not normally done, unless you are sitting as a judge and weighing some evidence. I have no doubt that both of them are anxious for peace, desire peace and would like peace. I have not a shadow of doubt.

Question: In your speech at Surat you suggested that labour should not press for higher wages.⁸⁴ Have you in mind a similar appeal to industrialists to put a ceiling on their profits?

Prime Minister: As a matter of fact, in that very speech I said that—not in those words—but this applies to both the employer and the employee.

^{82.} See Appendices 4 (a) and 4 (b).

^{83.} Kalpana, a leading Nepalese daily, reported on 3 June that the Soviet Embassy in Kathmandu, bypassing the Nepalese Government, was directly accepting applications from students for admission to the People's Friendship University of Moscow "in furtherance of a scheme for Communist training." On 5 June, the Nepalese Government asked the Soviet Embassy to stop direct admission of students. The Times of India, 5 and 6 June 1960.

^{84.} See item 13.

Question: Do you intend following up this appeal of yours by some kind of conference which we had in 1947 as a result of which there was industrial truce for five years?⁸⁵

Prime Minister: No. I cannot answer that question.

Pay Commission's Recommendations

Prime Minister: You see, the present proposals, call them what you like, [the] agitation is in regard to the Pay Commission's decision or recommendations. Row, it seems to me that not accepting the Pay Commission's recommendations or reopening the whole issue would be a very bad precedent. There will be no Pay Commission in future after that. Then no first class people, judges, Supreme Court Judges, would ever undertake that duty and therefore we will have to rule out that approach to the question. Of course, the other approach of dealing directly always remains, and is always done. But for a Government to appoint a Pay Commission with a Supreme Court Judge as the Chairman, and for them to labour for a long time, produce recommendations after full consideration, for us, for the Government not to accept them, would be bad and it is equally bad for the other party not to accept them.

Question: One of their demands is that the dearness allowance should be linked with the cost of living index and they have quoted from the report of the First Pay Commission. Therefore, they are quite within the legal bounds, so to say.

Prime Minister: I cannot consider separate things. We are dealing with the Second Pay Commission, not the First Pay Commission. The Second Pay Commission went into all these matters but what I have said is that I cannot go behind the Second Pay Commission's recommendations. Those we have accepted but after accepting them, if any question arises, something left over or something in regard to implementation, that we are always prepared to consider. But I cannot, the Government cannot, just by-pass or ignore what a high-power Pay Commission has recommended. That would put an end, as I said, to all such approaches in the future.

86. See items 234 to 272.

^{85.} The resolution on Industrial Truce adopted at the Industries Conference in December 1947 visualised "the establishment of a machinery for the determination of norms and standards which may govern the mutual relations and dealings between the employers and employees and the settlement of industrial disputes." For details, see http://planningcommission.nic.in/plans/planrel/fiveyr/1st/1planch34.html, accessed on 27 September 2013.

Question: It will be better if you just note down the subjects and then answer later.

Prime Minister: All right. What are the subjects?

Subjects suggested:

The verdict of the World Court about Nagar Haveli and its consequences on the other Portuguese enclaves in India.

Assessment of reports about Chinese build-up on our frontier and also Mr Krishna Menon's speech the other day in Kashmir saying that our forces are inadequate.⁸⁷

Representation reported to have been made by the Rev. Michael Scott⁸⁸ about Phizo.

Progress of talks in Peking.

The Working Committee decision about an investigating panel.

Akali agitation in Punjab and Delhi.

Your vote at the AICC.

The question of Bhopal succession.

Prime Minister: What am I to say about the Bhopal succession? I am not interested in such subjects. Somebody else is dealing with it.

Question: The Thai Ambassador issued a statement yesterday about the negotiations for import of rice.

Prime Minister: I do not know about it. I have seen some headlines in the newspapers.⁸⁹ That is all.

- 87. The Hindustan Times on 23 June quoted from a dispatch published by The Times (London) on 22 June: "Yesterday Mr Menon remarked on his tour that the Chinese threat from the north had alerted the entire country and put an added strain on India's inadequate but strong defence forces." V.K. Krishna Menon, the Defence Minister, visited Kashmir from 20-22 June 1960.
- 88. British missionary and Director, Africa Bureau, London; host of Phizo in London.
- 89. N.S. Nimmanheminda, the Thai Ambassador, who was negotiating the import of about one lakh tons of Thai rice, said in New Delhi on 23 June that India had stopped importing rice from Thailand about eight years before "probably through misunderstanding" and that Thailand had an adverse balance of trade of about Rs 2.5 crores with India. *The Times of India*, 24 June 1960.

[Subject suggested:]

Third Five Year Plan.

Prime Minister: We will have a big Press Conference about that.

[Subjects suggested:]

The Queen's visit to India.

Food self-sufficiency in the Third Plan.

Your visit to Moscow.

Relations with Pakistan.

The new procedure that has been adopted for the first time about the Vice President being authorised to discharge the functions of the President.

Failure of the Summit, and prospects.

Prime Minister: That is old history.

[Subjects suggested:]

Prospects of the future.

The Philippines have sponsored a move for an Asian Summit.

Prime Minister: What? Asian summit?

Question: A summit of Asian nations.

[Subjects suggested:]

Then your visit to Turkey.

Uprising or violence in Japan.

Prime Minister: I am sorry the list is already long.

Question: But could we add one more question—the great trend that has started all over the country, the great emphasis that is being laid on the employment in the public sector being confined to the so-called sons of the soil—that is, to residents of the States.

Prime Minister: Employment in the public sector?

Question: In a number of States, the demand has started that so far as the public sector projects located there are concerned, the employment should go to the people resident in the State and that outsiders should not be brought in.

Prime Minister: You know what you expect me to say about that. It is a natural feeling. In regard to the lower grades of employment it is automatic. The question really arises about the higher grades. There, merit should be the sole criterion; and we cannot have second-rate men employed there because they belong to the States.

Now, all kinds of subjects have been suggested. If I had made a list it would have been somewhat different. I will not tell you my list.

NEW JOURNALISM—VII

[KEEPING THE LIST A MYSTERY]

(From Shankar's Weekly, 3 July 1960, p. 17)

World Court Decision

Nagar Haveli is the first question. The World Court decided many things which are not very clear to me; but the basic thing is that they decided first of all in favour of India, that India acted quite correctly in this matter. 90

90. The International Court of Justice ruled on 12 April that Portugal had right of passage to Dadra and Nagar Haveli for private persons but not for her armed forces; and that India had not acted contrary to her obligations with respect to the passage of private persons.

Secondly, that the Portuguese cannot send anyone there without the permission of the Government of India. In other words, whatever the reasoning, they stabilised the present position there, and said it cannot change without the permission of the Government of India. We are quite satisfied about that.

And what steps have to be taken in the future about Nagar Haveli has to be considered because we are interested in this that Nagar Haveli should function adequately—even as at present—a separate entity. If any technical help, etc., is necessary we give it—experienced men. But, we should like it to be a group of panchayats controlling this situation. It is an interesting experiment, for each village to have a panchayat, and their forming a superior panchayat for the whole area. They have got resources which are, I believe, fairly adequate. But, of course, this is not a permanent arrangement; and we have to see the future.

Chinese Build-up

Somebody asked me about the Chinese build-up on the frontier. I suppose that means in Tibet. Obviously, I cannot give any reliable information about it. There can be little doubt that there has been a large build-up in Tibet. That means they come near the frontiers too. But in what corner, where—more or less—I cannot give you any reliable information. Some stories appear which sometimes have no foundation in fact, sometimes very little. Sometimes they may have some—I do not know. Most of these stories that come, I take it all from the refugees or other odd people coming over, mule drivers and others. There may be some little truth in them occasionally but they tend to get exaggerated.

The other day there was something said about 500 Tibetans being pushed into Sikkim to occupy grazing lands. We enquired from the Sikkim Government and they know nothing about it. They said that a few refugees—not that number but a much smaller number—had come and a few policemen had been sent to deal with them. That became exaggerated.

It so happened that just about that time, our Chief of Staff of the Army⁹¹ was there on the spot in Northern Sikkim. I asked him. He had not heard anything about it. So, you see how these stories get somewhat exaggerated.

Someone has sent me a question—in which he asks whether my attention has been drawn to a news item published in the *Jugantar* about India losing 400 square miles of territory to Bhutan. I have not read the *Jugantar* item. I am not aware of it; I do not understand it. Long ago, you may remember, about eight or ten years ago, we ceded some territory to Bhutan by treaty and it was not only treaty, but it had to go to Parliament and to go through the parliamentary process. This was an area which was considered rather sacred to Bhutan—temples, etc.

^{91.} K.S. Thimayya.

^{92.} See also item 187.

—and we decided and we gave it to Bhutan by agreement. But it was eight years ago and it has nothing to do with subsequent developments.

Someone asked me about the Defence Minister's speech. I do not know what inference is drawn from that speech and what I am supposed to say. There is the Defence Minister addressing some people urging them to greater efforts. As a matter of fact, we have no record of it, neither he nor I; it is a roadside kind of affair. He has pointed out—not that the Army was not strong but—he said we can depend on ourselves, but that our background, that is, our industrial background is inadequate and we have to build it up. He used the word "inadequate" in that sense of this background which is the real strength in a nation and he was exhorting the people to build it up. Our Army is strong enough to do its job.

Question: In this connection is there some truth in the rumour that Government intends to build up a special Defence Industry Ministry—I mean the bifurcation of the Defence Ministry.

Prime Minister: I believe that some weeks ago or some months ago I saw something in the newspapers. I have not otherwise heard about it.

Question: There is one more statement of the Defence Minister which is also not in very good proportion. He says, for instance, "India cannot cede any territory either to Pakistan or China without an amendment of the country's Constitution". Then he says that "nobody in India was prepared to make any such amendment to the Constitution." Therefore, the stress is on the amendment of the Constitution rather than on the basic issue of territorial integrity.

Prime Minister: A perfectly right thing to do. Nobody can do it, no Government can do it even, without these processes. Even if somebody was foolish to agree, he cannot do it simply. Ultimately, it is a question between two nations; it is a question, if you like, of relative strength in the long run.

Tibet

Question: About Tibet, is our Consul-General in Lhasa now in a better position to function there or is he still locked up in his Consulate?

Prime Minister: He is functioning normally, but he is not in touch with the whole of Tibet. He cannot tell us what is happening in Tibet. He tells us what more or less happened in Lhasa, which the Consulate knows, and his chief functions lately have been, in so far as one can judge, from the almost daily telegrams which he sends, are about individual cases, especially the cases of Kashmiri

Muslims in Lhasa—Ladakhis. They want to come to India and the Tibetan or Chinese authorities say that they are not Indian nationals, they are Chinese nationals, ⁹³ and that kind of argument goes on about each individual. They allowed a number of Ladakhis—Lamas—to come sometime ago, but they are very strict about these Kashmiri Muslims in Lhasa. Of course, many of these Muslims have been staying in Lhasa or in Tibet for a long time, it is true; sometimes, they even married in Tibet. We seem to get a telegram daily about some such case from our Consul General, and also about the working of our Consulate building, etc.

Question: There was a report that there is restriction on his movements. Is it still there or is he free to move about?

Prime Minister: I do not think there is any restriction on his movements in Lhasa, but if he goes out of Lhasa he will have to take permission.

Question: Is that the case with the Chinese representatives in India?

Prime Minister: Do you mean Chinese Consuls?

Question: Yes.

Prime Minister: No, that is not so. I do not think there are any restrictions on their movements here.

Question: What is the position with regard to our trade agents there?

Prime Minister: Our trade agents are in their respective places, often having difficulties in regard to all kinds of petty matters but, on the whole, functioning.

Question: That means that they are in Tibet?

Prime Minister: Yes, they are in their respective places in Tibet—Yatung, Gyantse and one in Western Tibet.

Question: What is the position with regard to our trade? Has it shown any signs of resumption at all?

Prime Minister: So far as I know, it is in a very weak state of health.

Question: The Chinese have been refusing our pilgrims to enter Tibet, thus violating the treaty of 1954. Year after year, under one pretext or the other, our pilgrims are being denied that right. What is the Government doing about it?

Prime Minister: If the Chinese are in trouble and cannot protect our pilgrims, how will you tell them "No"? How can we protest when they say that conditions there are insecure? It simply shows that they are not in a position to give them a safe passage.

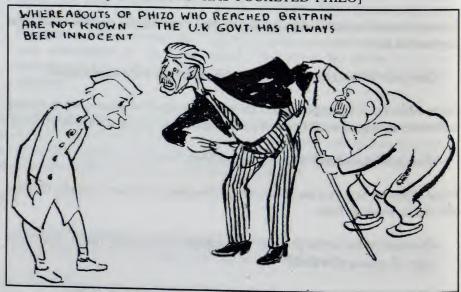
Question: Have you heard a rumour that the Panchen Lama is not satisfied with the Chinese?

Prime Minister: I think there is some confusion because another gentleman calls himself Panchen Lama.

Phizo

Prime Minister: Then, someone asked me about Rev. Michael Scott and Phizo. We all know that Phizo is in London; I think that is certain. Mr. Scott has made some statements. I do not know what you expect me to say about it.

[MACMILLAN HAS POCKETED PHIZO]



[From left: Nehru, Harold Macmillan, G.B. Pant] (From Shankar's Weekly, 19 June 1960, p. 12)

94. On 29 April 1954. For details, see SWJN/SS/25/pp. 468-469.

Question: Have we received any communication from London?

Prime Minister: Yes, we received a communication some days ago, more or less informing us of this fact, which we had known a little earlier. We told the British Government that we do not propose, as at present advised, to ask for repatriation of Phizo. But we did expect them not to encourage anti-Indian activities by Phizo. That is where the matter is.

Question: Did they give any assurance in regard to that?

Prime Minister: They appreciated our attitude. We don't ask for assurances. And in a country like England, there are certain limitations.

Question: Did this appreciation come in a communication further to the one you referred to before?

Prime Minister: No. As I said, they appreciate our position in this matter. I do not know what they will do or will not do. We did not ask them for an assurance.

Question: What is the real story about his escape from India?

Prime Minister: It is a very old story; it was a long time ago. Obviously, we knew that he was in Pakistan for a very considerable time. He went from Pakistan to Europe. You perhaps know that he is supposed to have a forged passport from San Salvador.

Question: When some passengers were going to UK with forged passports, they were stopped at the London airport itself and they were not allowed to enter the city. Immediately a plane was arranged and they were sent back to this country. Why [was] not the same thing done in the case of Phizo?

Prime Minister: I suppose his forged passport was not detected. The other was a large group travelling with forged passports and the British Customs came to know about it before hand. Here an individual sneaked in with a San Salvadori passport.

Question: Recently Phizo issued a statement asking for a commission to enquire into the conditions in the Naga Hills. What are your reactions? What do you think about that statement?

^{95.} The Acting British High Commissioner in New Delhi informed the MEA on 16 June about Phizo's presence in London. This was reported in *The Times of India*, 17 June 1960. See also Appendix 34.

Prime Minister: I saw something like it. I didn't think about it. I ignore it completely. The whole idea is ridiculous. I do not know who is going to be on the Commission to come and judge what is happening in the Naga Hills.

Question: Has Phizo any influence still in Naga land?

Prime Minister: I suppose he has some influence, but, broadly speaking, it has been a diminishing influence, and a considerable majority of the Nagas have been functioning in that convention which was held there. ⁹⁶ I am told that probably at least 75 per cent of the Nagas are supporting the Convention which is opposed to Phizo.

Question: Is any foreign Power behind this independence movement in Naga land?

Prime Minister: That I do not know: if I knew, it would hardly be proper for me to say so.

Question: Do you think that this granting of asylum to Phizo is an unfriendly act on the part of the Commonwealth towards India?

Prime Minister: Well, to begin with, the granting of an asylum may not be liked, but it is always the prerogative of any Government. We would not like our right to grant asylum to be questioned by anybody, if we want to give asylum. Secondly, this is not a question of granting asylum at all. A man has got in there under false pretences, you might say. He has not asked for asylum, he has not been given asylum, he is there. What attitude the British Government or somebody else might take is rather a matter for the future. The whole thing has been done in a very hush-hush way so far as one can see, not by the British Government I mean, but by others.

Question: Now that it is widely known that he has entered UK, with a forged passport, is the British Government not competent to take any action against him?

Prime Minister: These are questions for the British Government to answer.

Question: Do you feel unhappy over the whole incident or not?

 The Third Naga People's Convention was held at Mokokchung, Nagaland, 22-26 October 1959. Prime Minister: Why should I feel unhappy? I am not at all upset by it.

Question: Is Phizo an Indian national or a national of the country from which he secured a passport?

Prime Minister: Is he an Indian national or national of San Salvador? Is that your question? That raises all kinds of legal issues. If he is an Indian national, as presumably he is, then, under the British laws, he cannot easily be pushed out; that is, Commonwealth people cannot be pushed out, passport or no passport. If on the other hand they treat him according to his passport, he will be treated otherwise.

Question: Many Sikhs were pushed out from England last year or so on reaching London because they had no passport.

Prime Minister: You are referring to cases of forged passports? Are you? The cases are quite different.

Question: In our representation made to the British Government, Phizo has been described as a "fugitive from Indian justice". Does it mean that it is our intention to punish him according to law for the offences he is alleged to have committed?

Prime Minister: There have been warrants out against him for very serious offences in the past, many years ago. Subsequently, you will remember, we proclaimed a general amnesty for offences committed previous to that. So, I do not quite know how that would apply, but anyhow, apart from the strict legal interpretations, our broad policy in the Naga area has been always to treat the people there with considerable leniency, considering them as our own people, as they are, and to win them over. Naturally, where terroristic activities, and sniping goes on, our armed forces come into action. But not with any idea to take revenge and all that. That broad policy applies to everybody, including, I suppose, I do not know, Mr. Phizo within certain limitations. We are not for taking reprisals and all that.

At the present moment, the position, as you perhaps know, is that just before I went to Europe the delegation from the Convention people wanted to come and see me with their proposals about the Naga area. Well, I told them that I was going to Europe. And since I came back, I have been busy, but I suppose in the course of a few weeks, maybe sometime towards the latter half of July or so, they may come to see and I might ask them to see me and I may discuss these matters with them. That has nothing to do with Phizo. We will talk about proposals for the Naga area.

Question: If Phizo comes to India will his case be considered sympathetically by the Government of India?

Prime Minister: We always consider every case sympathetically. Sympathy does not mean looseness in taking any action if it is considered necessary. That is, we are not out to punish anybody, but every case has to be considered in relation to circumstances.

Peking Talks

Prime Minister: Now we must go over to some other subject. Somebody asked me about the Peking talks. There is nothing much to say. They are proceeding. I think, so far as I know, thus far they are discussing preliminaries, as to how to talk. I mean to say, what subjects, in what order and all that. I think in the last three meetings, they have discussed these preliminaries.

Corruption Probe

Prime Minister: Then somebody said about Working Committee investigation...

Question: Is it a permanent machinery?

Prime Minister: There is no permanent machinery. I should like to make this clear in so far as I can, though it is for the President really to make it clear. 97 This has nothing

[ANTI-CORRUPTION CAUSES STROKE]

You Said It



I heard a scream: I rushed here and found him sprawling over the morning paper like that, doctor!

(From *The Times of India*, 16 June 1960, p. 1)

97. In a resolution adopted in Poona on 3 June 1960, the Congress Working Committee authorized the Congress President to appoint a panel to inquire into complaints about misuse of authority by responsible Congressmen. On 28 July 1960, N. Sanjiva Reddy, the Congress President, nominated a five-man panel consisting of B. Jagannath Das, former Judge of the Supreme Court, V.K. Thiruvenkatachari, Advocate-General, Madras, P.N. Sapru, former Judge of the Allahabad High Court, Hukam Singh, Deputy Speaker, Lok Sabha, and G.S. Pathak, MP. *The Times of India*, 29 July 1960.

to do with the prerogative or the work of Government in dealing with such corruption and the like. That is a separate matter. The Working Committee or the Congress organisation cannot deal with it, does not take the place of Government action. This was entirely a question of keeping up standards and not so much a question of corruption as such, because when it is real corruption, it falls into the criminal line and Government deals with it, but rather with improper behaviour verging on corruption, if you like. That is, the whole idea was that Congressmen in responsible positions should keep certain standards and where those standards have not been maintained, the Congress organisation will inquire into it. What I mean is, do not consider this is a kind of tribunal. That is a function of the Government. The Government may overlap with the Congress since I may be in

[CATCH THE THIEF] FACE VALUE



[On the left: N. Sanjiva Reddy] (From *The Times of India*, 17 June 1960, p. 7)

Government and I may be a Congressman. That is a different matter. But if I have to function, I function as Prime Minister. If I function in the other capacity, I function as a Congressman.

Some people thought this was a kind of permanent way of dealing with all such charges. That is not so. Many charges may overlap. It is true, and in effect it is something which is constantly coming before us, before the Congress President or before me, and instead of undertaking this burden ourselves, we thought it far better for some independent people to consider prima facie what it is. If it is a serious matter, well, it goes through the Government machinery—if it is corruption or a thing like that. If it is not but it nevertheless is improper from our point of view, we take steps about it. All these things, of course, are not rigid. These are attempts to meet a certain situation.

Question: There were reports that you wanted Mr S.R. Das⁹⁸ to take on the question of Mr Deshmukh's charges, the question of enquiring into some allegation that Mr Deshmukh is reported to have in his possession.⁹⁹

Prime Minister: Well, I would have preferred not to talk about that, but since you ask me, the position is this. Many months ago, well, to start earlier, you know that Mr Deshmukh had made certain remarks. Thereafter I had asked Mr Deshmukh to let me have some particulars about these cases, so that I could enquire into them to satisfy myself whether further action was necessary. I could take action just as I do in every case which comes before me. Mr Deshmukh had replied then, that he could not do this, because he did not wish to put his informants into trouble. Then I did not know what to do. I said, "All right, you need not tell me who your informants are, but just tell me what the cases are, I will have some idea what they are like and I could enquire." To that also he was not agreeable. Lastly, I suggested, "All right, leave me out of the picture. If we have some eminent person who could enquire and privately look into what you say without letting me know who the people are, for my part I would abide by that person's advice in the matter." That was the position and Mr Deshmukh to some extent agreed with this. Since then I have had nothing to do with it. I take it that Mr Deshmukh and Mr S.R. Das are in contact with each other. I do not know.

Now, we will go on to something else.

Question: You do not know to whom this case is just being referred to.

^{98.} Former Chief Justice of the Supreme Court; at this time, Vice-Chancellor of Visva-Bharati, Santiniketan.

In the Srinivasa Sastri Endowment Lecture delivered on 11 July 1959 in Madras, C.D. Deshmukh, the Chairman, UGC, had stated that he was in possession of information about corruption among high Government officials or ministers. See also SWJN/SS/57/item 58.

Prime Minister: Not one case. I suppose there are many.

Question: This particular case?

Prime Minister: I do not know which particular case. I have no idea at all. Mr Das has not written to me.

Question: Is it open to Mr Deshmukh to submit whatever charges he has to Mr Das? Mr Deshmukh can now directly submit whatever charges he has to Mr Das?

Prime Minister: I suppose so. I have suggested to Mr Deshmukh to send such evidence as he might have about any matter, to Mr Das purely as a preliminary enquiry, not a detailed kind of business, so that on the face of the preliminary enquiry, it might be said that this deserves further enquiry or not.

Question: At one stage it was believed that Mr Das wanted a more definite term of reference about undertaking this task.

Prime Minister: More definite? We are all proceeding in this matter informally. I do not know of any terms of reference. All I can say is that I first wrote to Mr Das and at a later stage he wrote to me saying more or less how he intended dealing with this matter. I said I will leave this matter entirely to you. You are the best judge how to deal with it. It is not for me to lay down any terms of reference or anything. That is my position.

AICC Vote

Prime Minister: Somebody asked me about my voting at the AICC. ¹⁰⁰ That too is rather old history.

Question: But it is a significant event.

Prime Minister: Yes, it was significant. But what do you expect me to say about it?

Question: We have been told that in the Working Committee, you were a party to the resolution which wanted only nomination of the committee, but

100. At the AICC session in Poona on 5 June, Nehru had voted in favour of a proposal, moved by U.N. Dhebar, to introduce an elective element in the composition of the Working Committee, but the motion was lost; all members of the Working Committee were among those who voted against the proposal. *The Times of India*, 6 June 1960.

later, when you spoke on the resolution at the AICC in response to various suggestions, you said that the proposal for a partial election could be considered, but perhaps later it was not put by you to the Working Committee or there was no formal resolution?

Prime Minister: This All India Congress Committee meeting was held specially to consider Mr Hanumanthaiya's and other proposals about reorganisation, and we had in fact said that we would hold it only for that purpose, because otherwise time is taken up by official and other resolutions and this matter is pushed out and never comes up. So, we had confined this meeting to this.

We had sent Mr Hanumanthaiya's proposals as well as others to a sub-committee presided over by Mr Dhebar. That Dhebar Sub-Committee sent their own reactions. In those reactions, they said that they did not approve of the elective principle coming into the Working Committee, for a variety of reasons which were logically very good reasons. For instance, it is possible that in an elective committee, people who come in may largely represent one part of India, and another part of India may be left out; they may ignore minorities, or at least minorities may not come in; women may not come in; they are not a minority, but anyhow, that may happen. It will be fair, therefore, for the old system to continue, where all these factors were balanced, and this had been the custom throughout. Even when we were supposed to elect a Working Committee in the past, it was hardly ever elected. In Gandhiji's time, a list was put forward, in consultation with Gandhiji, and it was adopted in toto. So, really there has never been an elected Working Committee, there may have been once or twice, and I am not sure.

So, when this matter came up in this form for the Working Committee—there was no resolution of the Working Committee on it—but, broadly speaking, we agreed with Mr Dhebar's comment on it, and I agreed too. That was the logical position.

When this matter came up before the AICC and I saw that there was a good deal of feeling on this question, and I thought also, it was confined there to one-third elective principle. Now, the one-third elective principle did not, need not bring about all those upsets which might occur if the whole was elected. But the main thing was that I felt there was strong feeling in the AICC, and I am generally sensible to such feelings—whether it is in the AICC or whether it is in the larger Indian public. So, I thought it would be wrong to oppose that proposal, even though, strictly, logically, the position we had taken up was the correct one. It is always a bad thing to create a feeling of dead opposition to every proposal that comes. So, for a variety of reasons, I thought that proposal should be accepted. And while the debate was going on, I mentioned this to Mr Dhebar and the Congress President, on the first day. They said, "We note what you say. But we should like to consult others members of the Committee." I am not a member of

the Committee. I said I am going to speak on these lines. And I did speak. ¹⁰¹ After saying that logically, there was much force in a nominated Committee, I said that nevertheless this matter might be considered—this proposal. That is, I supported the proposal. But most people did not seem to understand the force of my argument I was pressing there. Some did. There were two groups. That was all I had to do with it. I had a vague idea that the next day when the voting came, probably either the mover might accept this, or it might be left to what is called the free vote of the house, without any pressure. I was not there at all. I was outside. When I came the voting took place. I voted for the amendment. That is all.

Question: Those who were present there felt that the voting was precipitated unnecessarily because your statement was that the question might be reconsidered by the Working Committee?

Prime Minister: I know. But reconsideration not at a future period, but then and there. Remember this, that nothing happened as a result of this vote. What I mean is that if it had been passed, nothing would have happened, because it requires a change in the Constitution to bring it about. This was merely a recommendatory thing, and it would have to wait anyhow for some future meeting when the Constitution was changed. That is also a reason why personally I was not attaching too much importance to that stage.

Question; According to the Congress President, your opposition to the Working Committee's proposal, that is, Dhebar's proposal, came to him as a surprise?

Prime Minister: As a surprise? It is quite possible. What I mean is, I had told him my views the day before. But I do not know if I told him that I would vote this or that way. He may have been surprised at my vote.

Question: His reaction to your vote was that he expressed confidence in you.

Question: It means that the issue is still alive and the question of partial election has to be taken up again?

Prime Minister: It can always be taken up. It depends upon any member of the AICC.

Question: How do you take this defeat? This is your defeat because it is for the first time that the AICC has rejected any of your proposals.

101. See item 20

Prime Minister: No, no. You are misinformed, or at any rate, perhaps you are only acquainted with recent AICC history. I have been functioning in the AICC for about 40 years. They have rejected my proposals many times.

Question: Would it be correct to say that your vote came as a surprise to most of the delegates?

Prime Minister: I believe it did come as a surprise. I was not particularly interested in the counting of votes. What I was thinking of it was a proposition at that time, expressing one's inclinations.

Question: In Poona, a number of people went round canvassing among the delegates to vote against or in favour of what the Working Committee stands for and not what the Prime Minister stands for.

Prime Minister: What am I do say about that? They lost their beauty sleep by going all round at night.

But the whole point is this, that all this shows a kind of inner conflict between two tendencies in the Congress, which tendencies have always been there: a tendency towards disciplined working and a tendency towards change. Usually, they adapt themselves—they come to compromises—in any organisation. Presumably, that will happen again and a new form will arise, because too much discipline without change tends to make the organisation rather lifeless and too much pulling in different ways without discipline, makes an organisation totally ineffective. So, you have to balance the two.

Question: In most of these meetings of the Working Committee, leaders have been saying that they go strictly by your advice, that you are the supreme leader. But here they have voted as a challenge against you. How do you interpret this tendency?

Prime Minister: Well, it is a very good thing. Isn't it, that we know the truth. [Laughter]

Question: Some of the members of your Cabinet also voted against you.

Prime Minister: What has my Cabinet got to do with it?

Question: Some of the members of the Cabinet who happen to be AICC members...

Prime Minister: The Cabinet does not function there in the AICC.

Question: I am coming to that. But, some of the Congressmen have been penalised for voting against their Chief Ministers in various States—in Andhra and also in UP.

Prime Minister: I cannot discuss these matters because each has to be taken in a special context, special background.

Question: Does this voting, in any way, represent some tussle for power at the top—that there will be a challenge?

Prime Minister: How can there be a tussle for power at the top?

Question: There are too many aspirants now.

Prime Minister: I do not think you are right at all. We must go on to something else. The Queen's visit to India.

Queen's Visit

Prime Minister: The Queen's visit to India. What about it? She is coming. It has been announced; the date has not been actually fixed yet. But, I hope, within a short time the date will be fixed.¹⁰²

Question: In the last session of Parliament there was a non-official resolution recommending that India should withdraw from the Commonwealth. In the face of this lack of unanimity, why did you invite the Queen at this time?

Prime Minister: What is your conception of unanimity in India? What do you mean?

Question: She is coming here as the Head of the Commonwealth.

Prime Minister: Do you mean to say that because an individual or a small group holds a certain opinion, India should be held up because of that odd group? It is an extraordinary position. I am not a believer in that unanimity at all. It means death to the nation, it would never march. Any person with odd ideas can hold it up.

102. Elizabeth II visited India 21 January-1 February, 16-26 February and again 1-2 March 1961. The official website of the British monarchy, http://www.royal.gov.uk/MonarchUK/RoyalVisits/Commonwealthvisitssince1952.aspx, accessed on 21 October 2013.

As far as the resolution is concerned, I forget who brought it forward; but, it was given a very short shrift, so far as I can remember, in Parliament.

There is no question of the Head of the Commonwealth being invited here. A very large number of the Heads of great nations have come here. It is rather absurd for the Head of the United Kingdom not to be invited by us to come here.

Question: It will create a protocol problem because when she is taken to Rashtrapati Bhavan, who will get precedence, the President or the Queen?

Prime Minister: Every guest, Head of the State, gets precedence. There is no protocol involved in it. Surely, the President, as our own Head of State, obviously gives it. If Mr Voroshilov¹⁰³ comes here he gets precedence. The President gives it to him, because he is his guest. There might be problems if half a dozen Heads of States were present at the same time.

Question: You will be creating a psychological problem for the masses. Whom will they consider as the Head? So far, they have been thinking that India is independent. Now they will think that India is not independent; that somebody else outside the country is the real Head who has come here. That is raising a psychological problem.

Prime Minister: I believe that we need a psychiatrist to deal with these people who have got psychological problems.

Question: There are two opposition political parties who had been consistently demanding the withdrawal of India from the Commonwealth.

Prime Minister: Whether they are demanding or not, this has nothing to do with that question. What has this got to do with that? It is not a Commonwealth meeting that is going to take place here. It is the Head of a great State invited by us as we have invited so many other Heads of States here. No protocol problems have arisen when these Heads of States came here. Whether we remain in the Commonwealth or not, it has nothing to do with this question.

Question: Is the Queen visiting India before going to Pakistan or after visiting Pakistan?

Prime Minister: Well, the dates have not yet been actually fixed, so I cannot say definitely.

103. Kliment Voroshilov, Chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Soviet Union, March 1953-May 1960. Somebody asked me about my visit to Moscow—there is no present proposal for my going there. But when Mr Khrushchev was here I did say to him, when he pressed me, that I might come later in the year. That is where the matter stands. I cannot be sure.

Visit to Turkey

Question: Your visit to Turkey has been questioned in several sections of the Press here and abroad—its propriety and the Indian Ambassador's role.

Prime Minister: As a matter of objective judgment, my visit was excellently timed and it did a lot of good. It was not timed knowing about what was going to happen. It did not influence the events this way or that way. It did us good from the point of view of my meeting the people there, not only the Government people but the leader of the opposition Ismet Pasha Inonu and more so my coming into contact with the Turkish people. It was good for me, certainly, and educative. My going there had no effect on Turkish events, this way or that way, obviously. As far as our poor Ambassador is concerned, I do not know why he is brought in. I accepted the invitation in a sense about a year or a year and a half ago, and it was repeated. I thought that I may take advantage of this visit abroad to go there. But I did suggest that perhaps it might be more convenient to go some other time but when the Turkish Government insisted on my going, I could not very well break my word, and so I went.

Question: The Turkish coup has some moral for us?

Prime Minister: There are several countries in the wide world from which there might be a moral. I do not think our country is one of them. We are seeing a lot of upsets in Asia especially. It is interesting to go behind these and see why all this happens, and how far it may be applicable to India or might not be applicable. If you consider this carefully, you will find that some of the basic policies that we have followed in India have preserved us from these difficulties that have come to many other countries in Asia. Among those basic policies is the policy of non-alignment, a very important and basic policy. You will see that all over the world, except in some dark quarters in India, this fact is recognised today. And, I have no doubt that it will be recognised more and more because it is based not on some profit of the moment, but the essential realities of the situation in the world.

Question: Do you think that with the recent developments in Turkey, Korea and, more particularly, Japan, they will gradually break away from military alliances and join the forces of non-alignment and peaceful co-existence?

Prime Minister: I cannot discuss other countries: it would be a presumption on my part. We talk of peace. Everybody talks about peace today. Sometimes we talk of disarmament and sometimes we talk of military pacts and the like. They are all tied up with each other. How can you have peace with offensive military alliances trying to counter each other, trying to upset each other, trying to overwhelm each other. [...] You cannot. It is a constant atmosphere of cold war. You cannot have the two together. You may have for a while absence of active war, but that is not peace.

Disarmament

Prime Minister: Disarmament, of course, is the very basis of any [...]. If you consider disarmament, one can hardly think it may survive. The military pacts may survive for some years but they do not fit in with the approach to peace. And what is happening today is that even the value these military pacts had at one time, say, ten years ago or eight years ago, gets less and less, in the modern context of weapons and other factors. The whole thing, therefore, becomes rather ghost-like, sticking to old ghosts that have no real substance left. Substance is there—the substance of possible war—but what I mean to say is that these military alliances, and cold-war techniques and trying to over-reach each other are out-of-date today. It neither strengthens nor promotes the cause of peace.

Therefore, if I may say, that is the one reason why, there is no doubt, there is a growing feeling in favour of this policy of non-alignment among people everywhere. That is one aspect of the feeling for peace and a feeling for disarmament.

There is a Disarmament Conference meeting in Paris, ¹⁰⁴ considering various proposals. Among them are the recent Soviet proposals. ¹⁰⁵ Now, I should like to say that I think that the Soviet proposals are a constructive and helpful approach to the problem of disarmament. I am not referring to every detail in it, but the broad approach undoubtedly exhibits a desire to bring about disarmament, not to play about with it but to bring it about. They have tried to meet several objections raised by other countries previously. They have gone out trying to meet them. That is the impression created in me by these proposals. It has been definitely a good one, a good approach, which may, of course, be varied here and there in its details. But it is a straightforward, good approach.

^{104.} Nehru was probably referring to the Geneva meeting of the ten-nation committee on disarmament. See item 1, fn 22.

^{105.} Tabled by Valerian A. Zorin, the Soviet representative, and based on the proposals announced on 3 June by Khrushchev in Moscow. See also item 490.

There are two or three main elements in it. One broadly, of course, is what Mr Khrushchev said in UN Assembly¹⁰⁶ that from big and complete disarmament, he has come down to lower levels. Two approaches stand out in this. One is the elimination of carriers of atomic and other weapons of mass destruction. We have been talking for a long time about the actual destruction of atomic bombs and the rest. Perhaps some of you may remember that it was suggested on behalf of India sometime ago in the United Nations Disarmament Commission about these carriers of atomic weapons. It is simpler to deal with the carrier than with the weapon. Remove the carrier and you reduce the capacity of harm being done by atomic weapons, very greatly. You take away the surprise element from it fast carrier, etc. That is what we had suggested and at that time nobody accepted this. Then the French Government suggested it, especially carriers being eliminated, in air, sea or wherever it is, including submarines and international ballistic missiles. Now, that has been made one of the principal things in the new Soviet proposals. I have no doubt in my mind that it is a good approach. Whatever you may do, there are difficulties and risks obviously. But the biggest risk of all is not to do anything and allow the situation to get worse and worse.

The second major proposal made by the Soviet Union—it is an old one—is asking for the removal of foreign bases. It is not for us to talk about foreign bases. But we dislike the idea of foreign bases completely for a variety of reasons; not only because on principle we do not like it, but from the strictly practical point of view, it is not helpful ultimately, as we have seen in recent crises. This can only be done with hundred percent popular support. A foreign base is always a symbol of a foreign power in a country. However much goodwill there might be, it is an irritating symbol and also it is always a reminder of war. It is therefore that it is there. On the other hand, there is this fear of one side becoming more powerful than the other. There is the fear of surprise attack. Any procedure adopted should try to lessen these fears, and disarmament has to proceed in a way so as not to make one side appear to the other side to be much stronger. All this is a balanced approach. All these factors have to be considered. As I said, the Soviet proposals are an honest, straightforward and very helpful approach to this problem of disarmament and they do indicate to me an earnestness on the part of the Soviet to achieve something in disarmament.

Question: Can we take it that you are not in favour of the recent Security Act signed between America and Japan?

Prime Minister: It is not for me to discuss security pacts. Why should I discuss them? But after all what has happened in Japan does indicate that some people there are not in favour of it, and that itself reduces the value of it.

106. In New York, on 18 September 1959.

Vice President

Prime Minister: Someone asked me about the Vice President. There is nothing special about the Vice President assuming these duties of the President. ¹⁰⁷ We did not do that previously. Perhaps the point was that the country should never be in a position where it cannot take an action which an emergency demands, because we cannot reach the President. Of course, may be no such occasion arises, but we should not put the country in that position. We thought of that, and we brought this matter to the President's attention. He agreed immediately and the Vice President agreed. The Vice President, I might make it clear, is not an acting President. The President is President wherever he may be, and a functioning President, but he has asked the Vice President to undertake the discharge of some of his duties and responsibilities during his absence. I think it is Article 65 of the Constitution.

Akali Agitation

Prime Minister: What would you like me to say? I greatly regret it. I think it is very misconceived. What more can I say?

Question: What is the misconceived agitation?

Prime Minister: The agitation is misconceived. There is no "what" about it. The whole agitation is misconceived.

Question: It was precipitated by Chief Minister Kairon. 108 Probably it would not have taken the turn it has taken now, if he had not started the arrests so early.

[CATCH THE TIGER BY THE TAIL] Political Who's What



[From left: G.B. Pant, Nehru, Partap Singh Kairon] (From *The Times of India*, 5 June 1960, p.1)

107. From 20 June, when Rajendra Prasad left for the Soviet Union. 108. Partap Singh Kairon, the Chief Minister of Punjab.

Prime Minister: Would you prefer this process to be lengthened out? Is that the idea? There may be a difference of opinion as to how best to approach it. Naturally.

Question: The general impression is he precipitated this crisis, because there was tremendous opposition to his leadership in the party as also the Chief Ministership of his State. There were a number of things against him as the strictures in the Karnal Murder case. All this is to divert people's attention.

Prime Minister: If that is the general impression, all I can say is that I do not share it. I doubt if Sardar Partap Singh Kairon has ever had so much solid, widespread support in his party, ever before. Even those who disagreed with him, to some extent have fallen in line.

Question: What about the earlier decision of the Parliamentary Board about the strictures and the Board advised him to take up the case and to face the consequences as to the particular aspect of that question? That judgment has been upheld by the High Court.

Prime Minister: What has the Karnal case to do with Sardar Partap Singh's other activities?

Question: Out of an instinct of self-preservation. He forced this agitation on the State.

Prime Minister: You cannot have followed events closely. It is a trivial affair of no importance in the larger scheme of things. You compare it with the Karnal case judgment in which I believe there were remarks about Partap Singh Kairon's Secretary or somebody, persons connected with him with this Karnal case. What is the comparison between a fly and an elephant? It is a distorted view completely. One may be right or wrong about that judgment. That is a different matter, but how does it apply to Sardar Partap Singh Kairon, it is not itself clear to me. If it applied to him, that should induce him to get into these great difficulties? I do not think that is a correct appraisal at all.

Question: Did the Delhi Administration impose a ban on the procession on the advice of Mr Kairon or independently, because there is an impression created in the public mind that Mr Kairon advised the local administration here to follow ...

Prime Minister: The local administration does not ask for advice of people outside Delhi, surely. How can it be? I have no doubt at all in my mind. As a matter of fact, Sardar Partap Singh Kairon was rather unwell, all this time in fact he was bed-ridden. He did not even come to Delhi. You suggest that the local administration ran up to Chandigarh to ask his advice or telephoned to him or what?

Question: Giani Kartar Singh was here in Delhi for two days. 109

Prime Minister: Giani Kartar Singh was here and Dr Gopichand¹¹⁰ came too. Of course they came. They did not come to see the local administration. They came to see the bosses of the local administration. Dr Gopichand saw the Home Minister.

Question: There is some feeling among the sections of Sikhs that indiscriminate beating has been made because they were Sikhs. Is it the policy of the Government to beat the Sikhs in general because it was claimed that about 50 people were beaten and no notice was taken.

Prime Minister: That is what is called a leading question. What do you expect me to answer to that question. Obviously not. My answer is ... But many of you, I take it, were present on those days in Chandni Chowk in front of the Sisganj Gurdwara on the 12th June, and so many of you must have seen this with your own eyes. I was not present. I have got very full reports no doubt not only from newspapers but from other sources. You were the best judges of what happened there.

First of all, I will tell you my reaction to these reports I heard, was to congratulate the police on the extraordinary restraint they had shown, and I did so. I did send my congratulations. That does not mean, of course, that some innocent person was not hit. But just imagine the situation: vast crowds facing each other, police trying to hold them, they being pushed, stones being hurled down on their heads, poor police, then some Akali crowds definitely attacking the Kotwali next door, a kind of mass attack on it, again stones being hurled down all over. As a matter of fact, apart from tear gas, even lathis could hardly be used. In a melee, you cannot use them. It is a mix-up. It is not a real lathi charge in such circumstances. But imagine the strain of this, hour after hour, for four hours, five hours and when ultimately they were gradually pushed back, it is possible, I cannot say, possible that in clearing Chandni Chowk, some policemen may have flourished their lathis and hit somebody here and there. It is quite possible. I want you to see this in the whole context of events there. Suppose one of you had been hit on the head by a lathi, by a police lathi, I would sympathise with you: What could I do if you are in the melee? In these circumstances, it is very difficult.

Question: Do you know that at 9.30 in the morning, Sikhs who were moving about in that locality were arrested, on the 12th June, and they were not even Akalis?

^{109.} Giani Kartar Singh, the Revenue Minister of Punjab, met G.B. Pant on 8 June 1960. *The Times of India*, 9 June 1960.

^{110.} Gopichand Bhargava, Minister in Punjab Government.

[PUNJABI SUBA BEHIND BARS] PROBLEM SOLVED!



[From left: G.B. Pant, Nehru, Partap Singh Kairon] (From *The Times of India*, 15 June 1960, p. 7)

Prime Minister: Why should they not be arrested? May be 9.30 or 12.30, it is immaterial. What I mean is this. I cannot justify or deal with any particular arrest. I have not got the facts. But if there is a big challenge, naturally the authorities want to prevent that challenge from developing, and they arrest those persons whom they consider the leaders or the organisers. That is a natural reaction. That person is not arrested because he has got a lathi or stone in his hand, but because he is the organiser of a challenge. The arrest may be right or wrong, I cannot say that. Possibly, because of that, some people were arrested.

Question: No, Sir, the question is this—they were Sikhs, and not even Akalis. They were arrested because they were Sikhs moving about in that area. Two persons were beaten up in that locality. Two persons were beaten in Sabzimandi and Novelty Cinema, not far from the place of incident. Why were they beaten? Why don't you hold an independent enquiry to remove this feeling among the Sikhs ...

Prime Minister: My dear friend, if such a thing happened, it was either a mistake of the person who arrested them, or a misdeed of the person who arrested them, but I do not understand how you can have an enquiry into this large melée. It is not a hidden affair. Tens of thousands of people watching, hundreds of journalists watching what is happening. What will they enquire into? Hundreds of people will come and give their evidence. I do not see how that can help.

Question: It has been asked by many respectable people, even Congress Sikh leaders like Baba Kharak Singh, to hold an independent enquiry into this issue. Sir, it will go a long way to reassure the Sikhs that they were not beaten up because they were Sikhs. This is my submission, Sir.

Prime Minister: I am always in favour of enquiries, but I just do not understand how in a case like this you can have any adequate or suitable enquiry, and, what is more, when this kind of agitation is going on from day to day.

Question: Sir, many of us who were present there saw the Deputy Commissioner¹¹¹ act with great restraint and tact ...

Prime Minister: It is not the Deputy Commissioner. I am talking about half a dozen Magistrates of Delhi who were present and half the senior police officers and everybody was present there.

Question: We saw bricks and stones being thrown from the Gurdwara.

Prime Minister: That was a very difficult situation.

Question: How does the Government propose to counter Akali misuse of Gurdwaras? Extra-territoriality within the country.

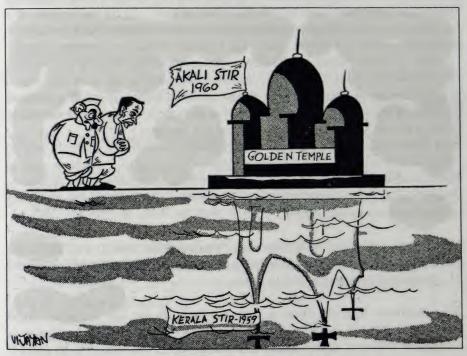
Prime Minister: How can I tell you? I am sure that the Sikhs themselves, or many of them would not like this kind of use being made of their sacred places. ¹¹² It is for them to decide it.

Question: Leaving aside the agitation and police measures to deal with it, could we have your views on the merits or otherwise of a linguistic state in Punjab, particularly on the status of the Punjabi language vis-à-vis the script?

^{111.} S. Bannerji.

^{112.} On 14 June, a convention of non-Akali Sikh parties in Amritsar, criticized the Akali Dal on these grounds. See *The Times of India*, 16 and 23 June 1960.

[SEEING DOUBLE] The Pleasure of Recognition



[U.N. Dhebar, N. Sanjiva Reddy] (From Shankar's Weekly, 12 June 1960, p. 17)

Prime Minister: The mere fact that we are opposed to any division of the Punjab itself indicates what our views are. Surely, as for the status of the Punjabi language, it is one of the fourteen languages given in our Constitution. It is one of the national languages, not only of the Sikhs but of India, because all fourteen of them are national languages of India, may be used in particular parts. That is enough. As a matter of fact, practically everybody in the Punjab speaks Punjabi. The argument arises practically only about the script. If you examine the script, about one-third of it is the same as the Hindi script; two-thirds is that any person even with some normal intelligence can learn that script in a day, or two days, if you like, or three days, if you like. The rest is just practice, a little practice.

Now, why people should get so excited about these matters is beyond me. The Punjabi language is certainly not a developed language in science, in art etc., but it is one of the most virile languages in India. You know the strength of a language; you may have graces in a language; and you know the fundamental strength of a language. Punjabi is a strong language, representing a virile people.

As for my part, I should like Punjabi not only to remain but to develop. As for my part, I should like the Gurumukhi characters to be encouraged, even though my fundamental and basic view is—for the whole of India, not for the Punjab—that we should develop with goodwill; have fewer scripts in India. But I do not wish to do that with any opposition. I think that would be conducive to swifter progress.

But, so far as Punjab is concerned, I am quite convinced that it is necessary and desirable for Punjabi, of course, but the Gurumukhi script, to be encouraged in every way, even though it might involve a certain burden, if you like, on some people. Let them accept the burden of two or three days' hard work, if necessary. What is the difficulty? I do not understand this business.

And, mind you, once, as the Punjab Government has done, or no doubt will do when service depends on a full knowledge of Gurumukhi, Punjabi as well as Hindi, everybody will inevitably have to learn it, because all services depend on that. That is the way of approach, without breaking each other's head and insisting on this formula or that formula.

Question: After the bifurcation of the Bombay State, there is a feeling in the country that if the agitation continues, Government will ultimately accept the demand. So the Sikhs are also feeling ...

Prime Minister: Yes, yes, there is, That feeling, I do not say, is without some justification, That is past history. But the fact is that the case of the Punjab is completely different. And it would be a misfortune for the Punjab to be divided up, a misfortune from the economic and political point of view, and from the point of view of the development of the Punjab. It is not a very big province as it is, and to cut it up again like this, would be a misfortune. Whatever may be said, undoubtedly, this has a communal tinge about it, this agitation.

So far as the language is concerned, I am quite convinced that the language question is one which has largely been solved, and if anything remains, it can be solved effectively and peacefully. And in this matter, that is, in regard to this language matter, I am an admirer of the Punjabi language for its forcefulness and strength, which I like in a language.

Question: May we know whether you have received any communication from Master Tara Singh from jail in this connection?¹¹³

113. Akali leader Master Tara Singh, who had resigned from the presidentship of the Shiromani Gurdwara Prabandhak Committee on 30 April 1960, was arrested in Amritsar on 24 May and sent to Dharamsala jail. He was to lead a Sikh procession in Delhi on 12 June to press the demand for a Punjabi Suba. *National Herald*, 3 May 1960, and *The Times of India*, 25 May 1960.

Prime Minister: No, I have received no communication from Master Tara Singh for many months, so far as I can remember.

Question: You have not said anything about the Third Plan?

Prime Minister: Next time.

(d) Interviews

16. To Ramnarayan Chaudhary-I¹¹⁴

रामनारायण चौधरी: गाय के मामले पर हिन्दू धर्म और उससे निकले हुए निकले हुए बौद्ध, सिक्ख और जैन वग़ैरह धर्मों के मानने वालों में जो गहरी भावना है, उसको ध्यान में रखते हुए गौवध बन्द करने का आपने क्या उपाय सोचा है?

जवाहरलाल नेहरु: जो बात आपने कही कहाँ तक वो ऐतिहासिक रूप से सही है, इसमें भी संदेह है। बौद्ध देशों में जाइये तो कोई भावना ऐसी नहीं है ज़रा भी। हाँ, जैनों में है। वो भावना अहिंसा की हो, सब जानवरों की हो, वो दूसरी बात है। लेकिन ख़ास गाय के लिये हो और और जानवरों की न हो, यही बात आप कह रहे हैं।

रामनारायण चौधरी : ज़्यादा है इसमें, यही ख़्याल सिर्फ...

जवाहरलाल नेहरु : ज़्यादा किहये। हाँ, कुछ ज़्यादा। लेकिन वो ज़्यादा एक क्वालिटी की बात है, क्वांटिटी की बात नहीं। ज़्यादा और कम यह बात है। पहले तो यह याद रखने, ख़्याल रखने की बात है कि हिन्दुस्तान में, जहाँ कि सबसे ज़्यादा चर्चा इसकी है और दूध का आदर है, वहाँ सबसे बुरा हाल है इन गायों का और इन मवेशियों का। यूरोप, अमरीका वग़ैरह, एशिया के और मुल्क़ों में नहीं इतना बुरा हाल है। तो यह क्या बात है? यानी महज़ यह बात नहीं है कि हमारा देश गरीब है, कुछ तो बात वो आ जाती है। लेकिन वो काफी नहीं है। हम नहीं देखभाल करते हैं किसी की, किसी जानवर की भी। हम उसको मारेंगे नहीं, हम उसको भूखा मर जाने देंगे। यह बात कभी नहीं होगी कि यहाँ एक सड़क पे किसी जानवर को ज़रा चोट लग जाये, कोई घोड़ा है, कुछ है, पड़ा हो, तो बहुत कम लोग उधर देखेंगे। वो पड़ा रहेगा, वो चले जा रहे हैं। यह बात यूरोप में कभी नहीं होगी। फ़ौरन लोग आयेंगे, उठायेंगे, मदद करेंगे सड़क पर चलने वाले, और पड़ोसी, क्या हुआ, करेंगे

114. 14 June 1960. AIR tapes, NMML.

This and the next two items in this section are part of a series of interviews to Ramnarayan Chaudhary. These are the sixteenth, seventeenth and eighteenth interviews transcribed from the original recording. The published versions in Hindi and English differ from this text in several respects. Publication details in SWJN/SS/44/p.144. For previous interviews, see SWJN/SS/44, 45, 51-54.

कुछ न कुछ। कोई भावना उनकी पूजा की नहीं है जानवर की। लेकिन एक जानवर की मदद करने की है। और जहाँ भावना कुछ पूजा के ढँग की हुई तो उससे मामूली हमदर्दी निकल जाती है।

रामनारायण चौधरी : जी हाँ।

जवाहरलाल नेहरु : दूसरे यह कि इस सवाल को, गौवध के सवाल को हम देखें उसके आर्थिक रूप में और धर्म के रूप को बिलफेल छोड़कर। आर्थिक रूप के माने यह हैं कि गाय की रक्षा हो, उसकी तरक्की हो, दूध अच्छा दे। वो बात नहीं हो रही है यहाँ पूरेतौर से, कहीं न कहीं हो, क्योंकि यह ढँग. खाली कहने का ढँग कि गौवध न हो उसका नतीजा यह हो रहा है कि अच्छी गाय कम होती जाती हैं। अच्छी से मेरा मतलब जो अच्छा दूध दें वग़ैरह, वो कम होती जाती हैं, और उनका स्टैण्डर्ड गिरता जाता है। और यहाँ पंजाब में कुछ और उत्तर प्रदेश में तो मैं जानता हूँ, नये-नये टोले जंगली गायों के अब हो गये हैं, जो कि बिल्कुल बेकाबू हैं और खेतों को ख़राब करते हैं। तो जो भी हमारा कोई प्रोग्राम हो, कार्यक्रम हो इस सिलसिले में, वो इन बातों पर ग़ौर करें। मैं समझता हूँ कि गाय की रक्षा, आर्थिक वजूहात के लिये, उसकी तरक्की हमारे लिये आवश्यक है। मेरे दिल में कोई उसमें धर्म का सवाल नहीं है। अब मैंने यह कहा तो लोग मुझसे नाराज़ हो गये। मुझे जानवरों से प्रेम है। लेकिन मुझे घोड़ों से भी उतना ही प्रेम है जितना गाय से। क्या करूँ, है मुझे। मैं एक शेर के बच्चे को रखता हूँ। मुझे उससे बहुत प्रेम हो गया है। तो जानवरों का मतलब है सबसे। मुझे सब जानवरों से प्रेम है। मुझे उनको मारना पीटना अच्छा नहीं लगता है। दूसरी बात है। तो इस पे विचार करना चाहिये इस ढँग से, जिससे वो बात हो जो हम चाहते हैं। ख़ाली अंदर के जोश में आके कह देंगे, बंद करो। दरवाज़े बंद कर दें, निकलने का रास्ता कहीं न रखें, तो यह कमज़ोर हो जाना है। फिर सिवाय इसके कि मुल्क़ एक पिंजरापोल हो जाये और कोई रास्ता नहीं रहता। तो इस ढँग से इस पे विचार करना चाहिये। अब मैं समझता हूँ मेरी जो भी राय हो, हमारे देश में अधिक जनता की भावना है गाय की। उसका मैं आदर करता हूँ, क्योंकि लोगों की भावना है, मैं आदर करता हूँ। मैं चाहता हूँ उस पर अमल हो लेकिन अक्ल से अमल हो।

रामनारायण चौधरी : तो उपाय तो आपने जनरल जो बताया वही उपाय है?

जवाहरलाल नेहरु : जनरल उपाय एक ही है। एक नहीं कई हैं, लेकिन एक ही ढँग के हैं। पहले तो आपका लक्ष्य क्या है इस मामले में? यह कि गाय, अच्छी गाय, अच्छा दूध देने वाली गाय बढ़ती है मुल्क में, उनका स्वास्थ्य अच्छा होता है। और ऐसी बढ़ें। जितनी बढ़ें उनका दूध काम में आये, क्योंकि ज़्यादा दूध देती हैं उनकी कीमत भी ज़्यादा होती है। आजकल जो गाय बढ़ती हैं इस आन्दोलन से, वो निकम्मी गाय हैं। और वो बढ़ती नहीं हैं आख़िर में, क्योंकि उनको लोग फेंक देते हैं, छोड़ देते हैं। अभी एक तीन महीने की बात है, रूसी लोगों ने एक गाय मुझे दी। वो लाये थे यहाँ प्रदर्शनी के लिये। 115 वो अस्सी पौंड दूध रोज़ देती थी।

^{115.} Probably Nehru was referring to the Agriculture Exhibition held in New Delhi, 11 December 1959-14 February 1960.

रामनारायण चौधरी : बैंगलोर में जब मैं ट्रेनिंग में था 1942 में, तब वहाँ अठहत्तर पौंड देने वाली गाय मौजूद थी।

जवाहरलाल नेहरु : हाँ, ठीक है, ठीक कहते हैं, होगी। लेकिन कम से कम यह अस्सी पौंड देती थी। उसको ख़ैर उन्होंने मुझे दिया। मैंने लेके उसको भी बैंगलोर ही भेज दिया, क्योंकि यहाँ का मौसम उसके लिये मौजूँ नहीं था, सर्द मौसम की थी। तो बहुत सोचा कहाँ भेजें। आख़िर में बैंगलोर भेज दिया है। तो और ऐसे ही यहाँ स्विट्ज़रलैंड में, इधर, इंग्लैण्ड, अमरीका में अस्सी पौंड न हो, सत्तर हो, पचहत्तर हो, बहुत होते हैं, बढ़ती जाती है यानी।

रामनारायण चौधरी : गांधीजी मानते थे कि गाय के प्रति यह भावना उसके उपयोगी होने के कारण है, चाहे शक्ल धार्मिक बन गई हो। इसिलये विज्ञान की दृष्टि से भी इसमें कोई आपित नहीं हो सकती है। ऐसे उपयोगी जानवर की रक्षा करने का आपके ख़्याल से सबसे अच्छा तरीकृत क्या होगा?

जवाहरलाल नेहरु: तो मैंने तो इसका अभी कुछ आपको जवाब दिया कि उसको आर्थिक रूप से, और-और तरह से देखना चाहिये कि उसकी क्वालिटी बढ़े, उसकी देखभाल अच्छी हो। क्वालिटी अच्छी नहीं है तो नहीं है। इसलिये यह भी आवश्यक हो जाता है, एक आजकल बहुत चर्चा है बर्थ कंट्रोल का। गाय पर भी बर्थ कंट्रोल हो, यानी विशेषकर यह जो गलत किस्म के bulls हैं उनकी हिमायत न की जाये।

रामनारायण चौधरी : वो तो insemination आजकल...

जवाहरलाल नेहरु : Insemination तो है ही, insemination हो और बेहतर हो उनको वो ऐसे जो ख़राब जानवर हैं, bulls हैं, उनको, क्या कहते हैं उसे ...?

रामनारायण चौधरी : Castrate करना?

जवाहरलाल नेहरु : Castrate करना नहीं, ख़ैर जो कुछ हो, एक सिम्पल ऑपरेशन होता है जिससे उनकी औलाद न हो, ताकि गलत औलाद न होगी तो उनको मारने की ज़रूरत नहीं है।

रामनारायण चौधरी: हाँ, वो तो ठीक है। लेकिन गांधीजी की राय में जो गायें दूध नहीं देतीं या बूढ़ी और बेकार हो जायें उन्हें मारने की बजाय उन्हें जंगलों में रखा जाये। जहाँ उनके खाने-पीने का कोई ख़ास खर्च न हो, उनको खाद का और मरने के बाद उनके चमड़े, उनकी हिड्डियों, उनके माँस और आँतों का वैज्ञानिक ढँग से उपयोग किया जाय। तो उन्हें मारने की ज़रूरत नहीं होनी चाहिये और न ग़रीब मालिक को ऐसी गायों को कसाई के हाथ बेचने की आवश्यकता होनी चाहिये। क्या आप इससे सहमत हैं?

जवाहरलाल नेहरु : मुश्किल है, मेरा जवाब देना इस सवाल का। क्योंकि भावना के रूप से मैं सहमत भी होऊँ, लेकिन सोचूँ कि हो सकता है कि नहीं। वो जंगल कौन रह गये जहाँ जंगलों में छोड़ा जाये? आजकल कितने जंगल हैं, कहाँ जंगल हैं, कौन बेचारा तलाश करने फिरे? एक जंगल है एक सौ मील के फासले पर छोड़ने को और जैसे मैंने आपसे अभी कहा, वो जंगल से निकल के खेतों को ख़राब करते हैं। जंगली हालत में कर देने से दिक्कतें पेश आती हैं। असल तरीका तो यही है, वो एकदम से तो कोई उसका इलाज नहीं है, कि जितनी अच्छी गाय होगी उसकी देखभाल होगी, आवश्यक है। क्योंकि लोगों को फिकर होगी, तो बुरी को कम से कम करें। एक तो पैदा होने से रोकें और जो और हैं उनकी किसी न किसी तरह से देखभाल करें, जहाँ उचित है, मुनासिब है जहाँ।

रामनारायण चौधरी : जितना हो सके ...

जवाहरलाल नेहरु : लेकिन proportion अच्छी गायों का बढ़ाते जायें, वो असल चीज़ है।

रामनारायण चौधरी : सबसे कारगर उपाय यही है।

जवाहरलाल नेहरु : हाँ।

रामनारायण चौधरी : अगर सहमत हैं आप तो सरकार की तरफ़ से इस दिशा में क्या कोशिश हो रही है?

जवाहरलाल नेहरु : सबसे बड़ी कोशिश तो इसकी यही है, जैसे बम्बई में और बंगाल में भी मिल्क कॉलोनीज़ बन रही हैं। वहाँ ठीक तरह से रखी जाती हैं, उनकी हालत, क्वालिटी बढ़ती जाती है, और दूसरा उसका यह भी एक फ़ायदा है कि शहर के बीच में जो रखी जाती हैं उससे बीमारी फैलने का अंदेशा होता है। यही है, यानी ठीक जगहें उनके रखने की हों, अच्छी डेरी हों। क्योंकि गाँवों की तो और बात है। बड़े शहरों में इंसान और जानवर का साथ रहना अच्छा नहीं है क्योंकि किचिपच हो जाता है बहुत ज़्यादा और उससे दोनों को नुकसान होता है। इसके माने यही हैं कि डेरीज़ होनी चाहिये शहर में भी, जहाँ चाहें आप अपनी गाय रखें, यह माने नहीं हैं कि आपकी गाय न हो, आपकी गाय वहाँ हो।

रामनारायण चौधरी : डेरी मे रखें?

जवाहरलाल नेहरु : वहाँ आप रखें आप जाके, जो कुछ हो, जैसे बम्बई में आरे मिल्क कॉलोनी है। यही तरीक़े हैं और क्या हैं? जैसे और दुनिया में जो हुआ है।

रामनारायण चौधरी : तो यह हुआ पंडितजी, जो उपयोगी गाय हैं, दूध देने वाली हैं। लेकिन जो दूसरी हैं? जवाहरलाल नेहरु : उनका कोई उपाय नहीं है सिवाय इसके कि उनका कहीं इंतज़ाम कर दीजिये रखने का। और क्या।

रामनारायण चौधरी: लोगों में यह ख़्याल फैला हुआ है कि आप बेकार गायों को मार देने के पक्ष में हैं। इस ख़्याल को एक किताब से बल मिला है, जो श्री पाणिक्कर ने लिखी है और प्रधानमंत्री निवास से प्रकाशित हुई है। उस पुस्तक में गौ रक्षा और दूसरी कुछ बातों पर, जिन्हें हिन्दू परम्परा पवित्र मानती है, ज़बर्दस्त हमले किये गये हैं। क्या आप इस मामले में श्री पाणिक्कर से सहमत हैं?

जवाहरलाल नेहरु : मुझे तो याद नहीं है कि पाणिक्कर ने क्या लिखा है। कुछ ख़्याल पड़ता है मेरी किसी ने तवज्जो दिलाई थी, मैंने देखा था। लेकिन गौ की पूजा का मैं बिल्कुल विरोधी हूँ, सोलह आने विरोधी हूँ और मैं समझता हूँ कि उससे हमदर्दी रखना यह और बात है, भावनाएँ हों, करें, बढ़ायें। लेकिन इंसान को गिराती है यह चीज़ असल में पूजा करना। मैं तो इंसान की पूजा भी पसन्द नहीं करता, जानवर की पूजा कैसे पसन्द करुँ? कोई जानवर हो अगर पूजा करनी है तो इंसानियत की पूजा हो, वो चाहे इंसानियत फैले जानवर तक।

रामनारायण चौधरी : जी हाँ । लेकिन वैसे तो अगर गाय की पूजा करते हैं या गंगा की करते हैं या धरती माता की, तो उससे फ़ायदा मिलता है लोगों को, इसलिये वो भावना पैदा होती है ।

जवाहरलाल नेहरु : वो तो ठीक है। मैं उसका शुरु, जब वो शुरु हुई वो बात मैं, उसको समझता हूँ।

रामनारायण चौधरी : अच्छा।

जवाहरलाल नेहरु: और जिन बुजुर्गों ने शुरु की उनका मैं आदर करता हूँ जिस नीयत से। लेकिन वो बुजुर्गी निकल जाती है और नालायकी ख़ाली रख जाती है, तो क्या किया जाये? आप देखें बाज़ बातें, कोई इससे मतलब नहीं कि काफी कठिन है हिन्दुस्तानियों का दुनिया में कहीं भी खपना। व्यक्तिगत रूप से मैं नहीं कह रहा हूँ, कोई व्यक्ति खप भी जाये, कोई नहीं।

रामनारायण चौधरी : जी हाँ।

जवाहरलाल नेहरु: लेकिन आमतौर से उनका खपना काफी कठिन है, क्योंकि दुनिया में कोई जाति नहीं सिवाय एक के, जो कि इतनी, ऐसी है सामाजिक नीति से अलग रहने वाली। हमारे जातिभेद हैं, इससे विवाह करो, इसके साथ खाना खाओ, यह करो, यूँ रहो। यह दुनिया में किसी देश में नहीं है सिर्फ एक के। यहूदियों में है, उत्ता नहीं, लेकिन कुछ है।

रामनारायण चौधरी : या अब साउथ अफ्रीका के. . .

जवाहरलाल नेहरु : नहीं, नहीं। वो दूसरी चीज़ है। वो बिल्कुल दूसरे ढँग की है। वो एक जो साउथ अफ्रीका में ख़राबी है वो हममे नहीं है।

रामनारायण चौधरी : जी हाँ।

जवाहरलाल नेहरु : वो नहीं है, दूसरे ढँग की है। वो बहुत ख़ुराब बात है साउथ अफ्रीका - अफ्रीकन की। यह ढँग कि हमारे समाज पर जो यह जाति का, caste का असर हुआ सैकड़ों-हज़ारों बरस से और शुरु में तो कम, बाद में ज़्यादा होता गया और जो अब तक है, बहुत है, वो दीवारें खड़ी करता है हमारे किसी और जाति से मिलने में, हमारे देश के बाहर की। हिन्दुस्तानी बर्मा में हैं, चीनी हैं। चीनी दूसरी पुश्त में बर्मन्स हो जाते हैं, दूसरी, तीसरी में। हिन्दुस्तानी कभी नहीं होते। वो अलग रहते हैं, इक्के-दुक्के को छोड़ के। नई बात है। कहीं भी आप देखें हिन्दुस्तानी फैले हैं छोड़ के। नई बात है। कहीं भी आप देखें हिन्दुस्तानी फैले हैं काफी दुनिया में, हमेशा अलग हैं, मिलते नहीं औरों से। बल्कि कहीं-कहीं यह मुसीबत है कि कहीं गुजराती हैं, तो गुजराती बैठे हैं एक कोने में, मारवाड़ी बैठे हैं, वो मलयाली अलग बैठे हैं, वो खुद हिन्दुस्तानी भी नहीं मिलते हैं। तो यह तो हमारी एक जो कुछ कहिये सभ्यता, परम्परा से सिलसिले चले आते हैं, जो कि अच्छे नहीं हैं और आजकल की दुनिया में वो ख़ासतौर से रुकावट होती है, जबिक मिलना-जुलना दिन रात होता है। और यह एक वजह है कि आसानी से लोग हमें समझते नहीं हैं बाहर। बाज़ लोग हैं जो ज़्यादा जानकारी रखते हैं। वो बड़ा आदर करते हैं हमारे पुराने दर्शन का, बहुत सारी बातों का, हममें जो हैं। हमारी फिलॉसफी वग़ैरह, वो ठीक है, लेकिन मामूली आदमी यूरोप क्या, अमरीका क्या, एशिया क्या, अफ्रीका क्या, नहीं आसानी से मिल सकता है। और उसी से मिल सकता है खुद जिस हिन्दुस्तानी का ढँग कुछ यूरोपियन हो गया है। क्योंकि वो caste से ज़रा अलग हो गया तो उससे मिल सकता है। यहाँ आते हैं बाहर से विद्यार्थी, जो स्कॉलरशिप लेते हैं वहाँ अफ्रीका वगैरह से। वो परेशान रहते हैं, क्योंकि उनको आदत है मिलने-जुलने की हरेक से। नहीं यहाँ होती। यहाँ रुकावटें हैं। हम नहीं उसको देखते, क्योंकि हम तो रहते हैं उसमें. लेकिन बाहर वाला फौरन देख लेता है बात गौरतलब है।

रामनारायण चौधरी: जी हाँ, बिलाशक। लेकिन गांधीजी मानते थे कि धर्म के मामलों में कानूनी या दूसरी कोई ज़बर्दस्ती नहीं हो सकती। जिस धर्म को जो लोग मानते हैं उन्हीं पर वो लागू होता है। इसलिये उनकी राय थी कि गौवध को कानून बंद करने से पहले मुसलमानों और ईसाइयों वग़ैरह की रज़ामन्दी उस कानून के लिये हासिल करनी चाहिये। क्या आप इससे सहमत हैं?

जवाहरलाल नेहरु: मैं बिल्कुल सहमत हूँ, दो बातों में कि ऐसे मामलों में आम लोगों की मंज़ूरी से काम करना चाहिये और जबर्दस्ती करने से जो कि बुनियादी ध्येय होता है वो नहीं हासिल होता है, वो लड़ाई की जड़ हो जाती है। यानी एक आप फायदे के लिये लड़ाई मोल लें तो फायदा दब जाता है। और शायद जिद से तो और भी बातें होने लगें। अगर यह करना ही है तो रजामंदी से हो सकता है, होना चाहिये।

रामनारायण चौधरी : अगर गौरक्षा के हिमायती लोग ऐसे कानून के लिये मुसलमानों को राज़ी करने का कोई संगठित प्रयत्न करें, तो आप उसे पसंद करेंगे?

जवाहरलाल नेहरु : उसमें मुझे क्या एतराज़ हो सकता है?

रामनारायण चौधरी : यानी उसमें और कोई implication तो नहीं, इस ख़्याल से organized attempt वो करें उनको राज़ी करने का?

जवाहरलाल नेहरु : देखिये, इसमें दो बातें हैं। एक तो यह कि गौरक्षा या जो कुछ भी किहये, उनकी तरक्की, उन्नित यह पॉज़िटिव, कन्स्ट्रिक्टिव चीज़ है। यह मारने न मारने से कुछ संबंध नहीं रखती। यह चीज़, चाहे आप मारें या न मारें, वो दूसरी चीज़ है बिल्कुल। और जब तक कन्स्ट्रिक्टिव एप्रोच नहीं होती है इस सवाल पे, उस वक्त तक कोई तरक्की नहीं होगी। अच्छा वो तो एक बात है। वो तो ज़रूरी है, बुनियादी है। दूसरी बात यह आती है कि उसका मारना रोका जाये। उसको करना है तो तरीक़ा एक ही है कि एक हवा पैदा करें, जिसमें लोग राजी हों, जबर्दस्ती नहीं।

रामनारायण चौधरी: अगर मुसलमानों वग़ैरह की रज़ामन्दी के बिना गौवध बंद करने का कानून भारतीय पार्लियामेंट पास करे, तो क्या उस पर यह एतराज़ वाजिब न होगा कि यहाँ हिन्दुस्तान में हिन्दुओं का बहुमत है और हिन्दू धर्म में गाय को मारना पाप समझा जाता है। इसलिये वे अगर गौवध को जुर्म करार दे सकते हैं, तो पाकिस्तान में जहाँ मूर्तिपूजा को इस्लाम धर्म के अनुसार पाप समझा जाता है लेकिन वहाँ मुसलमानों का बहुमत है, इसलिए वे बुतपरस्ती को कानूनन अपराध ठहरा सकते हैं?

जवाहरलाल नेहरु : हमारे तो कई प्रदेशों में कानून बने है गौवध रोकने के। आप पार्लियामेंट का जो कहते हैं वो बिहार में, मध्य प्रदेश में, शायद उत्तर प्रदेश में, हो सकता है कहीं और भी...

रामनारायण चौधरी : राजस्थान में भी है, पंजाब में भी है।

जवाहरलाल नेहरु : है?

रामनारायण चौधरी : जी हाँ।

जवाहरलाल नेहरु : हालाँकि सब एक ढँग के नहीं, ज़रा ज़रा फ़र्क़ है।

रामनारायण चौधरी : फुर्क् है?

जवाहरलाल नेहरु : और यह कानून आख़िर में सुप्रीम कोर्ट के सामने आया है। हमारे विधान के अन्दर जो है कि नहीं, क्योंकि विधान कहता है हरेक को अधिकार है अपने रास्ते पर चलने का

कमोबेश। और ये रुकावटें डालते हैं। तो मुझे तफसील नहीं याद है, लेकिन मोटी तौर से उन्होंने उन कानूनों को स्वीकार किया एक दर्जे तक और एक दर्जे नहीं किया। हमारे विधान में लिखा है कि समाज का कर्तव्य होना चाहिये कि गायों का, सब गायों नहीं, दूध वग़ैरह देने वाली गायें, यह और वो करना चाहिये, उनकी रक्षा करनी चाहिये। तो उन्होंने कहा कि जो कानून इस दर्जे तक हो वो ठीक है। जो इससे अधिक बढ़ता है बहुत, वो रुकावट डालता है। उसको उन्होंने रद्द कर दिया। अब मुझे ठीक याद नहीं किस लाइन पर रद्द किया, लेकिन कुछ न कुछ रद्द किया। कुछ न कुछ हुआ था। तो मैं तो पसंद नहीं करता और मैंने इसका इसलिये विरोध किया कि कानून को उसमें लाना नहीं चाहिये, एक शोभा नहीं देता ज़बर्दस्ती इस तरह से करना। यों वाकया यह है कि मुख़्तिलफ़ वजूहात से तो बहुत बहुत कम हो गया, बल्कि बंद हो गया है।

रामनारायण चौधरी : जी हाँ।

जवाहरलाल नेहरु : ठीक है।

रामनारायण चौधरी : क़रीब क़रीब ...

जवाहरलाल नेहरु : बंद हो गया है।

रामनारायण चौधरी: गांधीजी मानते थे कि गायों को अच्छे वैज्ञानिक ढँग से पाला जाये, उनकी नसल सुधारी जाये और उन्हें अच्छा खिलाया-पिलाया जाये और दूध देने वाली गायों को शहर के पास सामूहिक रूप से रखा जाये और दूध न देने वाली या बूढ़ी व बेकार गायों को जंगली चरागाहों में रखा जाये, तो वे अच्छा दूध और अच्छे बैल देने वाला जानवर बनी रह सकती हैं, और उन्हें किसी भी हालत में मारने की ज़रूरत नहीं हो सकती है। क्या भारत सरकार ने इस तरीक़े को अपनाने की कोशिश की है या उसका कोई विचार है?

जवाहरलाल नेहरु : यह तो आपका सवाल इतना लम्बा हो गया कि . . .

रामनारायण चौधरी : आपका जवाब तो आ चुका है वैसे।

जवाहरलाल नेहरु : सब आ ही चुका है इन बातों में। यही भारत सरकार की आम नीति है। असल में प्रदेशों का है यह विषय। लेकिन भारत सरकार की नीति है कि उसकी नसल अच्छी हो, वग़ैरह वग़ैरह। दो-तीन बातें हैं।

रामनारायण चौधरी: यह एक गौ संवर्धन का भी कोई आपके यहाँ शायद फूड एण्ड एग्रीकल्चर मिनिस्ट्री की तरफ़ से कार्यक्रम है कि ऐसी गायों को जंगल में रखा जाये और जंगल दिया जाये, और उन लोगों को ज़मीन दी जाये जो गायें रखें। जवाहरलाल नेहरु : मुझे मालूम नहीं । गौ संवर्धन का नाम तो मैं जानता हूँ, कुछ कमेटी वग़ैरह हैं, लेकिन यह जंगल-वंगल का मैंने सुना नहीं ।

रामनारायण चौधरी : मैंने ऐसा सुना है कि वो सैकड़ों बीघा ज़मीन देते हैं उनको और रखते हैं।

जवाहरलाल नेहरु : शायद हो सकता है।

रामनारायण चौधरी : एक सवाल थोड़ा सा ऐसा है। गांधीजी यह मानते थे कि हिन्दुस्तानी किसान अज्ञानवश दूध के लिये भैंस को और बैल के लिये गाय को पालता है। लेकिन वह इतना ग़रीब है कि दो जानवरों का बोझा एक साथ बर्दाश्त नहीं कर सकता। और नतीजा यह होता है कि भैंस के साथ लाड-प्यार किया जाता है और गाय की लापरवाही की जाती है। लेकिन जानकार लोगों का कहना है कि गाय ही dual-purpose animal हो सकती है, भैंस नहीं हो सकती, क्योंकि भैंसा खेती के लिये बैल के मुक़ाबले में बहुत कम मुफीद है। इसलिये गांधीजी भैंस को गाय का सबसे बड़ा दुश्मन मानते थे। आपके इस बारे में क्या विचार हैं?

जवाहरलाल नेहरु : कोई राय नहीं है। मैंने इस मामले पर कोई ग़ौर नहीं किया और न मुझे इसमें दिलचस्पी है। लेकिन यह याद रखें आप कि भैंस दो ही चार मुल्क़ों में दुनिया में होती है, कुछ हिन्दुस्तान में, कुछ इण्डो-चाइना वग़ैरह में।

रामनारायण चौधरी : कुछ इटली में।

जवाहरलाल नेहरु : कुछ इधर उधर, अफ्रीका में शायद कहीं।

रामनारायण चौधरी : जी हाँ।

जवाहरलाल नेहरु : ज़्यादा फैली नहीं हैं भैंस।

रामनारायण चौधरी : लेकिन हमारे यहाँ तो यह सवाल काफी हैं, हमारे यहाँ तो भैंस काफी हैं।

जवाहरलाल नेहरु : काफी हैं, लेकिन गाय की दुश्मन हैं कि नहीं। भैंस के दूध से बहुत फ़ायदा होता है, गाय का दूध बेहतर गिना जाये यह और बात है। मैं नहीं कह सकता, मैं इस पर राय नहीं दे सकता, लेकिन भैंस का दूध बहुत माकूल चीज़ है। अगर हमारे बच्चों को भैंस का दूध मिले, गरीब बच्चों को, तो उनकी ज़िन्दगी बदल जाये।

रामनारायण चौधरी : कानून द्वारा गौरक्षा चाहने वालों में से एक तबके को यह शिकायत है कि जिन राज्यों ने गौवध का कानून बना दिया है, उन्हें आप उसका अमल कराने में हतोत्साह

करते हैं। यह कहाँ तक सही है?

जवाहरलाल नेहरु : उसके अमल कराने में मैं कहाँ आता हूँ बीच में? मुझे तो पता भी नहीं कहाँ कितना अमल हो रहा है, किस क़दर है, है या नहीं है। लेकिन जो मेरी राय है कि गौवध का कानून होना ही नहीं चाहिये, वो है राय मेरी।

रामनारायण चौधरी : उससे कोई हतोत्साह हो तो हो।

जवाहरलाल नेहरु : कानून बना दिया उन्होंने तो फिर तो शक्ल दूसरी हो जाती है।

रामनारायण चौधरी : अगर राज्यों में ऐसे कानून बन सकते हों तो केन्द्र में क्यों नहीं? यह भी उनका एक सवाल है।

जवाहरलाल नेहरु : इसलिये कि केन्द्र एक राज्य से बहुत बड़ी जगह है। हिन्दुस्तान में बहुत तरह तरह के लोग रहते हैं और बिल्कुल यह अनुचित हो, नामुनासिब हो, कानूनी तौर पर गलत हो, केन्द्र के ख़िलाफ़ हो कि हम ऐसा कानून बनायें कोई, जिसमें जबरन ऐसे-ऐसे लोगों पर, यह नहीं कि थोड़े से इक्के-दुक्के हों, पूरे इलाक़े हैं जहाँ कि हम एक ज़बर्दस्ती करें, उनकी मर्ज़ी के ख़िलाफ़। फ़र्ज़ कीजिये मैं एक ख़ास मिसाल देता हूँ। इधर हमारी पूर्वी सीमा की तरफ़ नागा वग़ैरह हैं। वहाँ आपको सारी आबादी में एक आदमी भी नहीं मिलेगा, जो गौवध निषेध चाहता है या कराना चाहता है। बड़े विरोधी हैं वो इसके बिल्क उन्होंने अपना जो बलवा हमारे साथ किया है, इसका आन्दोलन किया कि हम हिन्दुस्तान के साथ रहें तो यह गिरी हुई क़ौम है जो कि गाय की पूजा करती है, वो हमें भी उतना गिराना चाहती है।

रामनारायण चौधरी : अच्छा ।

जवाहरलाल नेहरु : हम नहीं करेंगे, यह ख़ास वजह उन्होंने बनाई । या दूसरी एक मिसाल लीजिये। गाय को छोड़िये। मैं नहीं तैयार हूँ कि ज़बर्दस्ती नागों में या कहीं भी ऐसे कबायल में, मैं शराब को पीना भी ज़बर्दस्ती रोकूँ, मैं नहीं तैयार हूँ उसको करने को। वो उनकी सारी ज़िन्दगी से इतना बँधा हुआ है, उनका नाच, गाना, रहना, कि मैं जाके उनको अपनी राय में ऊँचा करने की, सँभालने की कोशिश करुँ, तो उनके सारे सामाजिक जीवन को मैं ख़तम कर देता हूँ। यह उचित नहीं है। यह और बात है कि वो आप हल्के हल्के बदलें, छोड़ें। इसलिये भारत सरकार को ऐसे कानून बनाने बहुत ख़तरनाक हैं। लोग अपने गाँव में रहके अपने गाँव को देखते हैं, लेकिन उनके गाँव से कहीं कोई अलग-अलग किस्म के लोग रहते हैं।

रामनारायण चौधरी : जी हाँ।

जवाहरलाल नेहरु : भारत में।

[Translation begins:

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: What measures are you taking to stop cow slaughter in view of the deep feeling among the Hindus and the followers of the offshoots of Hinduism, like Buddhism, Jainism, Sikhism, etc., against it?

Jawaharlal Nehru: It is doubtful as to what you have said is historically sound. There is no such feeling in the Buddhist countries. There is a feeling among the Jains of non-violence towards all living creatures but it is not particularly for cows only, as you are saying.

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: There is a strong feeling.

Jawaharlal Nehru: Yes, that may be so, but that is a matter of quality, not quantity. First of all, it should be remembered that in India where there is so much talk of it, and milk is regarded is pure, cows and other cattle are extremely badly looked after. Their condition is not so bad in Europe, the United States, and other countries of Asia. It is not merely because we are poor though it may be partly that. We just do not look after any animal. We do not kill them but let them die of starvation. The kind of thing that happens here—that we let a wounded animal lie on the road for days and not pay attention—does not happen in Europe and other countries. It will immediately be given medical care. They do not worship animals but treat them with loving care. Where the attitude is one of worship, ordinary sympathy goes.

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: Yes.

Jawaharlal Nehru: Secondly, we have to look at the problem from the economic point of view, leaving aside the religious point of view. What I mean is, that the cows should be well looked after so that they give good milk. That is not happening here. The result of all this anti-cow slaughter feeling is that good quality cows become rare. Their standard falls. I know that in the Punjab and Uttar Pradesh, there are herds of wild cows, which are absolutely uncontrollable and destroy the fields. These things should be taken into account. I think protection of cows is essential for our progress, economically. There is no religious sentiment about this in my mind. When I said this, people became annoyed. I love animals but I love a horse just as much as I love a cow. I keep a tiger cub as a pet. I do not like cruelty to animals. So this is how we must look at this question, not merely clamour for stopping cow slaughter. If we close our door, with no way of getting out, it will weaken us, for the country will become a shelter for cows. I think the majority of the people in India respect the cow and I respect their sentiment. I want to put it into practice, but in an intelligent manner.

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: The only general way is what you suggested?

Jawaharlal Nehru: There is one general method; not one only perhaps, but all of them are similar. First of all, we must be clear about our goal in this matter. We want cows to be better looked after, of a good standard, and healthy which produce good milk. The more we have of such cows, the more valuable they will become. The number of cows is increasing today, but most of them are useless. Ultimately, they do not grow at all because people abandon them. Recently, the Russians presented me with a cow, which they had brought here for the Fair. 116 It produces eighty pounds of milk per day.

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: When I was in Bangalore, under training in 1942, there was a cow which used to produce seventy-eight pounds.

Jawaharlal Nehru: Yes, you are right. But at least this one produces eighty pounds. They presented it to me. I sent it to Bangalore because the climate here is not suitable for a cow which comes from a cold country. After a great deal of thought, it was sent to Bangalore. In Switzerland, England, United States, etc., the cows give large amounts of milk.

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: Gandhiji used to feel that though it has acquired a religious shape today, the feeling for the cow arises because of its usefulness. So there can be no objection even from a scientific point of view. What do you think would be the best way of looking after such a useful animal?

Jawaharlal Nehru: I have just answered this question. We should look at it from an economic point of view, so that its quality becomes better and it should be well looked after. There is a great deal of talk about birth control; it should be applied to cows, so that the wrong type of bulls are not mated with them.

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: Nowadays the insemination ...

Jawaharlal Nehru: There is insemination. But the wrong type of bulls should be, what is the word? ...

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: Castrate them?

Jawaharlal Nehru: No, not that. Well, whatever it is, it is a simple operation to prevent it from mating. It is not necessary to kill it.

116. See fn 115 in this section.

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: Yes, that is all right. But Gandhiji's view was that the old cows, which did not give milk, should be kept in the forests, so that there is no special expenditure on their upkeep and after their death, their skin, bones and meat should be scientifically used. There should be no need to slaughter them and nor should the poor owners have to sell such cows to the butcher. Are you in agreement with this?

Jawaharlal Nehru: It is difficult to answer this question, because even if I agree from an emotional point of view, I wonder if it can be done or not. Where are the forests where they can be left? How many jungles are left today? A man would have to go a long way to find one and even then, they come out of the jungles and destroy the crops. So there will be difficulties. The only real method, though it cannot be done immediately, is to look after the cows very well, and if the people learn to do this, the low quality cows will not grow in number. One way is to prevent them from being born, and somehow, they should be very well looked after.

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: As far as possible.

Jawaharlal Nehru: But the proportion of good quality cows should increase. That is the real thing.

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: That is the most sensible way.

Jawaharlal Nehru: Yes.

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: What are the steps that the Government is taking in this direction?

Jawaharlal Nehru: The biggest step is establishment of milk colonies in Bombay and Bengal, where the cows are very well looked after, and their quality improves. Another advantage is, that it is in a separate area and so the fear of infection that arises from keeping them in the middle of the town is avoided. It is not a good thing in large cities to have cattle in the middle of human habitation. It is harmful to both. It means that dairies should be set up in every city and the cows should be kept there.

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: In the dairy?

Jawaharlal Nehru: Yes, people can keep their cows there as they do in the Arey Milk Colony in Bombay. This is what is being done all over the world.

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: So this is about the useful cow which gives milk. What about the others?

Jawaharlal Nehru: There is no way, except to make arrangements to keep them somewhere. What else?

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: There is a feeling among the people that you are in favour of killing useless cattle. This view gains strength from the book written by Shri Panikkar and published from the PM's House. That book contains a terrific attack on cow-protection and some other cherished Hindu beliefs. Are you in agreement with Shri Panikkar about this?

Jawaharlal Nehru: I do not remember what Shri Panikkar has written. I think I remember having seen it. But I am totally opposed to worship of cows, and feel that, instead, we should develop a more sympathetic and loving attitude towards them. Worship is the cause of man's downfall. I do not like worship of man; how can I like animal worship, no matter which animal it is? If one has to worship something, it should be humanism, so that it may percolate down to the animals.

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: Yes, but the feeling is that people benefit by worshipping the cow, the Ganges, Mother Earth, etc.

Jawaharlal Nehru: That is all right. It may have been relevant when it started.

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: Oh.

Jawaharlal Nehru: I respect the ancestors for the intention behind it. But what is to be done when that maturity of wisdom goes and simple stupidity remains? You will find that it is very difficult for Indians to fit in anywhere very easily. I am not referring to any particular person.

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: Yes.

Jawaharlal Nehru: But, generally speaking, it is very difficult for them to fit in, because there is no other race in the world which has a social structure like ours, which believes in living in separate compartments, as we do. We have the caste system and taboos on eating and marriage and whatnot, which is not to be found anywhere else in the world. It is there among the Jews, to some extent, but not exactly like that.

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: Or now in South Africa.

Jawaharlal Nehru: No, no, that is different, completely different. We do not have that kind of racial segregation.

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: Oh yes.

Jawaharlal Nehru: That is of a different kind, and an extremely bad thing. The thing is that hundreds or thousands of years ago, when the caste system began, it was not very rigid, but later on it became so, and consequently created great barriers among the people and prevents us from meeting others on the same level. There are Indians and Chinese in Burma. The second or third generation Chinese became Burmese, but Indians never did. They always remain separate, except in isolated cases. Indians are spread out all over the world, but they always stay as a separate entity. On the contrary, they do not even meet other Indians, but live together in groups as Gujaratis, Marathis or something else. So you can say that this is the tradition which has come down. It is not a good thing and acts as an obstacle, particularly in the world of today when there have to be closer contacts with the outside. This is one reason people find it difficult to understand our ancient philosophy and other great traditions which belong to us. But the common man in Europe, America and Africa, cannot easily comprehend us. He is able to meet only those who have become Europeanized. Students come from Africa and other places, on scholarships. They are perturbed, because they are not able to find a meeting ground with the others here. We do not realize that, because we are immersed in ourselves. But it is immediately apparent to the outsider. This is something to be borne in mind.

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: Oh yes, no doubt. But Gandhiji used to feel that there can be no force in religious matters by law or any other thing. It is a matter of faith. Therefore, it was his view that before banning cow slaughter, the consent of Muslims and Christians must be taken. Are you in agreement with this view?

Jawaharlal Nehru: I agree absolutely, on both counts. The consent of the common man is essential and force would prevent us from achieving our goal and sows the seeds of disaffection. So if we get into a dispute for doing some good, the good is negated and if there is insistence, other consequences could follow. If it has to be done, it should be done by mutual agreement.

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: Would you like it, if those in favour of cow protection were to try to mobilize the Muslim opinion in favour of such a law?

Jawaharlal Nehru: I? What objection could I have?

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: What I mean is that there is not likely to be any other implication if there is an organized attempt to mobilize their support?

Jawaharlal Nehru: Look, there are two things. One is that cow protection is a positive, constructive thing, which has nothing to do with cow slaughter. Until there is a constructive approach to the problem, the cows cannot be well looked after. That is the basic, essential foundation. The second thing is to ban cow slaughter, and the only way to do it is to create an atmosphere in which people agree willingly, instead of by force.

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: If a law is passed by the Indian Parliament without the consent of the Muslims and others, banning cow slaughter, could not an objection be justifiably raised, that since the Hindus are in a majority in India and cow slaughter is regarded as a sin by them, it has been banned. It would be equally justifiable for Pakistan to ban idol worship because Muslims are in a majority there, and idol worship is considered a sin by Islam?

Jawaharlal Nehru: We have passed laws banning cow slaughter in various states, in Bihar, Madhya Pradesh, perhaps Uttar Pradesh, and others too.

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: In Rajasthan and Punjab too.

Jawaharlal Nehru: Yes?

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: Yes.

Jawaharlal Nehru: The laws are not similar in all the places. There is a difference.

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: Is there a difference?

Jawaharlal Nehru: Now the law has ultimately come before the Supreme Court to be examined, whether it is permissible under our Constitution because the Constitution guarantees the freedom to every individual to choose his own path, more or less, and this law creates obstacles. I do not remember the details but broadly speaking, they have accepted those laws to a certain extent only. It is written in our Constitution that it should be the duty of society to protect the milch cows. So the Supreme Court ruling is that a law which decrees that this is permissible but if it goes beyond that, it constitutes an infringement of personal freedom. So it has been declared void. Now, I do not know on exactly what lines it has been done. So I do not like it, and I have opposed it, saying it should not be passed into a law, because it is not becoming to impose a legal ban. The fact is that due to various reasons, cow slaughter has become very much less, or has

almost stopped.

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: Yes.

Jawaharlal Nehru: All right.

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: Almost ...

Jawaharlal Nehru: Stopped.

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: Gandhiji believed that cows should be looked after scientifically, their strain should be improved, they must be fed properly, the milch cows should be kept in a group near the city, and the others in forests so that the need to slaughter them may never arise. Has the Government of India tried to adopt this method, or planning to?

Jawaharlal Nehru: Your question is such a long one that ...

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: You have already replied.

Jawaharlal Nehru: Yes, that is right. This is broadly the Government of India's policy. Actually it is a State subject. But the policy of the Government of India is that the cattle should be better looked after, their strain improved, etc.

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: I think perhaps the Food and Agriculture Ministry has a programme to send out old cows into the jungles and to give land to those who do cattle breeding.

Jawaharlal Nehru: I do not know. I have heard of Gosamvardhan. There is a committee. But I have not heard of any forest and what not.

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: I have heard that they give a hundred acres of land to keep the old cows.

Jawaharlal Nehru: It is possible.

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: Gandhiji used to believe that out of ignorance, the Indian peasant breeds both buffaloes and cows but being extremely poor, he cannot bear the burden, with the result that the cow is not well looked after. But experts say that cows can be dual-purpose animals while a buffalo is far less useless than a bull for farming. Therefore, Gandhiji used to regard buffaloes as the biggest enemy of the cow. What do you think?

Jawaharlal Nehru: I have no views. I have never thought about it, and nor am I interested. But please remember that buffaloes are found only in a few countries in the world, in India, Indo-China, etc.

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: In Italy.

Jawaharlal Nehru: And perhaps Africa.

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: Yes.

Jawaharlal Nehru: Buffaloes are not widely found.

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: But the problem is quite acute in India.

Jawaharlal Nehru: Yes, but I do not know about their being an enemy of the cow. There may differences of opinion, whether the buffalo's milk is superior, or cow's. I cannot express an opinion on this but buffalo's milk is pretty good. If our poor children could be given buffalo's milk, their life would be transformed.

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: Those who are strongly in favour of legal banning of cow slaughter complain that you try to discourage the implementation of this law in the states where it has been passed. How far is it true?

Jawaharlal Nehru: Why should I come in the way? I do not even know where it is being implemented and to what extent. But it is my view that there should be no legal ban on cow slaughter.

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: It could be taken as a discouragement.

Jawaharlal Nehru: A law gives a different complexion to the matter.

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: If such laws can be passed in the states, why not at the Centre? This is also one of the objections.

Jawaharlal Nehru: Because the Centre is bigger than a state. There are all kinds of people living in India and it would be absolutely improper, impossible and constitutionally wrong to pass a law forcing everyone against their wishes. There are large numbers of people who would not accept it. Let me give you a concrete example. Near the eastern border where the Nagas and other tribes live, you would not find a single man in the entire population who wishes to ban cow slaughter. They are opposed to it. In fact, there was a riot and an agitation that if they continued in India, which is a fallen nation worshipping cows, she will take

them also downhill with her.

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: Really?

Jawaharlal Nehru: They did not want it. Or take another example. Leave aside cows. I am not prepared to enforce prohibition among the Nagas or any other tribe. Their entire life is so linked to it, their singing, dancing and living, that if I try to preach morality to them, for my satisfaction, I shall be putting an end to their entire social life, which is not right. It is a different matter that they may gradually change and give up drinking on their own. Therefore, it is dangerous for the Government of India to pass such laws. There are people following different customs and traditions all over the country.

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: Yes.

Jawaharlal Nehru: In India.

Translation ends]

17. To Ramnarayan Chaudhary-II¹¹⁷

जवाहरलाल नेहरु : क्या मज़मून है आपका आज?

रामनारायण चौधरी : Gandhian circles में आपके बारे में क्या पूछा जाता है, वो कुछ प्रश्न हैं।

जवाहरलाल नेहरु : इसका जवाब मैं दूँ?

रामनारायण चौधरी : जी हाँ।

जवाहरलाल नेहरु : बड़ी मुश्किल बात है।

रामनारायण चौधरी: कट्टर गांधीवादी लोग आपके बारे में अक्सर ये सवाल करते हैं: 1) साम्यवाद का दावा है कि उसने बेकारी की समस्या को हल कर लिया है, मगर इंसान की आज़ादी छीन ली है। 2) गांधीजी का दावा था कि ग्रामोद्योग भी इस मसले को हल कर सकते हैं। आप इन दोनों दावों को कहाँ तक मानते हैं? आपकी पंचवर्षीय योजनाओं को क्या तीसरा

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उपाय समझा जाये? इन योजनाओं के अब तक के अनुभव से क्या आपको यकीन है कि इन योजनाओं से यह समस्या हल हो जायेगी?

जवाहरलाल नेहरु : यह तो एक ऐसा सवाल है, मुश्किल सवाल, जो कि बहुत पेचीदा है, लम्बा चौड़ा है। उसका जवाब कोई मुख़्तसर में नहीं दिया जा सकता। लेकिन जहाँ तक आपके सवाल का आखिरी हिस्सा है, मेरा ख्याल है कि पंचवर्षीय योजनाओं के ज़रिये से यकीनन बेकारी हल होगी। तारीख़ तो नहीं मुक्रिर कर सकता उसकी, क्योंकि पेचीदा सवाल है। या मैं दूसरी तरह से आपसे कहूँ कि पंचवर्षीय योजना कोई पत्थर की लकीर तो है नहीं। वो तो जहाँ मुनासिब समझा जाता है बदली जाती है, बढ़ायी घटायी जाती है। लेकिन यह बात कि दुनिया की बढ़ती हुई आबादी, या हमारे मुल्कृ की, को खिलाने-पिलाने, कपड़े पहनाने, या और मामूली ज़रूरियात भी देना ज़रूरी है। वो नहीं हो सकता सिवाय इसके कि आजकल की दुनिया के नये techniques जो हैं उनका इस्तेमाल किया जाये, वो हो ही नहीं सकता। कम आबादी हो तो हो सकता है, नहीं तो नहीं हो सकता। और रोज़-बरोज़ ज़्यादा मुश्किल होता जाये उसका होना। और आप देखेंगे कि जिन मुल्कों में इन नये techniques का प्रयोग हुआ है वहाँ आख़िर में यह बेरोज़गारी ख़तम हो गयी है। दिक्कतें हुईं बीच में, जो कुछ है। अब यह गलत ख़्याल है कि उससे रोजगार कम हो जाता है। यह गलत ख़्याल है कहीं आरज़ीतौर से थोड़ी देर के लिये हो जाये, लेकिन वो पचासों तरीक़े नये निकलते हैं काम के और चीज़ों के पैदा करने के, दौलत के पैदा करने के। दौलत के माने हैं सामान। फ़ौरन हम अभी रोज़गार, मालूम नहीं कितने लोगों को दे सकें। अगर हम कहें कि रेलें बंद, सब लोग हिन्दुस्तान भर में सफ़र करें ताँगों पर। तो लाखों, मालूम नहीं कितने बेशूमार ताँगे हो जायें, आपके लिये। रोज़गार मिला उनको। लेकिन उससे जो सामान मुल्कृ को चाहिये उसका पैदा होना कम हो जाये, ज़्यादा नहीं। और आख़िर में रोज़गार भी कम हो जाये, क्योंकि बहुत सारे काम बंद हो जायें।

रामनारायण चौधरी : यह जो साम्यवादियों का दावा है कि उन्होंने अपनी पेशकश से बेरोज़गारी बंद कर दी, इसके बारे में आपका क्या ख्याल है?

जवाहरलाल नेहरु : आप साम्यवादियों के दावे की उसूली बात पूछ रहे हैं या किन्हीं मुल्कों की? क्योंकि अलग अलग जवाब हैं। साम्यवाद क्या चीज़ है? उस पर भी लोग जानते हैं जो चर्चा करते हैं या उसकी बुराई करते हैं या प्रशंसा करते हैं। उसको समझते नहीं। साम्यवाद एक आर्थिक, economic तरीक़ा है सवालों पर विचार करने का और वैज्ञानिक तरीक़ा है। यह बुनियादी बात है। अब साम्यवाद समाज में लाने के लिये और बहुत तरीक़े हो गये हैं। यानी उसमें ज़बर्दस्ती हो, ज्यादती हो, दूसरी बात है। लेकिन साम्यवाद, समाजवाद में कोई बहुत फ़र्क़ नहीं है बुनियादी तौर से। फ़र्क़ हो जाता है कि साम्यवाद कुछ ऐसा उसका इतिहास हो गया है पिछले सौ, पचास बरस में कि उससे जुड़ गया है ज़बर्दस्ती हुकूमत को कब्ज़े में लाना और उसके बाद ज़बर्दस्ती और और बातें करवाना लोगों से। वो तो सिर्फ तरीक़ा है जो कि आप मुनासिब नहीं समझते। जो नहीं समझें, न समझें, लेकिन उसका जो एक आर्थिक दृष्टिकोण है, उसमें समाजवाद और वो क़रीब-क़रीब एक हैं। और इसमें कोई शक नहीं। मोटी बात यह है कहने की कि अगर आप आजकल के सवाल कोई भी हल करना चाहें, तो ऊँच-नीच समझ के क्या करना चाहिये, उसका क्या नतीजा है, उससे ज़्यादा मुमिकन है हल करना बनिस्बत इसके कि आप कहें कि हरेक जो चाहे करे, वो अपने आप हल

हो जायेगा। यह तो कोई समझ की बात नहीं है। और इसी को योजना बनाना, प्लानिंग करना कहते हैं। क्या प्लान हो, दूसरी बात है।

रामनारायण चौधरी : ग्रामोद्योग से बेकारी किस हद तक आपके ख़्याल से दूर हो सकती है?

जवाहरलाल नेहरु: ग्रामोद्योग से आरज़ी फ़ायदे होते हैं। कुछ मुस्तिकल होते हैं, कुछ आरज़ी। ग्रामोद्योग के भी दो हिस्से आप कीजिये। एक तो यह कि ग्रामोद्योग को जो अच्छे से अच्छे नये तरीक़े, techniques हैं, उस तरह से चलायें। तब तो हर तरह से वो बेहतर चीज़ है, अच्छी है। एक यह कि अच्छे तरीक़े हैं हमारे पास, लेकिन हम उनको नहीं इस्तेमाल करें और करें तब वो कोई मुक़ाबला नहीं कर सकते। आरज़ीतौर से जवाब हो कहीं, लेकिन मुक़ाबला कभी नहीं होगा।

रामनारायण चौधरी: अगर आप खादी और उसके तत्व ज्ञान को नहीं मानते तो पहनते क्यों हैं? आप गेरुआ वस्त्र पहनने वालों की सख़्त टीका-टिप्पणी करते हैं कि उनका जीवन वैसा नहीं है। फिर आप खादी तत्वज्ञान के अनुसार जीवन बिताये बिना खादी पहन कर उसी टीका-टिप्पणी के हक्दार नहीं बनते?

जवाहरलाल नेहरु : यह खादी का तत्वज्ञान क्या है, यह जानना चाहता हूँ। मैंने तो किसी का तत्वज्ञान कभी मंज़ूर नहीं किया है। कोई साहब खादी पहनने वाले समझें कि वो ज्ञानी पुरुष हैं तो मुबारक हो उनको। पर इसको स्वीकार नहीं किया मैंने। मैंने खादी को स्वीकार किया कई बातों से। एक तो वो एक निशानी है हमारी आज़ादी की लड़ाई की। और मैंने कहा था एक दफ़े इसके निस्वत कि यह हमारी livery of freedom है। गांधीजी ने पसन्द भी इस फ़िक़रे को किया है। यह काफी वजह थी। दूसरे, वो एक निशानी हो गयी। निशानी एक ऊँच-नीच को कम करने की, कि जो मामूली हैसियत के आदमी आमतौर से पहन सकते हैं वो भी पहनें, हालाँकि फ़र्क़ है उसमें, लेकिन पहनें। हम ज़रा ज़्यादा साफ पहनें। कम से कम कुछ क़रीब ले आती है वो उनको। तीसरे, उस वक़्त की हालत में यह खादी का पैदा करना और ग्रामाद्योग को बढ़ाना यह एक बड़ी ज़रूरी चीज़ थी। उस वक़्त, मैंने आपसे कहा, वो वक़्त अभी खतम नहीं हुआ। हालाँकि दूसरे पहलू भी आ गये हैं, लेकिन वो वक़्त ख़तम नहीं हुआ। मैं नहीं कह सकता कि आज से पचास बरस बाद क्या हो, क्या न हो। लेकिन इस वक़्त की ये एक निशानी ग्रामोद्योग वग़ैरह को बढ़ाने की है, जो कि मैं समझता हूँ ज़रूरी है इस वक़्त। इसके माने नहीं हैं, और मैं ग्रामोद्योग के माने कभी यह नहीं समझा हूँ कि ख़ाली देश में ग्रामोद्योग हों, और कोई काम न हो, बड़ी मशीन न हों क्योंकि मैं उनको बिल्कुल ज़रूरी समझता हूँ। इसलिये इन वज़हात से मैं खादी का पहनना एक अच्छा और ज़रूरी समझता हूँ।

रामनारायण चौधरी : इसमें सादगी का पहलू भी आपके ध्यान में रहा है?

जवाहरलाल नेहरु: कहा तो मैंने आपसे, सादगी उसमें आयी न कि ऊँच-नीच न हो। उसमें सादगी भी आ जाती है और एक बात मैं बता दूँ। मैं नहीं जानता एक आदत है और कुछ पहनूँ तो परेशानी होती है। आदत है।

रामनारायण चौधरी : जी हाँ, जी हाँ।

जवाहरलाल नेहरु : चालीस बरस से पहना तो कुछ परेशानी सी होती है, बल्कि खादी भी ज़्यादा बारीक खादी पहनूँ तो झिझक होती है, जिस्म में अच्छा नहीं लगता।

रामनारायण चौधरी : आदत बड़ी चीज़ है।

जवाहरलाल नेहरु : जी हाँ

रामनारायण चौधरी: परन्तु गांधीजी कहते थे कि वे सबसे बड़े समाजवादी, साम्यवादी और समतावादी है, क्योंकि वे ट्रस्टी की तरह रहते हैं और अपने लिये समाज से उतना ही लेते हैं जितना बिल्कुल ज़रूरी हो। ज़्यादा लेना वे ग़रीबों का शोषण और उनके प्रति हिंसा मानते थे। फिर राजेन्द्र बाबू, आप और आपके दूसरे साथी, जो गांधीजी के शिष्य और उत्तराधिकारी माने जाते हैं, इस तरह का सादा जीवन क्यों नहीं बिताते जिससे मंत्रियों, उच्च अधिकारियों और अमीरों को सबक मिले और गृरीबों को संतोष?

जवाहरलाल नेहरु : िकसी का भी आपका मुक़ाबला करना गांधीजी से कोई मुनासिब बात नहीं है। ज़ाहिर है गांधीजी गांधीजी थे, हम छोटे लोग हैं। लेकिन दूसरा इसका जवाब यह है कि आजकल छोड़िये, गांधीजी के ज़माने में भी मेरी ज़िन्दगी में उस वक्त और आज की में पल भर फ़र्क़ नहीं है। यह और बात है, फ़र्क़ इस किस्म के हैं कि मैं कुछ सफ़र करता था तो आमतौर से थर्ड क्लास में करता था। लेकिन मामूली मेरी आदतों में और ज़िन्दगी में बहुत कम फ़र्क़ हुआ है। सिलसिला हमेशा से वो रहा है। जेल गया, तो जेल गया। अब यह और बात है यहाँ बड़े मकान में रहता हूँ, इसमें ख़ास फ़र्क़ मेरी ज़िन्दगी में नहीं है। साफ बात यह है कि मेरी ज़िन्दगी अलावा जेल जाने के एक ज़िस्मानी तौर से आराम की रही है, उस वक्त और अब भी। बीच में दिक्कतें हों, कठिनाई हों। कोई फ़र्क़ नहीं हुआ है। और मैं ऐसी बातें जो आपने गांधीजी को कहा ट्रस्ट के तौर पर, ट्रस्ट के तौर पर तो गांधीजी बिल्कुल नहीं थे। उनको कहते थे जिनके पास पैसा है कि वो तो इसे रखें। खुद तो पैसा रखते नहीं थे। खुद तो, जैसा कि उनके आश्रम के कायदे में थी, क्या? वो शब्द भूल गया हूँ।

रामनारायण चौधरी : अपरिग्रह।

जवाहरलाल नेहरु : हाँ, अपरिग्रह । कुछ होना ही नहीं चाहिये । वो था । और वो बात बहुत माकूल है, लेकिन वो एक व्यक्तिगत रूप से माकूल है । लोग करें जो कर सकें ।

रामनारायण चौधरी : परिग्रह की तो आप भी कई दफ़ा आलोचना करते हैं।

जवाहरलाल नेहरु : परिग्रह की? फ़र्क़ हो जाता है न। possession का नहीं, acquisitiveness।

रामनारायण चौधरी : जी हाँ, acquisitiveness ।

जवाहरलाल नेहरु : फ़र्क़ होता है कि छीना-झपटी यदि लोगों में बढ़ती जाये, तो उसको मैं नापसन्द करता हूँ। और उसको समझता हूँ कि यह पूंजीवादी समाज की बुनियाद है acquisitiveness। मैं उसको बुरा नहीं कह रहा हूँ। उसकी है ही बुनियाद।

रामनारायण चौधरी : जी हाँ।

जवाहरलाल नेहरु : वो मंज़ूर करते हैं उसे । यह अच्छी बात नहीं है । उसका एक दूसरा पहलू है, एक मुकाबले से बढ़ना, competition से, किसी क़दर अच्छी चीज़ है । मुकाबले से बढ़ें, दिखायें कुछ अच्छा कर सकते हैं काम । और मुकाबला नहीं होता, तो कोई incentive नहीं होती ।

रामनारायण चौधरी : जी हाँ।

जवाहरलाल नेहरु : यह लोगों पर है। फ़र्ज़ कीजिये जेल है। हम हैं। कोई जेल में किसी को कुछ करना नहीं है, सुबह से शाम तक चारपाई पर पड़े रहते हैं। न पढ़ना, न लिखना, न कुछ करना, अपने महज़ पड़े हैं। कुछ लोग मेहनत करते थे, पढ़ते थे। कुछ सोचते थे कि वो अपने को तैयार करें कुछ काम के लिये। वो तो इंसान के अपने ऊपर है। लेकिन गांधीजी की मिसाल तो बिल्कुल मौजूँ नहीं है। सादगी आप कहें, यह बातें, क्योंकि हमें एक काम करना है। असल बात तो है काम। एक तरफ़ तो सादगी हो, यानी बेज़ा दिखावा न हो, लेकिन आजकल की दुनिया में काम करने के लिये सहूलियतें चाहिये। मैं मोटर न रखूँ, मैं कहूँ कि मैं ताँगे में जाऊँगा, तो मेरा वक़्त बहुत ज़ाया होगा। या मैं एक टाइपराइटर पर काम न कराऊँ तो काम हो नहीं सकता, वो आधा चौथाई हो जाये। इस तरह से एक आदमी को सहूलियतें चाहिये, conveniences चाहिये modern काम में, modern ज़िन्दगी में। गांधीजी, अलावा इसके कि वो दूसरे किस्म के शख़्स थे। उनके काम के लिये पच्चीस आदमी उनके पीछे रहते थे, एक पोटली लिये हुए, कोई कुछ लिये हुए, कोई कुछ, कोई चरखा लिये, कोई कुछ। तो हर एक के पीछे तो नहीं होते कि उस वक़्त, और न हो सकते हैं।

रामनारायण चौधरी : विनोबाजी के पीछे भी तो साठ आदमी हैं।

जवाहरलाल नेहरु : ऐसा हो जाता है। लेकिन उनका करना या विनोबाजी का करना एक अच्छी मिसाल है, जो लोगों को हर वक्त याद दिलाती है। वह ठीक है।

रामनारायण चौधरी: लोग आपकी पर्सनल लाइफ़ को तो सिम्पल ही मानते हैं। जिस ढँग से आपको रहना पड़ता है, उसकी तरफ़ उनका इशारा है। जब शहरों की ग़रीब बस्तियों में और देहात में मामूली सफाई, रोशनी और पीने के पानी तक की व्यवस्था नहीं हो पाई है, तब वातानुकूलित यानी एयरकन्डीशन्ड इमारतों और अशोक और जनपथ जैसे बड़े-बड़े होटलों पर करोड़ों रुपया खर्च करना कैसा समाजवाद है और कहाँ तक ठीक है?

जवाहरलाल नेहरु : इन बातों से समाजवाद से क्या मतलब? समाजवाद के माने यह हैं क्या कि हरेक आदमी बराबरी की तकलीफ़ में रहे तो बराबर का समाजवाद? हरेक आदमी बराबर की फ़ाकेमस्ती करे तो बराबर का समाजवाद? यह बिल्कुल गलत तरीक़ा है समाजवाद का।

रामनारायण चौधरी : जी हाँ।

जवाहरलाल नेहरु : यह आप कहें तो ठीक है कि जब मामूली आदमी को ज़रूरियात हासिल नहीं है, तो ख़ास आदमी को गैर ज़रूरी चीज़ों का इस्तेमाल करना बहुत मुनासिब नहीं मालूम होता।

रामनारायण चौधरी : यह बात ठीक है।

जवाहरलाल नेहरु : इससे अशोक होटल और जनपथ से कोई ताल्लुक् नहीं है, क्योंिक अशोक होटल वग़ैरह हमें बनाने पड़ते हैं अपने मेहमानों के लिये । पचासों लोग, हज़ारों लोग आते हैं, लाखों लोग यहाँ । हमने उसे बहुत तेज़ी से बनाया दस महीने में, इसलिए कि यहाँ यूनेस्को की कॉन्फ्रेंस थी । बड़ा हॉल बनाया था । उसमें 1200 डेलीगेट्स थे । कहीं ठहराने की जगह नहीं थी । और अब भी यहाँ लाखों आदमी आते हैं । हम चाहते हैं आयें, क्योंिक उससे हमें फ़ायदा होता है । वे बाहर का पैसा लाते हैं, फॉरेन एक्सचेंज वग़ैरह । हर मुल्क़ में ऐसा होता है । अगर आप जायें तो देखें साम्यवादी मुल्क़ों में कि कैसे शान के होटल वो खड़े करते हैं ।

रामनारायण चौधरी : जी।

जवाहरलाल नेहरु : एक हमारे भाई, यहाँ पार्लियामेंट के मेम्बर ने शिकायत की अशोक होटल की। वो चीन गये। वहाँ से आकर कहा, साहब अब नहीं करुँगा मैं शिकायत। मैंने देखे कि वहाँ शान के बड़े होटल वग़ैरह बनाते हैं। यह तो हर जगह होता है, इस किस्म की बातें। हाँ, यह बात है हिन्दुस्तान में काफी, बाज़ थोड़े से लोग बहुत ज़्यादा महज़ आरामतलब ही नहीं हैं बिल्क अपने रुपये-पैसे को दिखाने वाले, फेंकने वाले हैं। यह नामुनासिब बात है। अगर रुपया-पैसा भी हो, न हो ज़्यादा तो अच्छा है, हो भी तो शेख़ी नहीं करना, ज़रा शरमाना है। अब यही बात आप देखें कि शुरु में हमारी आज़ादी की तहरीक में गांधीजी के आने के बाद खादी पहनना वग़ैरह वग़ैरह और बातें आई। देखने में लोग एक से हो गये, चाहे उनके पीछे रुपया हो या न हो लेकिन वो भी एक बड़ी बात थी। उसकी कुछ एक हवा पैदा होती थी, एक बराबरी की। और दिल्ली तो एक ख़ास बुरी मिसाल है, यहाँ रुपये को फेंकना और फ़िज़ूलखर्ची करना। और गवर्नमेंट के अफ़सरों को आप न समझिये, होगा कुछ। लेकिन यहाँ के और लोग जो हैं और ख़ास कर हमारे बड़े-बड़े जो पैसे वाले यहाँ बने हैं दिल्ली की वजह से contractor और ये और वो। वो तो काफ़ी ...

रामनारायण चौधरी : वो ठीक है। ये तो slums की और देहात की हालात की तरफ़ ज़्यादा ध्यान दिलाने की बात मालूम होती है। जवाहरलाल नेहरु : इसमें गवर्नमेंट को या म्युनिसिपैलिटी किहए या पंचायत सिमित किहये। जो कुछ है, उनको बहुत कुछ करना है। लेकिन अच्छी से अच्छी गवर्नमेंट हरेक आदमी का काम नहीं करती। मेरा मतलब यह है कि बहुत फ़र्क़ है। गाँवों में लोग जहाँ उनको गुरूर है अपने गाँव के ऊपर, वो अपने गाँव को साफ रखें। बहुत बातें करते हैं। उसमें मदद की ज़रूरत हो। लेकिन पचास बातें कर सकते हैं। यहाँ दिक्कत यह है, मैं हरेक का नहीं कहता, लेकिन अक्सर कि हम अच्छे से अच्छे मकान बना देते हैं लोगों के रहने को, वो पाँच बरस बाद slums हो जाते हैं। अब इसको कैसे रोकें? इसकी तो शिक्षा दी जाये, तालीम दी जाये कि सामाजिक रहन-सहन कैसा होना चाहिये। यह तो एक बुनियादी बात हो जाती है। यह समझना कि गवर्नमेंट सब कर देगी, न कर सकती है, न ...

रामनारायण चौधरी : हाँ, वो तो मुमकिन नहीं है।

जवाहरलाल नेहरु : मुमकिन नहीं है।

रामनारायण चौधरी : लेकिन, पंडितजी, आपने देखा कि हमारे workers में अच्छे-अच्छे, पुराने-पुराने जो हैं उनमें इस बात की लगन क्यों नहीं पैदा हो रही कि इतने बड़े सवाल हैं ज़रूरी, उनकी तरफ़ उनका ध्यान नहीं जाता है और फालतू बातों की तरफ़ उनका ध्यान ज़्यादा जाता है, agitation, ये वो, पब्लिसिटी, वग़ैरह।

जवाहरलाल नेहरु: कुछ हमारी कमज़ोरियाँ हैं। क्या किया जाये? हटती भी जाती हैं बहुत लोगों में। और मुक़ाबला करने से ये बात आसान है कि जोश में आकर जान पर भी खेल जायें, हाँ खेल जायें, मूँछ ऊँची रखने के लिये वो। लेकिन रोज़ की रगड़ करना और जिसमें बहुत फूल न बरसें हमारे ऊपर, तो उसमें ज़्यादा मुश्किल काम है।

रामनारायण चौधरी: लेकिन मैं, पंडितजी, यह बात कह सकता हूँ कि देहात में रहकर आदमी काम करता है तो इतना satisfaction होता है कि आदमी की इच्छा नहीं होती — मैं अपने लिये तो कहूँ कि आपसे मिलने के लिये तो मुझे इच्छा ज़रूर दिल्ली आने की होती है, कभी मिलूँ। लेकिन यह नहीं होता कि वहाँ क्या रखा है? वहाँ तो बहुत काम हो रहा है।

जवाहरलाल नेहरु : हाँ, वो तो आपकी खुशनसीबी है।

रामनारायण चौधरी : सचमुच।

जवाहरलाल नेहरु : मैं आपको एक मिसाल दूँ कैसे काम होते हैं, हिन्दुस्तान की एक। कुछ बरस हुए, शायद तीन-चार बरस हुए, मेरे पास एक अमेरिकन औरत आई।

रामनारायण चौधरी : आपने मुझे बताया था। जी हाँ मद्रास में।

जवाहरलाल नेहरु : मद्रास में। और उसने ...

रामनारायण चौधरी : अमीर घर की लड़की थी वो?

जवाहरलाल नेहरु : अमीर-वमीर तो नहीं, मामूली घर की लड़की थी। उसका भाई एक पादरी मिशनरी था। उसी के साये में आई यहाँ। यहाँ उसको कुछ मिशनरी काम करना पसन्द नहीं था, तो गाँवों-गाँवों में फिरी। डॉक्टर थी। उसको दिलचस्पी हुई कि मैं क्यों नहीं ज़रा यहाँ काम करूँ। बैठ गयी एक गाँव में। उसका भाई बहुत परेशान हुआ कि क्या गाँव की कोठरी में रहती है। ये हमारी इज्ज़त कहाँ और ये और वो। बहुत समझाया। नहीं माना उसने। उसने गवर्नमेंट से कहा कि इसको निकाल दो मुल्क़ से, हिन्दुस्तान से निकाल दो, कहा कि तुम अमरीका जाओ वापस। गवर्नमेंट को क्या गरज़ थी उसको रखने की? उसने कहा, जाओ। तब उसने मुझे लिखा और मुझसे मिली। और मैंने बातचीत की उससे तो मेरे पर असर हुआ उसका। मैंने कहा, क्या करती हो? उसने कहा कि मेरे पास कोई रुपया-पैसा नहीं है। मैं तो गाँव में बैठती हूँ, वहाँ के बच्चों को जमा करती हूँ, उनको नहला देती हूँ सभों को, और देखती हूँ कोई इधर-उधर छोटे-मोटे मर्ज़ होते हैं। कुछ तो नहीं है मेरे पास, थोड़ी दवा-दारू कर देती हूँ, तो इलाज कर देती हूँ। और मुझे लोग पहचान गये हैं, सब ले आते हैं बच्चों को। तो इस तरह से मैंने एक children's centre खोल दिया है — न पैसा, न मदद, न कोई। अब देखिये न, काम करने वाले तो हज़ार तरह से कर सकते हैं।

रामनारायण चौधरी : हाँ, हाँ । लेकिन एक सवाल है, पंडितजी । गांधीजी को गोडसे ने मारा । यह हिंसा का काम था और आपके शब्दों में एक पागल आदमी ने किया । इस हिसाब से क्या भारत की जनता के प्रति यह उतना ही लगातार हिंसक और पागलपन का काम नहीं है कि जिस शासन प्रणाली को गांधीजी ने शैतानी बताया और कांग्रेस ने और आपने जिसको नौकरशाही कह कर कोसा, उसमें कोई बुनियादी तब्दीली न करके उसके लाल फीते को, केन्द्रीयकरण को आप गांधीजी के वारिस होकर भी दूर नहीं कर रहे हैं और व्यापक भ्रष्टाचार तथा अत्याचार होने देते हैं । क्या यह मशीन या प्रणाली इतनी ताकृतवर है कि इंसान नेहरु तो उसे बदलना चाहता है, लेकिन प्रधानमंत्री नेहरु उसके आगे लाचार है? वह नेहरु, जो अनेक पुरानी और बेकार चीज़ों को और हज़ारों वर्ष की प्राचीन परम्पराओं को ठुकरा सकता है, लेकिन स्थिरता के नाम पर इस रही प्रणाली से चिपटा हुआ है और क्रान्तिकारी होते हुए भी धीरे-धीरे चलने की हिमायत करता है?

जवाहरलाल नेहरु: यह आपका सवाल एक सवाल तो है नहीं। उसमें तो दस-बीस सवाल हैं और ऐसा सवाल है जिसमें आप बाज़ बातें फर्ज़ कर लें, मान लेते हैं कि सही हैं, फिर मुझसे पूछते हैं कि क्यों हैं? मैं आपकी बुनियादी बहस को नामंज़ूर करता हूँ। गांधीजी की आप मिसाल देते हैं कि उन्होंने नापसंद किया और शैतानी कहा। किस बात को कहा उन्होंने? उन्होंने साम्राज्यवाद को...

रामनारायण चौधरी : साम्राज्यवाद को।

जवाहरलाल नेहरु : साम्राज्यवाद को कहा। उन्होंने साम्राज्यवाद के अन्दर ये जो गवर्नमेंट के सिलसिले थे, जो नौकरशाही कहलाती है, ब्यूरोक्रेसी है उसे कहा। ये तो ज़रूरी आना है हर मुल्क् में, चाहे वो समाजवाद हो, चाहे साम्यवाद, चाहे कुछ। सबसे ज़्यादा नौकरशाही होती है साम्यवादियों के मुल्क़ों में।

रामनारायण चौधरी : अच्छा।

जवाहरलाल नेहरु : ज़ाहिर है। नौकरशाही के माने क्या हैं कि सरकारी नौकर समाज का काम चलायें। जित्ता ज़्यादा समाजवाद होगा, उत्ता ही ज़्यादा सरकारी नौकर समाजवाद का काम चलायेंगे। सबसे कम यह होता है पूंजीवादी मुल्क़ों में।

रामनारायण चौधरी : अच्छा।

जवाहरलाल नेहरु : वहाँ भी बहुत है, क्योंकि आजकल का समाज पेचीदा हो गया है।

रामनारायण चौधरी : जी।

जवाहरलाल नेहरु : बहुत ज़्यादा । लेकिन मुकाबलेतन जहाँ कहते हैं कि फ्री एन्टरप्राइज़ है, हर चीज़ हम करे – हर दुकानदार करे, हर इंडस्ट्रियलिस्ट करे, वहाँ सरकारी नौकर कम होते हैं। जहाँ सरकारी काम होता है, जिसे पब्लिक सेक्टर कहते हैं, उसमें सरकारी नौकर बढते जाते हैं। रेल सरकार ने ले ली, सारे रेल के आदमी सरकार के नौकर हो गये। पोस्टस एण्ड टेलीग्राफ की भी यही बात है। तो यह बातें मिलानी नहीं चाहिये। यह गलतफहमी है समझिये। वो जुरूरी है, उसके बगैर काम नहीं चल सकता किसी मुल्क का। फ़र्क़ यह था अंग्रेज़ी ज़माने में कि जो ब्यूरोक्रेसी थी, वो ख़ाली सरकारी नौकर नहीं थी, वो सरकारी मालिक भी थी। बड़ा फुर्क हो जाता है। वो ही मालिक थे और वो एक सिलसिला था। वो बात ख़तम हो गयी और हिन्दुस्तान को बमुकाबले अक्सर और मुल्कों के, जो कि आज़ाद हुए हैं पिछले आठ, दस, बारह बरस में बड़ा फ़ायदा हुआ है कि हमारे पास सीखी हुई ब्यूरोक्रेसी थी। इससे बहुत लाभ हुआ। और हम देखते हैं और जगह, हमारे लोगों को हर मुल्क माँगता है, सीखे हुए आदिमयों को भेजो — जो नये आज़ाद हुए हैं, अफ्रीका के मुल्क, एशिया के मुल्क । हम उन्हें कितने भेज रहे हैं –हर किस्म के एडिमिनिस्ट्रेटर्स, इंजीनियर्स, टीचर्स, डॉक्टर, फाइनेन्शियल एक्सपर्ट्स हम भेज रहे हैं कहाँ-कहाँ, अफ्रीका के मुल्क़ों में कहाँ-कहाँ भेजें। सैंकड़ों हमारे गये हुए हैं। इसके बग़ैर तो गाड़ी आजकल की दुनिया की चलती नहीं। और हम भेज रहे हैं अपने आदमियों को अमरीका और रूस वगैरह सीखने को, इंजीनियरी सीखने को और क्या-क्या। वो आके सरकारी नौकर होते हैं। सब नहीं, ज्यादातर। तो इन दो बातों को आपको गड़बड़ा नहीं देना है आपस में। वो ज़रूरी चीज़ है सीखे हुए आदिमयों का होना आजकल की दुनिया में, हर दुनिया में, ख़ासकर आजकल की। और यह रेड टेप और लाल फीता कहलाता है, यह भी ज़रूरी चीज़ है। माने क्या हैं उसके? मज़ाक किया, या जो कुछ हो। उसके माने हैं कायदे से काम करना। रेड टेप के माने हैं कायदे से काम करना। जबिक आपके बस्ते में लाल फीता बँधा हो। यह नहीं कि कोई

लिखा पढ़ी नहीं होती। यह माने हैं। हाँ, उसमें दिक्कत यह हो जाती है, क़ायदे के साथ रहने में, कि वो क़ायदे इतने पेचीदा हो जाते हैं कि काम में अटकाव डालने लगते हैं। तो उसको साफ कीजिये। तो इसमें रेड टेप का कुछ कुसूर नहीं, इंसान का कुसूर है कि वो अपने क़ायदों में फँस जाता है। जैसे आप इसको धर्म-मज़हब में लीजिये। एक शुद्ध धर्म शुरु में होता है और हल्के हल्के ऐसे पेंच में पड़ता है वो पूजा-पाठ के कि असली चीज़ निकल जाती है और ख़ाली दिखावट रह जाती है। वो तो ख़राबियाँ आ जाती हैं किसी भी समाजी या इंसानी संस्था में। गवर्नमेंट में आ जाती हैं, तो दिक्कतें पेश आती हैं। थोड़े थोड़े दिन बाद पढ़ते हैं अख़बारों में और ख़ुश्चेव साहब नाराज़ होते हैं कि हमारे मुल्क़ में ब्यूरोक्रेसी बहुत बँध गयी है अपने क़ायदे-कानूनों में, काम रुक रहा है। वो ही शिकायतें जो हम करते हैं, वो वहाँ करते हैं। थोड़े थोड़े दिन बाद चाऊ एन-लाई साहब ने, माउ त्से-तुंग ने अभी पार साल बड़ी शिकायत की कि यहाँ बहुत रेड टेप होने लगा और बहुत ब्यूरोक्रेसी होने लगी। वो तो इंसान का एक तर्ज़ है। एक शख़्स ने एक किताब लिखी है, अंग्रेज़ ने, विल्किंसन — क्या नाम है उसका — पारिकंसन।

रामनारायण चौधरी : जी हाँ।

जवाहरलाल नेहरु : सुना है नाम आपने उसका? वो नाम उसका मशहूर हो गया है। वो प्रोफेसर है वहाँ सिंगापुर में। उसने लिखी पारिकंसन्स लॉ।

रामनारायण चौधरी : अच्छा ।

जवाहरलाल नेहरु : उसने उस किताब में दिखाया है कि कैसे एक दफ़्तर — सरकारी दफ़्तर — ऐसी चीज़ हैं, कैसे वो बढ़ते हैं। वो बढ़ते जाते हैं। सो आदमी से शुरु हुए, उसके बाद डेढ़ सो हुए, यानी एक इधर शाख बढ़ी एक उधर बढ़ी। यानी खुद अपने लिये काम पैदा करते जाते हैं। यह नहीं कि और काम हो। और बढ़ते जाते हैं। मज़ाक भी उसमें उड़ाया है, उसमें असलियत भी है। यह ख़राबियाँ हैं ब्यूरोक्रेसी में। ब्यूरोक्रेसी तो एक ज़रूरी चीज़ है, नौकरशाही नहीं। तो दुनिया कैसे चले, मुल्क़ कैसे चले? ख़ासकर समाजवादी मुल्क़ तो चल ही नहीं सकता। रेड टेप भी ज़रूरी है इस दर्जे कि क़ायदे से काम हो, बेक़ायदगी से न हो। क्योंकि जहाँ बड़े पैमाने पर काम होता है, और करोड़ों रुपये का, तो क़ायदे-कानून की रुकावटें हैं। अब क़ायदे-कानून ऐसे हो जायें कि काम रुक जाये तो फिर निकम्मे हैं, जिसकी यहाँ शिकायत होती है कि साहब हमारे फाइनेन्स मिनिस्ट्री या ऑडिट वाले इत्ता रोक देते हैं कि काम रुका पड़ा है। यह तो ख़राबी हो गयी क़ायदे की। लेकिन आख़िर उनको देखना ही है। न देखें तो पब्लिक फण्ड में काफी गड़बड़ हो सकती है। तो इन दोनों बातों को आपको अलग रखना है।

रामनारायण चौधरी : ये केन्द्रीकरण के बारे में?

^{118.} C. Northcote Parkinson, Parkinson's Law: or the Pursuit of Progress (London: John Murray, 1957).

जवाहरलाल नेहरु : केन्द्रीकरण यानी सेन्ट्रलाइजे्शन?

रामनारायण चौधरी : जी हाँ।

जवाहरलाल नेहरु: एक माने में कहा जा सकता है कि आजकल की दुनिया का सबसे बड़ा सवाल यह है कि एक तरफ़ से सारी दुनिया की रफ़्तार केन्द्रीकरण की तरफ़ है, क्योंकि काम बड़े पैमाने पर होते हैं। फ़र्ज़ कीजिये कि मैं एक लोहा चाहूँ, स्टील चाहूँ, तो स्टील प्लांट, मैं कोई झोपड़ियों में नहीं, कॉटेज इंडस्ट्री में नहीं कर सकता। वो होगी ही बड़ी। बाज़ चीज़ें होती ही बड़ी हैं। मैं रेल बनाने की फैक्ट्री बनाऊँ, तो बड़ी होगी ही वो।

रामनारायण चौधरी : जी हाँ।

जवाहरलाल नेहरु : छोटी चीज़ें बाज़ हो सकती हैं। और हल्के हल्के सारा तर्ज़ आजकल के काम का, आजकल का ऐसा ही है कि छोटी चीज़ बड़ी हो जाती है। इसलिए कि बड़ी करने से सस्ती पड़ती है। बड़ी करने से कुछ आसानी है। एक दुकानदार है। वो बड़ी दुकान करता है, तो दस, बीस, तीस छोटी दुकानें दब जाती हैं। उसके पास ज़्यादा पैसा है, ज़्यादा समान है, ज़्यादा ये वो। ये टेन्डन्सी है गवर्नमेंट की, इंडस्ट्री की, हर चीज़ की। इसको आप देख सकते हैं अमरीका वग़ैरह में जहाँ वही बातें बढ़ी हैं, जहाँ बड़े trusts हैं, बेशुमार बड़े, कुछ पूछिये ही नहीं, ये हैं और ये रुकती नहीं। दूसरी तरफ़ से यह ख़्वाहिश है कि इंसान की आज़ादी में दख़ल न हो। सेन्ट्रलाइज़ेशन से यह आज़ादी कुछ कम हो जाती है, कुछ न कुछ कम होती है, रुकावटें पड़ती हैं। वो चीज़ चाहे समाजवाद हो, चाहे साम्राज्यवाद हो या पूंजीवाद हो, कमी पड़ती है। तो कैसे, जिस दर्जे सेन्ट्रलाइज़ेशन की हमें आवश्यकता है उसको रखें क्योंकि उसके बग़ैर हम कर नहीं सकते। और उसी के साथ इंसान को आज़ाद रखें। यानी डिसेन्ट्रलाइज़ेशन भी करें, जहाँ तक हो सकता है। उसका तराजू तो बराबर रखना ही है। बड़ा सवाल है।

रामनारायण चौधरी : आपमें राष्ट्र भर के नेता होने की ऊँचाई और चरित्र मौजूद है, फिर आप सिर्फ एक दल के साथ क्यों बँधे हुए हैं?

जवाहरलाल नेहरु : इंसान का काम राजनीतिक हैसियत से या कहीं भी, वो व्यक्तिगत रूप से नहीं होता, संतों का होता है, वो अपनी हवा है। वो ठीक है। कोई काम करना है, और ख़ासकर आजकल के ढँग में जो राजनीति है, पॉलिटिक्स है, उसमें संस्थाओं के ज़िरये से होता है। गवर्नमेंट एक संस्था है। वो तो ख़ैर दूसरे ढँग की है। फिर अगर यह डेमोक्रेटिक संस्था है, तो उसके पीछे कुछ न कुछ पब्लिक संस्था होनी चाहिये। चुनांचे ज़रूरी हो जाता है संस्था के मार्फत करना। जिस संस्था में कमोबेश एक राय के लोग हों बिल्कुल नहीं। लेकिन एक तरफ देखें और तो कोई काम है ही नहीं, कोई ज़िरया नहीं काम करने का, अगर हरेक आदमी हरेक बाद कहे हरेक रास्ते को दिखाये तो हमें कोई न कोई बात निश्चय करनी है कि किस रास्ते पर चलना है। निश्चय किया तो जो लोग उस रास्ते पर चलना चाहते हैं, उनकी सहायता ढूँढनी है या कुछ न कुछ, नहीं तो शास्त्रार्थ हो कि कहाँ

जायें, कहाँ न जायें या हरेक अपने रास्ते पर चले, वो तो बात हो नहीं सकती। हाँ, यह बात है कि पार्टीबाज़ी में पड़कर, पार्टी के लिये वो विचार हानिकारक हो सकता है। अब इसमें बीच में लाइन खींचनी संभव नहीं है।

मेरी कई हस्तियाँ हैं — बहुत सारी। एक तो हरेक की व्यक्तिगत होती है। सब बातों से अलग एक व्यक्ति होता है। एक मैं कांग्रेस का एक नेता रह चुका हूँ। हालाँकि कुछ ख़ास मेरा कोई ओहदा नहीं है कांग्रेस में इस वक्त। अच्छी बात है। मैं अपनी पार्टी का लीडर हूँ पार्लियामेंट में, और मैं पार्लियामेंट में लोकसभा का लीडर हूँ। लोकसभा का लीडर एक हैसियत ज़रा अलग है पार्टी के लीडर से, क्योंकि लोकसभा में सब लोग हैं। मुझे इस बात पर विचार करना होता है कि लोकसभा की इज्ज़त कैसे रहे वग़ैरह। अलग है, पार्टी की नहीं, पार्टी का सवाल अलग है। कई सवाल मिल जाते हैं, मिलते हैं दुनिया में। लेकिन यह कहें कि कोई शख़्स पार्टी में न हो, अलग काम करे, उसके ख़ास माने नहीं है। सिवाय इसके कि वो काम छोड़कर संत बनकर अपनी राय दे जिससे असर हो, लेकिन वो काम नहीं कर सकता।

रामनारायण चौधरी : उसका काम नहीं कर सकता?

जवाहरलाल नेहरु : उसका काम नहीं कर सकता।

रामनारायण चौधरी: भारतीय लोकतन्त्र का आधार सर्वसम्मित था। पश्चिमी लोकतन्त्र का आधार बहुमत है। सर्वसम्मत निर्णयों का कोई विरोध नहीं कर सकता। इसीलिये हमारी पुरानी ग्राम पंचायतों में यह शिक्त थी। बहुमत के फैसलों में वह ताकृत नहीं होती। और दरअसल अन्त में वह बहुमत का फैसला न रहकर अल्पमत का निर्णय बन जाता है। मसलन एक विधानसभा में कुछ सौ सदस्य हैं। एक दल के सदस्यों की संख्या इक्यावन है। इस दल की बैठक में छब्बीस आदिमयों की एक राय और पच्चीस की दूसरी राय होती है। छब्बीस की राय तो उस दल का फ़ैसला बन जाता है और विधानसभा में इक्यावन आदिमयों को उसका समर्थन करना पड़ता है। इस तरीक़े के चुनावों में ख़राबियाँ भी बहुत होती हैं। इन सब बातों को देखते हुए क्या आपने कभी सर्वसम्मित वाले लोकतन्त्र के लिये गम्भीर प्रयत्न करने का विचार किया है?

जवाहरलाल नेहरु: भारत के इतिहास में या किसी भी देश के इतिहास में ये सर्वसम्मित के फ़ैसले कब हुए? आपके सवाल ऐसे होते हैं कि आप स्वीकार कर लेते हैं कि एक बात हुई है, फिर मुझसे पूछते हैं कि इसका जवाब क्या है। मैं तो नहीं मानता कि सर्वसम्मित कभी भी कहीं भी दुनिया में हुई है।

रामनारायण चौधरी: एक बात मैं अपने तजुर्बे से कह सकता हूँ कि देहात में जो गाँव पंचायतें थीं आज से तीस-पैंतीस बरस पहले, जब हम लोग विजौलिया वग़ैरह में काम करते थे, और कस्बों में भी जो पंचायतें होती थीं, उनके सब फ़ैसले एकमत से होते थे।

जवाहरलाल नेहरु : मानता हूँ। यह बातें हो सकती हैं एक छोटे पैमाने पर और जब कि एक स्थिर दुनिया हो, बदलती हुई दुनिया न हो — स्टैटिक हो, जहाँ सभों की राय एक रहे। प्रश्न कौन उनके सामने आये? प्रश्न आये कि साहब एक लड़के ने एक लड़की से बदतमीज़ी की है। उसमें कोई सिद्धान्त की बात नहीं है। कोई ज़्यादा रहम करे, कोई न करे बैठकर उसका फ़ैसला कर दिया: भाई, इसको जुर्माना करो, यह करो। यानी कोई उसूल सिद्धान्त की बात नहीं होती थी, जिसमें दो राय हों और जिसमें किसी की हानि हो, किसी का लाभ हो। जहाँ एक फिरके की हानि होती है, एक का लाभ होता है, तब कठिनाई आ जाती है। एक जमींदार है, एक किसान है। तो जमींदार किसान बैठकर कहें कि सर्वसम्मित से तय करो? अब यों एक बाज़ बातें तय हो जायें। किसान कहे कि आपके पास अधिक ज़मीन है मुझे ज़मीन चाहिये। तो जमींदार तो नहीं माने। व्यक्ति कोई मान ले उसूलन। तो जहाँ ऐसे समाज के conflict आते हैं, वहाँ यह बात चलती नहीं है। और यह चली है, जैसा मैंने कहा, जहाँ स्थिर समाज हो, और एक छोटा गाँव हो। मैं समझता हूँ कि गाँव में चल जाता है, बुजुर्ग हैं, मान लिया कहना। लेकिन जब आबादी बढ़ जाती है और पेचीदा रिश्ते समाज के हो जाते हैं, तब यह बहुत ही मुश्किल होता है। और अब आप देखें, जिसको डेमोक्रेसी कहते हैं यों तो गाँव के रूप में गणतन्त्र वगैरह कहते हैं भारत में हज़रों बरस हुए तब था, उसको छोड़िये, लेकिन जो आजकल कही जाती है उसका इतिहास में आरम्भ ग्रीस में नज़र आता है।

रामनारायण चौधरी : जी।

जवाहरलाल नेहरु : लेकिन उनकी डेमोक्रेसी क्या थी? एक शहर के, छोटे शहर के सब रहने वाले आकर बहस करते थे यानी प्रतिनिधि नहीं चुनते थे। वो दस हज़ार का शहर है, दस हज़ार आदमी जमा होंगे वहाँ, या एक-एक परिवार के आयेंगे। वो सारे वहाँ मैदान में जमा होकर बैठते थे और निश्चय करते थे कि कानून क्या बने, क्या नहीं। पोलिस स्टेट। पोलिस से मतलब यह पुलिस नहीं हमारी, वो पोलिस ग्रीक शब्द है। तो डेमोक्रेसी शुरु हुई सब लोगों के मिल के राय देने से। लेकिन जब सब लोग करोड़ हो गये तो उनका मिलना असम्भव हो गया। तब हल्के-हल्के यह बात आई कि हम अपना पंच या प्रतिनिधि चुनें। यह बात हुई। तब यहाँ वो कोई गाँव में चल जाती जैसे ग्रीस में चली। वो चल जाती थी बात। लेकिन जहाँ यह बड़े-बड़े होने लगे तो कैसे हो? नामुमिकिन है, असम्भव हो जाता है। यह मैं मानता हूँ कि हमें हमेशा कोशिश करनी चाहिये, ख़ासकर गाँव वग़ैरह में, कि सर्वसम्मित से बातें हों। यह अच्छी बात है। लेकिन सर्वसम्मित से आप बुनियादी झगड़ों का नहीं फैसला कर सकते। एक की राय एक है, दूसरे की दूसरी। या तो आप उसको धमका के राजी करेंगे, या तो समझा कर राज़ी करेंगे, या डर दिखा के। या वो आपकी इज़्ज़त करता है, मान लेता है, चाहे उसकी समझ में आये या न आये।

रामनारायण चौधरी : लेकिन, पंडितजी, यह कहा जाता है कि गांधीजी जब तक ज़िन्दा रहे, या अब भी, कांग्रेस वर्किंग कमेटी के फैसले आमतौर से unanimous हुआ करते थे।

जवाहरलाल नेहरु: गलत बात है। नहीं, यह बात सही नहीं है, बिल्कुल नहीं है। और आप यही देख लें, मेरी किताब पार साल छपी थी पत्रों की, ऐ बंच ऑफ ओल्ड लेटर्स। उसी में आप देखिये वर्किंग कमेटी के कितने झगड़े हुए हैं। इस्तीफा दिया है, झगड़े हुए हैं, बार-बार हुए हैं। मुझसे गांधीजी नाराज़ हुए, राजेन्द्र बाबू वग़ैरह ने भी इस्तीफ़ा दे दिया, जब वर्किंग कमेटी में स्वीकार नहीं

हुई कोई बात जो मैंने कही। यह तो रोज़मर्रा की बात थी वहाँ, हालाँकि यह बात याद रिखये, उस वक्त हमारे सामने एक सीधी बात थी, अंग्रेज़ों से लड़ना। वो सीधी बात थी ये पेचीदा बातें नहीं थीं समाज सुधार वग़ैरह की।

रामनारायण चौधरी : जी हाँ।

जवाहरलाल नेहरु : उसमें भी, या आप फ़र्ज़ कीजिये कि सुभाष बाबू थे। आख़िर सुभाष बाबू के झगड़े हुए कि नहीं, वर्किंग कमेटी में हुए। तो यह कहना तो बिल्कुल सही नहीं है। तो दो बातें याद रखें, तीन बातें। एक तो यह सही नहीं है। दूसरे, यह कि हमारी वो लड़ाई का ज़माना था, अपनी आज़ादी का, जब सवाल एक होता है।

रामनारायण चौधरी : कॉमन चीज़।

जवाहरलाल नेहरु : कॉमन चीज़ । तीसरे, यह कि हमारे लीडर बहुत बड़े थे महात्माजी, जिनका इत्ता हमें आदर था कि कित्ता ही झगड़ा करें, हम उनकी मान लेते थे बात ।

रामनारायण चौधरी: इस समय अलग-अलग दलों से और एक दल के भीतर की गुटबंदी से जो बुरी हालत मुल्क में पैदा हो गयी है, उसे देखते हुए दस साल के लिये चुनाव न करा कर एक राष्ट्रीय सर्वदलीय और कृबिल स्वतन्त्र लोगों की मिली जुली सरकार बनाकर सारी शक्ति देश के निर्माण कार्य में लगाई जाये। इस सुझाव के बारे में आपका क्या ख़्याल है?

जवाहरलाल नेहरु : वो निर्माण कार्य क्या होगा? यानी झगड़े इसलिये हैं कि लोगों की राय अलग है क्या निर्माण कार्य हो? अगर एक राय हो तो कोई झगड़ा न हो।

रामनारायण चौधरी : जी हाँ।

जवाहरलाल नेहरु : जब कुछ लोग कहते हैं उत्तर जाना, कुछ कहते हैं पश्चिम जाना, पूरब जाना, निमार्ण के लिये, तो फिर कैसे वो निश्चय हो? इसी में मतभेद हो जाता है न?

रामनारायण चौधरी : जी हाँ।

जवाहरलाल नेहरु : यह तो बुनियादी बातें हैं, ऐसी बातें हैं। ये बातें तो एक, माफ़ कीजिएगा मेरा कहना, नासमझी की है। इसके माने नहीं हैं कोई लड़ाई-झगड़ा नहीं चाहता लड़ाई-झगड़े के लिये। लेकिन आजकल की दुनिया की बहस और अन्दरूनी झगड़े यह हैं कि लोगों की राय में फ़र्क़ है कि इधर जाना कि उधर जाना।

रामनारायण चौधरी : Genuine differences हैं।

जवाहरलाल नेहरु : Genuine differences हैं। उनके सिद्धान्तों में फ़र्क़ है। क्या हो, आर्थिक सिद्धान्त, economic वग़ैरह। यानी भाइयों में भी फ़र्क़ हो सकता है। यह नहीं कि लड़ाई हो। फ़र्क़ है। तो किस रास्ते पर चलें, यह बड़ा प्रश्न होता है। अब दस आदिमयों को बैठा दीजिये, तो उसके माने यह होंगे कि किसी रास्ते पर चलते ही नहीं वो। वो बैठ गये तो बैठ गये। या तो झगड़ा करेंगे आपस में बैठ के, या रफ़्तार रुक जायेगी। ऐसे मौक़े पर जब रफ़्तार ज़रूरी होती है, आप रुक नहीं जाते। एक दिखा बह रहा है। आपको उस दिखा के साथ चलना है। उसको इधर मोड़ दें, इधर करें, वह तो करें। यह कहना कि सब लोग मिलकर यह गवर्नमेंट बनायें, वो भी जभी होता है जब लोगों की राय असली मसलों पर एक हो। फ़र्ज़ करिए कि लड़ाई का ज़माना है। एक मुल्क़ हम पर हमला कर रहा है, तो क़रीब-क़रीब एक राय हो जाती है लोगों की कि बस अब कोई सवाल नहीं, सब लड़ेंगे एक राय हो। किसी की हमदर्दी दुश्मन से हो तो नहीं आ सकते उसमें।

रामनारायण चौधरी : लेकिन आपने थोड़ा सा तजुर्बा किया था, वो उनको लिया था, श्यामा प्रसादजी को लिया था, और डॉक्टर हरिजन थे, वो लॉ मिनिस्टर।

जवाहरलाल नेहरु : अम्बेडकर?

रामनारायण चौधरी : हाँ, अम्बेडकर।

जवाहरलाल नेहरु : हाँ, हाँ।

रामनारायण चौधरी : इन लोगों को लिया था।

जवाहरलाल नेहरु : तो क्या? तो हमारी तरफ़ से तो कोशिश यह थी कि हम औरों को लें। और शुरु में ख़्याल नहीं था कि हम उसको कोई एक बहुत तंग नज़रिये से देखें। लेकिन जब-जब लिया तब-तब धोखा खाया।

रामनारायण चौधरी : अच्छा?

जवाहरलाल नेहरु : यही धोखा खाया इस माने में कि कुछ दिन चले, बाद में आपस में लड़ाई-झगड़े होने लगे।

रामनारायण चौधरी : जी हाँ।

जवाहरलाल नेहरु : मुश्किल हो गया चलना साथ जब बुनियादी फ़र्क़ थे। यानी किसी को लेना काबलियत के लिये वो और बात होती है। किसी इकोनोमिस्ट को ले लें, वो किसी दल का नहीं है।

रामनारायण चौधरी : जैसे देशमुख जी को आपने लिया था?

जवाहरलाल नेहरु : देशमुख को तो ख़ैर एक बड़े इकोनोमिस्ट की हैसियत से नहीं लिया था। तजुर्बेकार आदमी थे, वग़ैरह। बहुत सारी बातें थीं उनमें। उन्हें लिया था।

रामनारायण चौधरी : एडमिनिस्ट्रेटर?

जवाहरलाल नेहरु : एडिमिनिस्ट्रेटर थे, जो कुछ था, असल में फाइनेंस वग़ैरह में लिया था। फाइनेंस में उनका दख़ल रहा था। लेकिन हम किसी आदमी के लिये, उसकी काबलियत के लिये अच्छे इंजीनियर को लें, अच्छे इकोनोमिस्ट को लें, वो और बात है। क्योंकि सवाल पार्टीबाज़ी के नहीं हैं। आमतौर से सवाल नहीं होते आजकल की दुनिया के। जो गुल मचता है पार्टीबाज़ी का, वो ग़ौर आप करें तो एक सौ में पाँच फीसदी सवालों पर हो; पचानवे पर बहस नहीं है। यानी पचानवे पर जो बहस है वो पार्टीबाज़ी की नहीं है। दो रायों की होती है।

रामनारायण चौधरी : ठीक है।

जवाहरलाल नेहरु : फ़र्ज़ कीजिये कि पंचवर्षीय योजना की हमारी कमेटी है, जिसमें अलग-अलग दल के लोग हैं। हम वहाँ बैठते हैं। कुछ राय में फ़र्क़ हो, लेकिन वो पार्टीबाज़ी का फ़र्क़ नहीं है, क्योंकि वो चीज़ नहीं। वहाँ आके बहस करते हैं।

रामनारायण चौधरी : राय का फ़र्क़ है।

जवाहरलाल नेहरु: और यही बात आजकल की गवर्नमेंट की भी है। या एक म्युनिसिपैलिटी को आप ले लें, कॉरपोरेशन को। अब कॉरपोरेशन के काम बहुत कम दख़ल रखते हैं पार्टीबाज़ी से। जो कुछ काम हों, सड़कें अच्छी हों, रोशनी हो, पानी मिले, खाना मिले, ट्राँसपोर्ट ठीक हो, वग़ैरह, वग़ैरह। जो कुछ काम होते हैं उनमें पार्टी कहाँ आई? कोई नहीं। आनी नहीं चाहिये। आपस के झगड़ों में आ जाये, और बात है। आमतौर से नहीं आती वहाँ, जहाँ लोग अच्छा काम करने वाले होते हैं, काम करते हैं सभों से मिल के।

रामनारायण चौधरी: अगर बाहरी दुश्मन से लड़ने के लिए ऐसी सरकार बनाना ज़रूरी होता है, तो ग़रीबी, अज्ञान, रोग और फूट जैसे भीतरी शत्रुओं से लड़ने के लिये और देश का पुनर्निमाण करने के लिये क्यों नहीं बननी चाहिये? इसका जवाब तो. . .

जवाहरलाल नेहरु : मैंने दे दिया है।

रामनारायण चौधरी : दे दिया है, जी हाँ।

जवाहरलाल नेहरु : जिस कृदर हो सकता है हो।

रामनारायण चौधरी : जी हाँ।

जवाहरलाल नेहरु : लेकिन जब दो राय हैं तो क्या किया जाये?

रामनारायण चौधरी: हाँ, हाँ ठीक है। दलबंदी और चुनावों के झगड़ों से आम लोगों में जो बुद्धिभेद पैदा होता है और उसमें शक्ति, समय और रुपये की जो बर्बादी होती है, उसे रोकने और लोगों का ध्यान देहात की सेवा और रचनात्मक कार्य में लगाने के लिये भी क्या मिलीजुली सरकार की अनिवार्य आवश्यकता मालूम नहीं होती? इसका भी जवाब...

जवाहरलाल नेहरु : जवाब हो गया। मिलजुल कर जहाँ तक हो सके वहाँ बेशक कोशिश करनी चाहिए।

रामनारायण चौधरी: क्या अब भी आपको यकीन नहीं हुआ कि गांधीजी ने कांग्रेस को लोक सेवक संघ बन जाने की जो आख़िरी सलाह दी¹¹⁹ थी वह सचमुच सही थी और अब उस पर अमल करने का समय आ गया है?

जवाहरलाल नेहरु: यह तो एक सवाल ऐसा है कि असली मसले को कतरा जाता है। कांग्रेस को लोक सेवक संघ बनाते, जैसा कि उन्होंने कहा, तो दूसरे रोज़ दूसरी संस्था कांग्रेस की तरह बनाई जाती ताकि यह काम करे।

रामनारायण चौधरी : किसी न किसी को यह काम करना ही चाहिये।

जवाहरलाल नेहरु: किसी न किसी को नहीं, उन्हीं लोगों को, उन्हीं लोगों को करना था या उसी में से बनाते। यानी उसके माने यह नहीं कि जो देश का इंतज़ामी हुकूमत का सिलिसला है उसको छोड़ दें। लोक सेवक संघ के माने थे कि उसमें कोई दख़ल न दो। किसके हाथ में छोड़ते वो? उन जाहिलों के हाथ में छोड़ते, जिन्होंने हमारी मुख़ालफ़त की थी, हमारी आज़ादी की लड़ाई में, या हम यहाँ के महाराजाओं के हाथों में छोड़ देते, या जमींदारों के हाथ में छोड़ देते? देखिये, फ़ौरन सवाल आ जाता है।

रामनारायण चौधरी : जी हाँ?

जवाहरलाल नेहरु : िकसके हाथ में हम छोड़ें? हाँ? [हँसी] कि बाहर से बैठ के एक संतों की तरह से उन पर असर डालें? हो सकता है असर कुछ, मैं नहीं कह सकता नहीं होता। लेकिन नतीजा यह, खतरनाक नतीजा यह हो सकता है कि बुरे लोग उससे फ़ायदा उठा के काबू में ले आयें उसको। हाँ, कभी न कभी हम उनको गिरा सकें, पब्लिक ओपीनियन गिरा सकें, बाद में। लेकिन ...

रामनारायण चौधरी : एक दफ़ा तो वो...

जवाहरलाल नेहरु : एक दफ्ा क्या, कई दफा वहाँ तो बैठ जायें ना । चुनांचे ज़रूरी हो जाता है कि कोई न कोई संस्था, हालाँकि इसमें ख़राबियाँ हैं, कोई न कोई ऐसी संस्था बने, जो कि उसके लिये

119. See SWJN/SS/51/p. 107.

यानी पावर को काबू में लाने के लिये रहे। और उसमें ख़तरे हैं, वो ख़ुद ख़राब हो जाये। यह दूसरी बात है। तो अगर उस वक़्त कांग्रेस लोप हो जाती तो नतीजा यह होता असल में कि कांग्रेस के दो टुकड़े होते, नाम जो भी आप रखें। एक ये करती और दूसरी अलग करती।

रामनारायण चौधरी : ठीक है। अब छोटे-छोटे दो सवाल हैं। एक तो कई दफ़ा पूछने का जी मैं आया करता है कि आप ये हमेशा गुलाब का फूल, लाल गुलाब का फूल क्यों लगाते हैं?

जवाहरलाल नेहरु : कोई ख़ास माने नहीं हैं।

रामनारायण चौधरी : कोई ख़ास बात नहीं?

जवाहरलाल नेहरु : कोई ख़ास माने नहीं। लाल गुलाब को दस, बारह, पन्द्रह बरस हुए मैंने एकाध दफ़े लगाया था, तो गुलाब लगाया था आमतौर से लाल रंग का। कोई और रंग मिल जाये, लेकिन लाल गहरा—हल्के लाल मुझे अच्छे नहीं लगते। हमारी पोशाक वग़ैरह इस क़दर सादी कहिए, बग़ैर रंग की कहिये, एक dull कहिये कि एक रंग मुझे अच्छा लगा, उसमें एक रंग खोंस देना कुछ ज़रा तबीयत हल्की हो।

रामनारायण चौधरी : जी हाँ। आप कभी प्रोफेसर तो नहीं रहे?

जवाहरलाल नेहरु : जी नहीं। प्रोफेसर नहीं रहा।

रामनारायण चौधरी : थोड़े समय के लिए भी।

जवाहरलाल नेहरु : जी नहीं।

रामनारायण चौधरी : मैं ऐसा feel करता हूँ आपके जवाब सुन सुन के कि आप बहुत अच्छे प्रोफेसर हो सकते हैं।

जवाहरलाल नेहरु : हाँ, हाँ, हो सकता है। मुमिकन है हो सकूँ। ख़ैर, आख़िर प्रोफेसर नहीं, लेकिन मैं तो एक तरह से अक्सर जब आम सभाओं में बोलता हूँ जैसे एक क्लास में बोल रहा हूँ।

रामनारायण चौधरी : ऐसा ही, ऐसा ही।

जवाहरलाल नेहरु : वह तो बात है वो। जब मेरा बोलने का तरीका शुरु हुआ, जब मैं नहीं बोलता था-शरमाता था, किसानों में शुरु हुआ।

रामनारायण चौधरी : जी हाँ।

जवाहरलाल नेहरु: और किसानों से एक तो मुझे शरम नहीं थी। उन किसानों के सामने क्या शरम होती? दूसरे, उनको एक बहुत सरल भाषा में समझाने की कोशिश की जाये। वहाँ यह लफ्फ़ाज़ी नहीं थी, यह हुआ, वो हुआ। मुझे तो समझाना था। यह नहीं कि अख़बार में रिपोर्टिंग के लिये। इसलिये उस वक़्त से मेरी आदत कुछ ऐसी हो गयी कि समझाने की कोशिश करना, जहाँ तक हो सरल और आसान भाषा में समझाऊँ।

रामनारायण चौधरी : एक दफ़ा मुझे मोरारजी भाई¹²⁰ ने यह कहा कि विनोबाजी पॉलिटीशियन हैं। आपका इस बारे में कुछ ख़्याल है कि. . .

जवाहरलाल नेहरु : ज़ाहिर है, हैं वो। इसके माने क्या हैं पॉलिटीशियन के। शब्द आपने कह दिया मैं इसका जवाब क्या दूँ यानी पॉलिटीशियन वह आदमी है जो पॉलिटिक्स को समझे और उसमें राय रखे और राय दे। पॉलिटीशियन के माने ये तो नहीं हैं कि जो एसेम्बली या पार्लियामेंट के लिए खड़ा हो चुनााव के लिए।

रामनारायण चौधरी : मेरा ख़्याल है उनका इशारा कुछ इस तरफ़ था।

जवाहरलाल नेहरु : यानी वो पार्लियामेंट में जाना पसंद करेंगे।

रामनारायण चौधरी : नहीं, माने उनकी पार्टी या जो वो बना रहे हैं संगठन, वो कुछ पॉलिटिक्स में भाग ले, ऐसा उनका इशारा मालूम होता था।

जवाहरलाल नेहरु : नहीं, नहीं, विनोबाजी का बिल्कुल नहीं । लेकिन विनोबाजी के साथी अक्सर ऐसे हों वो और बात थी ।

[Translation begins:

Jawaharlal Nehru: What is your subject today?

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: I wanted to know something about the questions that are asked of you in the Gandhian circles.

Jawaharlal Nehru: You want me to answer that?

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: Yes, please.

Jawaharlal Nehru: It is very difficult.

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Ramnarayan Chaudhary: Committed Gandhians usually ask the following questions: 1) Communism claims to have solved the problem of poverty but it has taken away personal freedom; 2) Gandhiji's claim was that village industries can also solve this problem. How far do you subscribe to these two views? Can your Five Year plans be taken as a third alternative? From your experience of these Plans so far, are you convinced that they can solve the problems of poverty and unemployment?

Jawaharlal Nehru: This is an extremely long, difficult and complicated question, which cannot be answered in brief. But as far as the last part of your question is concerned I think that undoubtedly the problem of unemployment can be solved through the Five Year Plans. I cannot fix a date for that because it is a complicated question. Let me put it in another way. After all, the Five Year Plan is not a rigid document. It can be altered and increased or decreased whenever it is found necessary. But the basic necessities of the people in the country-food, clothes and other things—cannot be provided, particularly with the rapid growth in population, unless we adopt the new techniques of the modern age. If the population had been less, it could have been done. But it is becoming increasingly more and more difficult. You will find that wherever new techniques have been adopted, the problem of unemployment has been solved. There may have been some problems in the process. It is wrong to think that it leads to unemployment. It may happen temporarily. But hundreds of new avenues of employment and production open up. The wealth of a country increases. Now, if we were to say that all trains be stopped and people all over the country should travel in tongas, there will be millions of tongas which will mean more employment. But the production of goods will become less, not more, and ultimately employment will also decrease because many things will come to a halt.

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: What is your view about the communist claim that they have got rid of unemployment?

Jawaharlal Nehru: Are you referring to the communists' claim as a principle or of any particular nation? The answer to either is separate. What is communism? People talk about it without trying to understand. Very few people understand it and those who talk about it either criticize it or praise it without understanding it. Communism is an economic, a scientific way of looking at problems. This is the fundamental thing. Now, there are a number of methods by which communism can be brought about in a society. There may be violence and coercion. But fundamentally there is not much difference between communism and socialism. The difference arises because the history of communism in the last hundred or hundred and fifty years has been such that it has got linked to forcible take-overs and coups and their coercion of the people. It is only the method of doing things

which may or may not be acceptable. But the economic viewpoint of both socialism and communism is more or less the same. There is no doubt about it. Broadly speaking, if you wish to solve any problem in the modern world, you have to take all the pros and cons as well as the likely consequences into consideration. It is much more likely that the problem will be solved in this way, rather than to let each individual do as he likes. That would not be a wise thing to do. This is what is known as planning. What the planning is all about is a different matter.

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: To what extent do you think village industries can eradicate unemployment?

Jawaharlal Nehru: There are temporary advantages in village industries, some long term, some temporary. You can divide village industries into two categories. One is the category of village industries which are run by adopting modern techniques. If that is done, it becomes better in every way. The other category is of those industries in which new techniques are not used. Then they cannot compete. It may be a temporary solution but they cannot compete.

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: If you do not believe in the philosophy of khadi, why do you wear it? You criticize severely people who wear yellow robes without leading the life of an ascetic. Do you not lay yourself open to the same criticism if you wear khadi without following that life style?

Jawaharlal Nehru: I would like to know what this philosophy of khadi is all about, I have never accepted any philosophy ever. If anyone who wears khadi and thinks he is a wise man, he is welcome to do so. But I do not accept this. I accepted wearing of khadi for various reasons. Firstly, it is a symbol of our struggle for freedom. I had said once about khadi that it was our the livery of freedom which Gandhiji liked very much. This was a sufficient reason. Two, it became a symbol of reducing disparity between the haves and the have nots because even people of ordinary status could wear it. The difference may be only in quality. Three, in the situation that prevailed then, production of khadi and encouragement to this village industry was extremely important. I said so in those days but the situation prevails even now though now there are other angles in it, I cannot say what will happen fifty years hence. But at the moment it is a symbol of promotion and encouragement of village industries, which I think is very essential. That does not mean, or rather I do not understand that to mean, that there should be nothing but village industries in the country or that there should be no heavy industries. I think they are absolutely essential. So, for these various reasons, I think wearing khadi is good and necessary.

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: Is simplicity also one of your reasons?

Jawaharlal Nehru: I have already said that because of its simplicity it reduces disparity. I will go one step further. I do not know if it is just a habit. I feel uncomfortable if I wear anything else. It is a habit.

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: Yes, yes.

Jawaharlal Nehru: It is a habit of forty years. I feel uncomfortable even in very fine khadi. It does not feel good to the skin.

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: Habit is a big thing.

Jawaharlal Nehru: Oh yes.

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: But Gandhiji used to say that he was the greatest socialist, communist and egalitarian because he used to live like a trustee and took from society only what was absolutely necessary for himself. He used to consider taking more as a form of exploitation and violence to the poor. Then why do you, Rajendra Babu and other colleagues, who are regarded as Gandhiji's disciples and heirs, not lead a life of such simplicity so that the ministers, high officials, and the rich may learn by precept and the poor may feel happy?

Jawaharlal Nehru: It is not right that you should compare anyone with Gandhiji. It is obvious that Gandhiji was Gandhiji while we are small people. But another answer to this is, leave aside today, that my lifestyle was no different in Gandhiji's time than what it is today. The only difference is that when I used to travel, then I would normally travel third class. But in my ordinary habits and lifestyle, there has been very little change. I have always followed the same routine except perhaps when I went to jail. I live in a large house but there is no special change in my lifestyle. To be absolutely frank, my life, except when I went to jail, has always been a pretty comfortable one physically, then as well as now. What you said about Gandhiji living like a trustee is not correct because he himself did not keep any money. He used to say that those who had money should keep it as a trust. What was the word that was used to describe the rule in his ashram? I have forgotten the word.

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: Aparigriha.

Jawaharlal Nehru: Yes, Aprigriha, which meant having no possessions. It is a very good thing but in a personal way. Those who are able to do it should do so.

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: You have criticised parigriha many times.

Jawaharlal Nehru: Parigriha? There is a difference, I criticise not possessions but acquisitiveness.

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: Oh yes, acquisitiveness.

Jawaharlal Nehru: There is a difference. I dislike snatching and pulling among the people. I think that acquisitiveness is the basis of a capitalist society. I am not criticising it. It is the basis of capitalism.

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: Oh yes.

Jawaharlal Nehru: They accept it. It is not a good thing. The other aspect of this is competition, which is, to a certain extent, a good thing. Competition can lead to results and without it there is no incentive.

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: Oh yes.

Jawaharlal Nehru: It depends on the people. For instance, we were in jail. There was nothing to do from morning to night except to lie in charpoys, no reading, writing, nothing. But some of us used to work very hard, read, think and try to prepare ourselves for the future. That depends on the individual. But Gandhiji's example is simply not relevant. You can say there should be simplicity, etc., but the important thing is to work. On the one hand, there should be simplicity, that is, no artificial show. But in today's world, we need facilities for working. If I do not keep a car but go about in a tonga, a great deal of my time will be wasted. If I do not have my work typed, the volume of output will become half or one-fourth. So a man needs conveniences in modern life. Apart from the fact that Gandhiji was a different kind of an individual, he used to have twenty-five people behind him to do his work. One would carry his bundle, someone something else, some a charkha. That is not possible for everyone.

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: Vinobaji also has sixty people with him.

Jawaharlal Nehru: That happens. But his or Vinobaji's doing so sets a good example to the people and serves as a reminder. That is all right.

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: People know that you lead a simple life. They are hinting at the kind of style that you have to adopt. When in the city slums and rural areas, there have been no arrangements for clean drinking water, light and ordinary cleanliness, what kind of a socialism is ours to spend millions of rupees on air-conditioned buildings and five star hotels like the Ashoka and Janpath? How is it proper?

Jawaharlal Nehru: What do these things have to do with socialism? Does socialism mean that everybody should be equally in difficulties and poverty? That is a wrong way of looking at socialism.

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: Yes.

Jawaharlal Nehru: It would be better if you said that when the common man cannot get even the basic necessities, then it does not seem quite right that some people should be able to use luxury goods.

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: That is right.

Jawaharlal Nehru: It has nothing to do with the Ashoka and Janpath because we have had to build them for our guests. Thousands of people come and stay there. We built it in record time, in ten months, for the UNESCO Conference. We had a large hall constructed in which 1,200 delegates could sit. There was no place to put them up. So it was built. Even now thousands of people come and stay there and we want them to come because they bring in foreign exchange. This happens everywhere. You will find that even in communist countries huge, beautiful hotels are standing.

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: Oh!

Jawaharlal Nehru: One of our members of Parliament complained about the Ashoka Hotel. Then he went to China. When he came back, he said he will not complain again because he saw bigger and greater hotels there. So, these things go on everywhere. It is true that in India, there is a great deal of luxury and soft-living among a few and also a lot of money being thrown about for show, which is not proper. Even if someone has a great deal of money, he should be ashamed of bragging about it. That is why, at the beginning of our freedom movement, when Gandhiji came, the practice of wearing khadi was started which made people look alike, whether they had money or not. This created a climate of equality. Delhi is a specially bad example of wasteful expenditure and throwing about money. Please do not think it is officers who indulge in such things. Some may, but it is, by and large, businessmen and contractors who have become rich constructing New Delhi, who do so. They are pretty ...

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: That is true. It seems it is necessary to pay more attention to slums and rural areas.

Jawaharlal Nehru: The Government or the Municipality or the Panchayat Samiti have a great responsibility in the matter. But the best of governments cannot do

the work of every individual. What I mean is that there is a great difference. The people in the villages must take pride in keeping their villages clean. They can do many things, though, of course, they cannot arrange water supply, etc. There they need help. But they can do fifty other things. I am not talking about everyone but the difficulty is that often we build nice houses and colonies, which turn into slums five years later. How is that to be prevented? For that, it is necessary to educate the people in social behaviour. This is a fundamental thing. It is useless to expect the government to do everything. It neither can nor ...

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: Yes, that is not possible.

Jawaharlal Nehru: It is not possible.

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: But Panditji, have you noticed that there is no dedication among our workers, very good ones, old workers, towards this? There are so many important problems waiting to be tackled, and instead of paying attention to them, they are absorbed in petty matters, agitation, publicity and whatnot.

Jawaharlal Nehru: It is our weakness. What is to be done? It is gradually going. When you compare the two, you will find that it is easier to take great risks in a moment of passion rather than to keep one's nose to the grindstone, which does not bring in kudos. The latter is far more difficult.

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: But Panditji, I can vouch for the fact that there is such tremendous satisfaction in living in a village and working that one does not feel like coming out. Speaking for myself, I do feel like coming to Delhi to meet-you sometimes. But it is not as if nothing happens there. A great deal is happening there.

Jawaharlal Nehru: Yes, that is your good fortune.

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: Really.

Jawaharlal Nehru: Let me give you an example of what is happening in India. Three or four years ago, an American lady came to me.

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: Yes, you told me. In Madras.

Jawaharlal Nehru: In Madras, And she ...

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: Was she from a rich family?

Jawaharlal Nehru: No, she was not rich. She was from an ordinary family. Her brother was a missionary and she came here under his protection. She did not like the missionary work so she went from village to village. She was a doctor. She became interested in the villages and settled down. Her brother was very perturbed that she should be living in a hovel and felt it was beneath their dignity and whatnot. He tried persuasion but she did not listen. The brother wrote to the Government asking that she should be extradited and sent back to the United States. The Government had no special interest in keeping her here and told her to leave. Then she wrote to me and met me. When I talked to her, I was very much impressed. I asked her what she did. She told me that she had no money. She said she sits in a village, collects the children, bathes them and treats them for minor ailments. She said she did not have too many medicines but did what she could. People began to recognize her and come to her. So, in this way, she had opened a children's centre without any money or help or anything. So you see those who want to do something can do it in a thousand ways.

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: Yes, yes. But there is one question, Panditji. Gandhiji was killed by Godse. It was an act of violence and in your words the work of a mad man. By the same calculation, is it not a continuing perpetration of violence and madness against the Indian people that the administrative system which was described as devilish by Gandhiji, and cursed by you and the Congress as bureaucracy, has been accepted in toto without any fundamental change, with all its red tape and centralization, though you are Gandhiji's heir? And the fact that you permit so much corruption and atrocity? Is this machine, or this system, so strong that the human nature wants to change it but Prime Minister Nehru is helpless before it? That Nehru who can give up the bad and useless in traditions that have come down thousands of years clings to this useless system in the name of stability and, though a revolutionary, dares to move slowly?

Jawaharlal Nehru: This is not one question at all. There are ten, twenty questions and some of them are such that you take certain things for granted and then ask me why it is so. I do not accept your basic argument. You have quoted Gandhiji as saying that he disliked the system and called it devilish. What was he referring to? He was talking about imperialism.

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: Imperialism.

Jawaharlal Nehru: Within that he referred to the bureaucracy. It is essential in every country, whether it is socialist, communist or something else. The greatest bureaucratization is in communist countries.

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: Really!

Jawaharlal Nehru: It is obvious. What does a bureaucracy mean? It means government servants carrying on the work of the society. The more there is socialism, the more need there is for bureaucracy. It is the least in capitalist countries.

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: Oh!

Jawaharlal Nehru: Even there it is increasing because the modern society has become very complex.

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: Yes.

Jawaharlal Nehru: Extremely so. But by comparison, wherever there is free enterprise, with everyone allowed to do what he likes in business and industry, there is less of bureaucratization. Where public sector is predominant, bureaucracy becomes more important. If the railways are run by the government, all the Railway employees become government servants. The same is true of Posts and Telegraph. So these things should not be mixed up. It is a misunderstanding. Bureaucracy is essential and the work of the nation cannot get done without it. The difference is that during the British rule the bureaucracy was not merely a servant of the government, but the government itself. So there is a big difference.

Now that is over. India has, compared to the other countries which have become free during the last eight to twelve years, benefitted a great deal by having a trained bureaucracy. We see that there is a great demand for trained people in all the other countries, in the newly independent nations of Africa and Asia. We are sending them administrators, engineers, teachers, doctors and financial experts, to many countries. We have sent hundreds of them. Without it work cannot get done in the modern world. We are also sending people to the United States and the Soviet Union to be trained in engineering and science and other fields. They come back and take up government jobs, not all but most of them. So you must not confuse the two things. Trained personnel are absolutely essential in the modern world, at any time in fact, but particularly so in these times. Even what is called the red tape is necessary. What does it mean? It was called that as a joke but actually it means working according to rules. It does not mean delay. The difficulty is that sometimes the rules become so complicated that they create obstacles in the way of doing something. That can be prevailed upon. It is not the fault of the red tape but of the human beings who get entangled in rules and regulations.

Take, for instance, religion. In the beginning, a religion starts off as a pure thing and gradually such complexities of rituals begin to accumulate that the

spirit of the thing is lost in mere show. Such defects accumulate around any social or human institution. When it happens in government, there are difficulties. We often read in newspapers about Mr. Khrushchev's outbursts against the red tapism of Russian bureaucracy and the delay that occurs in achieving results, the same things we complain about here. Every few days Chou En-lai and Mao Tsetung talk about the same thing. So this is a way with human beings. An Englishman named Wilkinson ... no, Parkinson has written a book. 121

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: Yes.

Jawaharlal Nehru: Have you heard of him? His name has become famous. He is a professor in Singapore. He has written the Parkinson's Law.

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: Really?

Jawaharlal Nehru: He has shown in that book how a government office expands and keeps expanding. It starts with a hundred people and gradually increases with a branch here and a section there. They create work for themselves. It is not that the other work gets done. It is written in a humorous vein but there is a great deal of truth in it. There are weaknesses in a bureaucracy. But it is necessary. Otherwise a country cannot be administered. A socialistic country particularly cannot work. Red tape is also essential to the extent that it is essential to work according to rules. When there are large-scale projects with expenditure of crores of rupees involved, there should be some rules to govern them. But if they create unnecessary delays, then they are useless. In India, generally the complaint is about the departments of finance and audit for there are long delays there. It shows that the rules are faulty. But the files have to go through those departments. Otherwise there can be major chaos in the public fund. So you must keep the two things separate.

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: What about centralization?

Jawaharlal Nehru: Centralization?

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: Yes.

Jawaharlal Nehru: In a sense, you can say that the biggest problem in the modern world is that the entire world is rapidly moving towards centralization because the work being done is on a large scale. For instance, if we want to put up a steel

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plant or something else, it cannot be done in small huts as cottage industries. They are bound to be large. Some things are big. If I put up a factory to make rail engines, it will be large.

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: Yes.

Jawaharlal Nehru: There are some things which can be small. Gradually the entire pattern of working today is that something which is small becomes big. So it is cheaper to put up something big. There are certain advantages in that. Suppose there is a shopkeeper who puts up a supermarket. It will suppress ten to 50 small shops because the former has more capital and more goods. This is the tendency in government and in industry. You can see how it has expanded in the United States, etc., where there are enormous trusts and big conglomerations, and there is no end to it. On the other hand, there is a desire not to interfere in the freedom of the individual. Centralization does restrict individual liberty somewhat by imposing controls. That is bound to happen whether it is socialism, imperialism or capitalism. So we must choose the degree of centralization that we need because we cannot do without it, and at the same time maintain individual liberty too which means decentralization as far as possible. A balance has to be maintained which is a big problem.

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: Why are you tied to one party when you have the greatness and character to be a leader of the whole nation?

Jawaharlal Nehru: It is only saints who can dabble in human affairs on a personal basis. Today everything else, particularly the kind of politics that we have today, requires to be done through institutions. Government is one of them. Then, in a democratic set-up, there is a need for a public organization of some kind. Therefore, it is necessary to work through an organization in which the members may be of one view, more or less, even if not wholly so. Otherwise, if each individual pulls in a different direction, nothing can get done at all. So we have to decide where we wish to go and once that is done, the help of people who are like-minded has to be sought. Otherwise there will be endless argument about the goals to adopt and the path that should be followed and, if there is no consensus, complete chaos. Yes, it is true that partyism itself may be harmful. Now, it is not possible to draw a line between the two.

I function in several capacities. One is, like everyone else, in my personal capacity. Then I have been a leader of the Congress, though I have no special position in the Congress at the moment. All right, I am a leader of my party in Parliament and leader of the Lok Sabha. The status of the leader of the Lok Sabha is slightly different from that of a party leader because members of all parties are in the Lok Sabha. I have to take care that the dignity of the Lok Sabha is

maintained, etc. That is different from the party leadership. So many issues are linked together. But there is no sense in saying that an individual should work separately and not belong to any party. He can, then, only become a sadhu and keep giving advice, which may have an impact but he cannot do anything effective.

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: He cannot do his own work?

Jawaharlal Nehru: No, he cannot.

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: The basis of Indian democracy was a consensus of views. The basis of western democracy is majority opinion. Nobody can question a decision taken by consensus. This was the strength of our old gram panchayats. The same strength is not to be found in majority decisions and, in fact, ultimately it becomes the decision of a few. For instance, suppose there are one hundred members in a Legislative Assembly of which fifty-one belong to one party. In a party meeting, twenty-six people hold one view and twenty-five another; it is the former which wins out and then all the fifty-one members of the party have to agree. There are major defects in this type of elections. Looking to all this, have you ever seriously considered having a consensus democracy?

Jawaharlal Nehru: When has any decision been taken in the history of India or any other country with the agreement of everyone? You take many things for granted and then ask me what the solution is. I do not agree that any decision has ever been taken anywhere in the world with the agreement of one and all.

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: I can tell you from my own personal experience that thirty to thirty-five years ago, in the village panchayats in the rural areas, when we used to work in Bijolia, etc, the decisions were all taken by consensus.

Jawaharlal Nehru: I agree. These things are possible on a small scale, and when the world is a static place. It is possible to arrive at decisions by common consent. What are the problems that used to arise? It used to be things like misbehaviour of a boy with a girl or something in which there is no principle involved. Some may take a more lenient view than the others and a decision is taken to impose a fine or something. It is not a question of a principle in which there could be two points of view and by which some may benefit and others lose.

The difficulty arises when one section benefits and another suffers. Take, for instance, a zamindar and a peasant. Can they arrive at a decision mutually acceptable to both? It may be possible in some cases. But if the farmer says he should be given a share of the zamindar's land, naturally the zamindar is not likely

to agree. A man may agree on principle. So the moment there are social conflicts, it simply cannot work. As I said, it may have worked when there was a static society and a small village. I think in villages people often listen to their elders. But when the population increases and the social relationships become more complicated, then things become very difficult. Now, you will find that the history of democracy, as it known today, dates back to ancient Greece. There was a village democracy of sorts in India too thousands of years ago, but let us leave that aside for the time being.

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: But what was that democracy like?

Jawaharlal Nehru: The citizens of a small city would get together and debate. There were no representatives. If the city had a population of ten thousand, all of them would go there together and decide about the laws to be passed and whatnot. It was a polis state—not what we mean by police, but a Greek word. So democracy began by everyone getting together and expressing their views. But when the population rose by millions, then it became impossible to meet at the same time. Then gradually the idea of electing representatives took shape. So it was all very well in small villages as it happened in Greece or India. But how is it to be done when there are large populations? It is impossible. I agree that as far as possible we must try, particularly in villages, to arrive at decisions by common consensus. That is a good thing. But the basic conflicts cannot be resolved unanimously. There are bound to be different viewpoints. You can either arrive at a consensus by persuasion or threats or fear, or they may agree out of respect for an individual whether he understands the issues or not.

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: But, Panditji, it is said that so long as Gandhiji was alive, the decisions of the Congress Working Committee were arrived at by and large unanimously.

Jawaharlal Nehru: That is wrong. It is just not right. You can read my book A Bunch of Old Letters which was published last year. In that you will see the number of conflicts that arose in the Working Committee, people resigned and there were disputes. Gandhiji became annoyed with me. Rajendra Babu and others resigned when a proposal of mine was not accepted in the Working Committee. This was a pretty common thing, though you must remember that at that time the goal before us was a straight-forward one—to remove the British from here. Complex issues like social reform were not involved.

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: Oh yes.

Jawaharlal Nehru: Then take Subhas Babu. After all, did Subhas Babu not quarrel

with the Working Committee? So it is simply not right to talk about unanimous decisions. You must remember, that, first of all, what you say is not right; secondly, it was the time of our freedom struggle which was common to all of us; and thirdly, we had such tremendous respect for Gandhiji that in spite of all differences of opinion, we used to accept his ruling.

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: Looking to the situation in India today, created by the various parties and groupism within each party, it seems a good idea not to hold elections for ten years but to form a national, all-party, able, independent government and pit all our energy into the task of nation-building. What do you think of this suggestion?

Jawaharlal Nehru: What will be that task? The quarrel, after all, is because there are differences of opinion about what our goals ought to be. If there is unanimity of opinion, there will be no quarrel.

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: Oh yes.

Jawaharlal Nehru: When some people pull in one direction and others in another, how can a decision be arrived at? This is just where the differences of opinion crop up.

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: I see.

Jawaharlal Nehru: There are fundamental issues. Please forgive me, but I think it is absurd and makes no sense. Nobody fights for the sake of it. But in the modern world, the conflict arises because there is a difference of opinion among the people about which path to adopt.

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: There is a genuine difference.

Jawaharlal Nehru: There are genuine differences. They differ on principles, economic principles, etc. There can be differences even among brothers. They need not necessarily quarrel over it. There is a difference. So the question is which path is to be adopted. Now, if you keep ten different people together, they will not be able to go in any one direction. Either they will quarrel or the pace will become slow. At a time when speed is essential, we cannot stop and stem the flowing river. We have to go along with it and steer its course. It is possible to form a government only when all its members think alike, at least on fundamental issues. Suppose, for instance, there is a war on and we are under enemy attack. Then there is complete unanimity among everyone that the challenge has to be met. Such things have happened and will happen again. But even then, everyone

has to hold similar views. Those who sympathize with the enemy cannot be counted.

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: You had experimented once by taking in Syama Prasadji and the Harijan doctor as Law Minister.

Jawaharlal Nehru: Ambedkar?

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: Yes, Ambedkar.

Jawaharlal Nehru: Yes, yes.

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: You had taken those people.

Jawaharlal Nehru: So what? There has always been an effort on our part to take in others. In the beginning, the idea was not to look at things from a very narrow point of view. But whenever we have taken others, we have been let down by them.

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: Really?

Jawaharlal Nehru: Let down in the sense that it worked for a while and afterwards there were internal wranglings.

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: Oh yes.

Jawaharlal Nehru: It became difficult to work together when there were fundamental differences. It is a different matter when people are taken on merit, like an economist, for instance, who does not belong to any party.

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: Like you took Deshmukhji?

Jawaharlal Nehru: Deshmukh was not taken in the capacity of a great economist. He was a very experienced man and had other qualities and so he was included.

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: Administrator?

Jawaharlal Nehru: He was an administrator. Actually he was taken in Finance [Ministry] for he had experience in that department. Anyhow, we can take in an engineer or an economist on merit because the question of party does not arise. Generally speaking, there is no argument about ninety-five per cent of the issues. The noise that is made is over five per cent of them. It is generally over two

opposite points of view.

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: Quite true.

Jawaharlal Nehru: Take, for instance, our committee for the Five Year Plan in which people of different parties sit together and even if there are slight differences of opinion, it does not arise from party differences. There are debates over issues.

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: There is a difference of opinion.

Jawaharlal Nehru: The same thing applies to the modern governments too, or a municipality or a corporation. Now, there is very little interest in partyism in corporations. The tasks are clear cut: maintenance of roads, lighting, drinking water and food supply, transportation arrangements etc., etc. There is no question of any party here, nor should there be. Generally speaking, there is no problem and people do good work and cooperate with one another.

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: If It becomes necessary to present a united front against an external enemy, then why not to fight a battle against poverty, ignorance, disease, and disunity and other internal enemies, and to rebuild the nation?

Jawaharlal Nehru: I have already answered this question.

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: Yes, you have.

Jawaharlal Nehru: It can be done to the extent it is possible.

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: Yes.

Jawaharlal Nehru: But what is to be done when there is a divergence of views?

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: Yes, yes, that is right. Partyism and electioneering create factions among the masses and an enormous amount of energy, time and money are wasted on them. To stop all that and to divert the attention of the people towards social service and constructive activities in the rural areas, does not a united front government seem essential? The answer to this ...

Jawaharlal Nehru: I have already replied. As far as possible there should no doubt be an effort to work together.

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: Are you still not convinced that Gandhiji's last advice

to convert the Congress into a Lok Sevak Sangh¹²² was really the right one and now the time has come to implement it?

Jawaharlal Nehru: This question avoids the real issue. If the Congress had been converted into the Lok Sevak Sangh, the very next day there would have come up another party like the Congress to take on these tasks.

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: After all somebody has to do them.

Jawaharlal Nehru: Not anyone. It is the same people who could have done it. What it means is to give up the entire administrative structure of the country, does it not? Lok Sevak Sangh would have meant no interference in it at all. Would we then have left the reins of the country in the hands of the people who had opposed us during the freedom struggle, or to the princes and zamindars. So you see, immediately we are faced with all these questions.

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: Yes.

Jawaharlal Nehru: Whom are we to entrust all these tasks to? [Laughs]. Or, are we supposed to sit like the old sages and try to influence them? I do not say that it will not have an impact. It may, but the results could be dangerous because undesirable elements may try to assume control of affairs of state. Public opinion may be able to defeat them later. But ...

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: Once they are ...

Jawaharlal Nehru: They will be entrenched. Therefore, it is essential to have an organization or a party, which can hold the reins of power. There are dangers in that too, for there may be many defects in it. But that is a different matter. If the Congress had disappeared at that time, the result would have been actually a split in the Congress into two, whatever name they may be called by. Each one of them would have gone a different way.

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: True. Now there are two small questions. One is something that I have always wanted to ask you. Why do you always wear a red rose?

Jawaharlal Nehru: there is no special reason.

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: Nothing special?

122. See fn 119 in this section.

Jawaharlal Nehru: No, I had started doing this ten to fifteen years ago to add a touch of colour to our simple, dull white dresses and the habit has persisted.

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: Yes. Were you ever a professor?

Jawaharlal Nehru: No, never.

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: Even for a short while?

Jawaharlal Nehru: Oh no.

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: Listening to your answers, I feel that you will make a very good professor.

Jawaharlal Nehru: Yes, it is possible. Well, though I am not a professor, I often speak in public meetings as if I am in a classroom.

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: That's just it.

Jawaharlal Nehru: When I first began speaking in public, I used to be very shy. I began by speaking among the peasants.

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: I see.

Jawaharlal Nehru: I felt no shyness before the peasants. Moreover, I had to speak in a very simple language to make them understand. There was no possibility of playing with words. I had to explain things, not make speeches to be reported in newspapers. So ever since then I have got into the habit of trying to explain to people in simple clear words.

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: Once Morarji Bhai¹²³ told me that Vinobaji is a politician. What is your view about that ...

Jawaharlal Nehru: It is obvious that he is. What does the word politician mean? It means a man who understands politics and holds views about it and expresses it. Politician does not mean someone who stands for election to an Assembly or the Parliament.

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: I think that is what he was hinting at.

123. See fn 120 in this section.

Jawaharlal Nehru: You mean that he would like to go into Parliament?

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: No, that the organization or party that he is forming should take part in politics. I think he was hinting at that.

Jawaharlal Nehru: No, no, that is certainly not Vinobaji's intention. Many of his colleagues might be inclined that way. But he is different.

Translation ends]

18. To Ramnarayan Chaudhary-III¹²⁴

जवाहरलाल नेहरु : आज किस मज़मून पर आप।

रामनारायण चौधरी : आज पंडितजी स्त्री-पुरुष के संबंध पर है।

जवाहरलाल नेहरु : क्या क्या सवाल आप करते हैं? मैं उसमें कौन सा पंडित हूँ स्त्री-पुरुष के संबंधों में।

रामनारायण चौधरी : आप पंडित तो नहीं किंतु आपकी स्थिति ऐसी है कि लोग या तो कई गलत धारणायें बनाकर बैठे रहते हैं। कुछ आपके मालूम हों विचार। लोगों को गाइडेंस की भी ज़रूरत है।

आमतौर पर पूर्वी देशों में खानगी ज़िन्दगी और सार्वजनिक जीवन का विरोध बुरा माना जाता है और पश्चिमी देशों में उसे सहन किया जाता है। क्या आपकी जानकारी में यह हकी़कृत है? आपके ख़्याल से दोनों में से कौन सा रवैया ठीक है?

जवाहरलाल नेहरु : मैं समझा नहीं आपका सवाल।

रामनारायण चौधरी: यानी ऐसा आमतौर पर समझा जाता है कि West में पब्लिक लाइफ़ और प्राइवेट लाइफ़ में अगर कुछ विरोध हो तो सहन कर लेते हैं। हमारे पूर्व में कम सहन करते हैं। तो इसमें कौन सा रवैया ठीक है? हमारा रवैया क्या होना चाहिये इस मामले में?

जवाहरलाल नेहरु : मैं अव्वल तो यह नहीं मानता कि पश्चिमी पब्लिक लाइफ् में जिन बातों को असल में बुरा समझते हैं उसको सहन करते हैं।

रामनारायण चौधरी : प्राइवेट और पब्लिक लाइफ में।

124. 20 June 1960.

जवाहरलाल नेहरु : जी हाँ, प्राइवेट और पब्लिक। यह और बात है कि किन बातों को वहाँ बुरा समझते हैं, किनको नहीं समझते; यहाँ किनको समझते हैं, किनको नहीं। लेकिन जिनको असल में प्राइवेट लाइफ़ में वो बुरा समझेंगे, उसका असर पब्लिक लाइफ़ में होगा वहाँ।

रामनारायण चौधरी : वहाँ भी होता है?

जवाहरलाल नेहरु : यह वाक्या है कि मामूली प्राइवेट ज़िन्दगी के बारे में वहाँ जो रवैया है, जो आज़ादी है, वो यहाँ नहीं है, और वो और बात है। लेकिन जब एक बात को बुरा समझते हैं तो उसका असर फौरन पड़ता है पब्लिक लाइफ़ पर।

रामनारायण चौधरी : तो यानी जैसे वहाँ थोड़ी सी इस बारे में उदारता सी रखी जाती है, वैसे हमारे यहाँ ज़रूरत नहीं है क्या? माने कट्टरपन थोड़ा ज़्यादा, यानी सख़्ती ज़्यादा है यहाँ।

जवाहरलाल नेहरु : मैं नहीं समझता आप किस बात का ख़ास ज़िक्र कर रहे हैं। और वहाँ भी कोई बात मुस्तिकल नहीं है। एक बदलता हुआ ज़माना है, नई नई बातें आती हैं। बड़ी-बड़ी लड़ाइयाँ हुई हैं, उसकी उखाड़-पछाड़ हुई, यह सब हुआ है। और एक नई बात आजकल है कि क़रीब-क़रीब हरेक आदमी ख़ुदमुख़्तार है, यानी माँ-बाप पर नहीं पैसे के लिए वो भरोसा करता है, या किसी और पर। ख़ुद कमाता है। जहाँ ख़ुद कमाना आ जाता है मर्द-औरत, लड़का-लड़की को, वहाँ जमाना बदल जाता है।

रामनारायण चौधरी : जी हाँ।

जवाहरलाल नेहरु: तो वहाँ वो बात हो गई है। बहुत कुछ ख़ुद कमाते हैं जहाँ बालिग हुए, बालिग होने के पहले भी कमाने लगते हैं। चाहे वो रहें साथ माँ-बाप के, लेकिन वो कोई उनके ऊपर बोझा नहीं होते, न वो इनके ऊपर होते हैं। और इसमें कोई शक नहीं कि इन दो बड़ी लड़ाइयों ने बहुत कुछ पुराने यह ढँग बदल दिये वहाँ, उखाड़-पछाड़ हो गई है सारी ज़िन्दगी की। और कहा जा सकता है कि वहाँ एक औरत-मर्द के रिश्ते में रुकावटें हैं यानी पिल्लिक ओपीनियन के लिहाज़ से, लेकिन इतनी नहीं हैं जितनी यहाँ हैं; और जैसे यहाँ एक अदना-से-अदना बात पर गुल-शोर मचता है, वो वहाँ नहीं मचता है।

रामनारायण चौधरी : स्त्री-पुरुष के अनुचित शरीर-संबंध को आप पाप, सामाजिक अपराध या क्या मानते हैं?

जवाहरलाल नेहरु : पाप तो मैं जानता नहीं क्या चीज़ होती है। पाप तो कोई धार्मिक चीज़ है इसिलये मैं नहीं कह सकता। हाँ, बाज़ चीज़ें ऐसी हैं जो समाज को हानि पहुँचायें, बाज़ चीज़ें ऐसी हैं कि जो व्यक्ति को हानि पहुँचायें, बाज़ ऐसी हैं जो दोनों को हानि पहुँचायें। इस तरह से देखना चाहिये। अब उसमें भी कोई ज़्यादा हानि पहुँचाती हैं, कोई कम। अब ज़्यादा वाली को आप पाप कह दीजिये। अब, मसलन एक कोई नौजवान लड़का या लड़की कोई इस किस्म का संबंध करे किसी से, जोश में कुछ हो सकता है कि उससे गलती हुई। लेकिन हाय-हाय करने के माने मैं नहीं समझता। पाप तो दरिकनार है, मैं उसको माफ़ कहँ। मैं नहीं माफ़ कहँ जो हज़ार आदमी इस वक़्त ऊँचे ओहदे पर बैठ के बेज़ा पैसा कमाते हैं, बेईमानी करके, झूठ बोल के; मेरी राय में दोनों में कोई मुक़ाबला नहीं है। यो दोनों गलत हों, लेकिन कोई मुक़ाबला नहीं है। एक गलती सामाजिक है, व्यक्तिगत है, और एक ठण्डे दिल की गलती है दूसरी यह कि हो गई। हाँ, उसको भी बहुत ज़्यादा करें तो ख़राब है, नुकसान पहुँचेगा, समाज को भी, व्यक्ति को भी। वो और बात है।

रामनारायण चौधरी : सच्चरित्रता के दूसरे गुणो में, जैसे आर्थिक ईमानदारी, दूसरों की भलाई वग़ैरह में आपके ख़्याल से दोनों में कौन आगे बढ़े हुए हैं यानी West या East?

जवाहरलाल नेहरु : यह बात भी मेरे समझ में नहीं आती मुकाबले करने इस तरह से। शायद, वहाँ के पश्चिमी मुल्कों में एक तरक्की हुई है। बहुत ज़्यादा, एक पढ़ाई-लिखाई, पब्लिक ओपीनियन वग़ैरह वग़ैरह है, तो इसलिये वहाँ कहीं लोग उधर झुकाये जाते हैं बहुत ज़्यादा।

रामनारायण चौधरी : ईमानदारी वगैरह में?

जवाहरलाल नेहरु : ईमानदारी मैं नहीं मानूँगा। लेकिन वह भी तो बात हो जाती है न कि एक आदमी जो कि खुशहाल है वो पाँच रुपये के लिये बेईमानी नहीं करेगा, करे तो लाख रुपये की करे। वो और बात है, बड़ी रकृम की। वहाँ फूर्ज कीजिये ये मामूली बात है कि दूध की गाड़ी सुबह आती है, वो हर घर के सामने दूध की बोतलें रख जाती है। अच्छा, दूध कोई उठा ले जा सकता है? लेकिन कोई उठाता नहीं। उसकी कीमत इतनी कम है कि किसी को लालच नहीं। इसके माने नहीं हैं कि वो ईमानदार ज़्यादा है। लेकिन उनकी हैसियत ऐसी है कि दो-चार आने के लिये उनकी नीयत ख़राब नहीं होती। यहाँ एक मुफलिसी है, चुनांचे दो-चार आने के लिये भी नीयत ख़राब हो जाती है।

रामनारायण चौधरी : भारत में अब स्त्री-पुरुष आज़ादी से मिल रहे हैं और साथ-साथ काम करते हैं। इससे जो सामाजिक समस्यायें पैदा हो रही हैं और होंगी, उनका आपने क्या उपाय सोचा है?

जवाहरलाल नेहरु: मैं क्यों उपाय सोचूँ और सोच के क्या कर लूँ उपाय? यह सवाल तो उठते रहते हैं बदलते हुए समाज में, और हल्के हल्के वो अपने को एडजस्ट करते रहते हैं। ज़ाहिर है, उसके एडजस्ट करने में नेताओं को मदद करनी चाहिये, सलाह देनी चाहिये। आख़िर में तो सलाह से भी कुछ काम नहीं चलता है। आख़िर में यह बातें एक तो किसी परिवार का क्या ढँग है, यानी माता-पिता की मिसाल सबसे बड़ी चीज़ है। और यह बड़ी बात है। ख़ाली यह नहीं कि वो नसीहत हर वक़्त दिया करें। यह बाज़ लोग समझते हैं कि नसीहत से अच्छा फ़ायदा होता है। लेकिन नये लोग यह समझते हैं कि नसीहत का उल्टा असर होता है। यानी जो माँ-बाप हर वक़्त कड़े तौर से बच्चों को कहें, यह मत करो, वो मत करो, तो वो गालिबन उस बात को करेंगे। वो तरीक़ा होता

है। असल में माँ-बाप जो अच्छी मिसाल अपनी ज़िन्दगी की रखें बच्चों के लिये, वो सबसे बड़ी नसीहत है। दूसरे, तालीम, शिक्षा, स्कूल-कॉलेज की। वही ज़माना होता है जब बच्चा बनता है। शुरु के दस बरस सबसे बड़ी बात है। तो यह सवाल आ जाते हैं कि घर कैसा हो और शिक्षा कैसी हो? असल में उस पे आ जाते हैं। उसके बाद वो बन गया। हाँ, कुछ थोड़ासा बदल सके, लेकिन असल में वो बन गया उस वक़्त तक।

रामनारायण चौधरी: सरकारी कार्यक्रमों और महकमों में इस तरह के घनिष्ठ सम्पर्क का क्या अनुभव हो रहा है? और अगर उससे कोई ख़राबी पैदा हो रही है, तो उसका इलाज सरकार क्या कर रही है?

जवाहरलाल नेहरु : कौन घनिष्ठ सम्पर्क? मर्द-औरत काम करते हैं?

रामनारायण चौधरी : स्त्री-पुरुष काम करते हैं, आज़ादी से रहते हैं, मिलते हैं।

जवाहरलाल नेहरु : मुझे तो कोई ख़ास मालूम नहीं हुआ। हाँ, कभी कभी कोई ऐसा सवाल आ जाता है, लेकिन कोई ख़ास हमारे काम में उससे हर्जा नहीं हुआ। एक दिक्कत ज़रूर हुई है कि हम अच्छी लड़िकयों को इम्तहान पास करके रखते हैं, पैसा खर्चा सिखाने में, यह वो काम में। बरस, दो बरस बाद शादी करके वो चली जाती हैं, तो हमारा नुकसान हो जाता है।

रामनारायण चौधरी: नहीं पंडितजी, एक दफ़ा मैंने आपसे सवाल किया था यही सोशल वर्क के सिलिसिले में, तो आपने यह फ़रमाया था कि जहाँ तक हो सके दफ़्तरों में औरतों से ज़्यादा काम न लिया जाये, बिल्क बाहर जो फील्ड वर्क है उसमें एक दो बड़ी उम्र की हों और एक आध लड़की हो। इस तरह से भेजना चाहिये, इस तरह की राय आपने दी थी।

जवाहरलाल नेहरु : मुझे याद नहीं आता ऐसी राय देना कभी। और दफ़्तरों में काम न लें तो लें कहाँ? असल में काम तो आजकल दफ़्तरों में ही होता है। अब किस किस्म के दफ़्तर हों? मैं समझता हूँ दफ़्तरों में ज़रूर काम उनसे लेना चाहिये, फील्ड वर्क भी करें।

रामनारायण चौधरी : यह social service organizations के बारे में बात मैंने पूछी थी और उसी सिलसिले में आपने कहा था, सरकारी दफ़्तरों की बात नहीं कही थी आपने।

जवाहरलाल नेहरु : हाँ, मुमिकन है किसी ख़ास बात या किसी ख़ास सिलिसले में कही हो । लेकिन हमारे यहाँ इस वक्त कुछ ज़माने से, लड़िकयाँ पढ़-लिख के सामने बढ़ रही हैं, दफ़्तरी वग़ैरह काम कर रही हैं। यानी मेरी ज़िन्दगी में, मेरे बचपन में और अब में बहुत ज़मीन-आसमान का फ़र्क़ हो गया है, पर्दा और यह सब बातें। तो वो तरीक़ा एडजस्ट करने का होता जाता है, ऊँच-नीच होती है, ठोकर खा के गिरते हैं लोग, ख़राबियाँ होती हैं। लेकिन उसका तो सामना हमें करना ही है। यानी दो अलग तरीक़े हैं। एक तो औरत को पिंजरे में रखिये, अलग बिल्कुल; और दूसरे कि

मिल-जुल के, मिलें-जुलें। अब बीच में दिक्कतें पेश आती हैं। लोग आदी नहीं होते एक-दूसरे से मिलने के। कुछ झिझक होती है या कुछ एक नौजवान लड़का, नौजवान लड़की, जिनको आदत नहीं है एक-दूसरे को मामूली तौर से मिलने की, वो मिल के, शर्मायेंगे या बदतमीज़ी करेंगे, कोई बीच की बात नहीं रहती।

रामनारायण चौधरी : जी हाँ।

जवाहरलाल नेहरु : जो बीच की बात आती है कि उनको आदत है उस बात की, मिलने-जुलने की, तो कोई ग़ैर मामूली बात नहीं होती। अब यह कि उससे कोई रिश्ते हो जायें। यह तो ख़ैर समाज पर है, और बात पर है, गलितयाँ हों। लेकिन उसमें झिझक वग़ैरह दिक्कतें नहीं पेश आती हैं। जैसे यूरोप वग़ैरह में हज़ार खराबियाँ हैं, लेकिन मिलने-जुलने में कोई दिक्कतें नहीं, मामूली बात है। अब पहले मेरे बचपन में कोई औरत जो मामूली सड़क पर चलती हो दिन को, तो लोग देखेंगे कहाँ घर के बाहर निकल आई। अब तो नहीं कोई देखता, हज़ारों चलती हैं उधर से इधर, इधर से उधर, आती जाती हैं, काम करती हैं।

रामनारायण चौधरी : वैसे efficiency के point of view से दोनों में आपको ऐसा कुछ लगता है कि...

जवाहरलाल नेहरु : मुझे तो कोई ख़ास फ़र्क नहीं मालूम हुआ है, मामूली दफ़्तरी काम में। अब ख़ास ऊँचे दर्जे के काम में तो ख़ास लोग ही होते हैं और हमारे पास कुछ औरतें हमारे फॉरेन मिनिस्ट्री में काम करती हैं, बहुत अच्छा काम करती हैं, बहुत efficient हैं।

रामनारायण चौधरी : वैसे मिनिस्ट्री में भी स्त्रियाँ आती हैं, अपने यहाँ ली गई हैं। उनका और पुरुष मिनिस्टरों के मुक़ाबले में कुछ घटिया काम है?

जवाहरलाल नेहरु : मिनिस्टर्स?

रामनारायण चौधरी : मिनिस्टर्स भी रही हैं?

जवाहरलाल नेहरु : हाँ, रही हैं।

रामनारायण चौधरी : ऐसी कोई बात नहीं है?

जवाहरलाल नेहरु : कोई बात नहीं है।

रामनारायण चौधरी : क्या आपकी राय में इस बारे में हमारे पुराने मूल्यों में कोई परिवर्तन ज़रूरी है? है तो किस हद तक और किस रूप में? क्या हमारे कट्टरपन में कमी और उदारता में

वृद्धि ज़रूरी नहीं हुई है?

जवाहरलाल नेहरु : कट्टरपन, विधवा विवाह. . .

रामनारायण चौधरी : नहीं, वो तो मैंने, यह जो ऊपर मैंने ज़िक्र किया न, स्त्री-पुरुष, जब साथ काम करते हैं, तो हमारा एक रवैया है कट्टरपन का इसमें।

जवाहरलाल नेहरु : क्या, क्या खैया है?

रामनारायण चौधरी : इसमें हम हरेक बात को बहुत, जैसा आपने फ़रमाया, बहुत महत्व देते हैं छोटी-मोटी बातों को, हर वक्त कड़ी नज़र रखते हैं, तंगदिली से उनको देखते हैं। इसमें हमारे आम रवैये में फ़र्क आना चाहिये या नहीं, उदारता कुछ आनी चाहिये कि नहीं?

जवाहरलाल नेहरु : यह तो ज़ाहिर है, इस तरह की बातों के कट्टरपन एक छोटे दिमाग की बात है छोटे दिल की बात है, नासमझी की। कोई समझदार आदमी नहीं करते हैं। हाँ, गलती हुई उसको संभालें, चाहो सजा दो। लेकिन तंगख़्याली से देखना और पीछा करना वो तो एक निकम्मी बात है।

रामनारायण चौधरी: जो विधुर या विधवा फिर से शादी न करना चाहें या जो शुरु से ही अविवाहित रहना पसन्द करें, उनके जीवन शुद्ध रखने के लिए किसी ऊँचे ध्येय यानी मिशन का होना काफी है या रहन-सहन की कुछ ख़ास पाबन्दियाँ और मर्यादायें भी ज़रूरी हैं? यानी एक तो यह माना जाता है कि जिस आदमी की लाइफ़ में कोई ऊँचा मिशन होता है, वो unmarried रहके भी बहुत शुद्ध रह सकता है, आमतौर पर उसका ध्यान उस तरफ़ लगा रहता है। तो इतना ही काफी है या उनके बर्ताव में भी कुछ ...

जवाहरलाल नेहरु : मैं इसमें क्या कहूँ, पुरानी बातें हैं। बाज़ धार्मिक संघों में यह जो सन्यासी होते हैं, monks होती हैं। वो सब हैं उन लोगों के लिये जो बिल्कुल उधर हो जायें। बाज़ लोग विवाह नहीं करते। यह तो लोगों पर है अलग-अलग व्यक्तिगत रूप से। आमतौर से लोग विवाह करते हैं या करने की इच्छा होती है। तो और मैं क्या बताऊँ? ज़ाहिर है कि जित्ता उनका मन, किसी काम में लगा रहे ज़ोरों से, उत्ता ही उनका ध्यान और तरफ़ नहीं जायेगा, हालांकि उस वक़्त भी जा सकता है, यह भी नहीं कि न जाये, जा सकता है। बात यह है कि जो लोग ज़बर्दस्ती अपने को एक बंद रखना चाहते हैं, उसके माने नहीं हैं कि वो काबू में हैं। वो तो ठोकर खाके गिर जाते हैं जो लोग दुनिया को समझ के अपने लिये एक रास्ता निकालते हैं, काबू रखते हैं, उनके लिए ज़्यादा आसान है, बजाय इसके कि जो लोग दुनिया में डर के, घबरा के रहें।

रामनारायण चौधरी : दूसरे देशों में आमतौर पर और भारत में ख़ासतौर पर सहिशक्षा यानी coeducation सदाचार की दृष्टि से कुल मिलाकर फ़ायदेमंद साबित हुई है या हानिकारक? जवाहरलाल नेहरु : अलग-अलग मुल्कों के होंगे अनुभव, नहीं मैं जानता । लेकिन यह सवाल चलता नहीं । क्योंकि जहाँ शिक्षा हरेक को हो वहाँ वह अलग चल नहीं सकती । सारी जनता को शिक्षा देनी है, करोड़ों को, तब दो प्रबंध थोड़े ही होते हैं करोड़ों के लिये । स्कूल वग़ैरह एक ही होते हैं, स्कूल-कॉलेज में । हो सकता है कि कुछ थोड़ा बहुत कहीं कहीं अलग ख़ास बातों का हो जाये । लेकिन कोई यूनिवर्सिटी के दो टुकड़े तो नहीं बनेंगे, एक औरतों की यूनिवर्सिटी और एक मर्दों की । चलती नहीं बात चाहे वो पसंद न हो । और मेरा ख़्याल है, मुझे बहुत तजुर्बा इन बातों का नहीं है, लेकिन मेरा ख़्याल है कि आमतौर से एक-दूसरे को बचपन से जानना अच्छा होता है बजाय इसके कि अलग रहना । इसलिये किसी क़दर अच्छा था बड़े बड़े हमारे परिवार थे, लड़के-लड़की मिलते जुलते थे । हमारे यहाँ कश्मीरियों में कम से कम कश्मीरियों से तो कोई पर्दा नहीं रहा । सब मिलते जुलते थे और जगह भी । तो वो एक टेंशन नहीं होती कि मिलें किसी से, क्या है यह है । लेकिन इस मामले में लोगों की अलग अलग भी राय है यानी सहपाठ, सहशिक्षा की; बाज़ उम्रों में तो है ही । बाज़ लोगों का ख़्याल है कि एक अच्छा हो कुछ अलग इंतज़ाम हो । कुछ अलग तो होता ही है इंतज़ाम । यूनिवर्सिटी में पढ़ें तो क्लास रूप में पढ़ें, हॉस्टल में तो अलग हैं, और जगह अलग हैं । इस तरह कुछ तो होते ही हैं । और कितना मिलें, कितना न मिलें, यह अलग अलग होता है मुल्कों में ।

रामनारायण चौधरी : मतलब वैसे कोई नुकसान हो, ऐसी आपके पास रिपोर्ट, आम राय?

जवाहरलाल नेहरु : हाँ, ऐसी ...

रामनारायण चौधरी : ऐसी रिपोर्ट, शिक्षा विभाग वाले वगैरह ...

जवाहरलाल नेहरु : ऐसी रिपोर्ट मुझे ख़ास शिक्षा विभाग वालों की मालूम नहीं, लेकिन ऐसी रिपोर्ट्स तो आती हैं, दुनिया में आती हैं, हमारे यहाँ आती हैं। ख़ासकर आजकल के ज़माने में, जब एक नई आदतें आ रही हैं, नए ढँग हैं। तो वो आती हैं, तवज्जो दिलाई जाती है, आई है हमारे पास।

रामनारायण चौधरी : क्या आप विद्यार्थी जीवन की सब मंज़िलों में सहिशक्षा के हामी हैं?

जवाहरलाल नेहरु : वही जो आपने पूछा था न, कि बाज़ मंज़िलों में तो इसके अलावा कुछ हो ही नहीं सकता जैसे आमतौर से जो प्राथमिक शिक्षा है, जैसे दूसरी तरफ़ यूनिवर्सिटी शिक्षा है। तो बीच का एक ज़माना आता है जिस पर दो राय हैं। एक किसी क़दर हाई स्कूल का ज़माना किहये, उसमें दो राय हैं। लेकिन उसमें दिक्कत यही है कि जहाँ यह शिक्षा बहुत फैलती है वहाँ इंतज़ाम हो नहीं सकता। कुछ हो सकता है रहन-सहन का, यह हो, वो हो।

रामनारायण चौधरी : हॉस्टल्स वगैरह का।

जवाहरलाल नेहरु : हॉस्टल में हो सकता है रहना वग़ैरह, ये, वो। मगर क्लास रूम में भी दो क्लास

हों, वो बात चलती नहीं है।

रामनारायण चौधरी: परिवार नियोजन के कृत्रिम उपायों के विरोधी ये आपत्तियाँ करते हैं कि इससे इंसान अपने किये का फल भोगने से डरकर कायर बनता है; नम्बर दो, विवाहित जीवन के बाहर व्यभिचार बढ़ता है; नम्बर तीन, गृहस्थ में भी संभोग की मर्यादा नहीं रहती। इन तीनों एतराज़ों का आपके पास परिवार नियोजन के ज़बर्दस्त हामी की हैसियत से क्या समाधान है?

जवाहरलाल नेहरु : परिवार नियोजन, यह क्या है?

रामनारायण चौधरी : फैमिली प्लानिंग यानी artificial means से जो हम रोकने की कोशिश करते हैं औलाद का होना।

जवाहरलाल नेहरु : मैं उसका हामी हूँ आप जानते हैं। Means क्या हों, तरीक़े क्या हों, यह तो सोचने-समझने की बात है। बाज़ अच्छे हैं, बाज़ नहीं हैं। लेकिन यह एक सवाल हमारे लिये इता बड़ा हो गया है कि अगर हम इसपे बड़े तौर से अमल नहीं करते, और हमारी आबादी बढ़ती जाती है, तो जित्ती आबादी बढ़ती है उत्ते व्यक्तिगत रूप से हम सब गिरते जाते हैं। सारी हमारी आर्थिक स्थिति वग़ैरह गिरती जाती है। हम गरीबी को भी नहीं दूर कर सकते। और पहली, जो पहली बीमारी, अव्वल, बुनियादी बीमारी जो किसी देश की हो सकती है, वो ग़रीबी की है, और सब चीज़ें उससे छोटी हैं, उसी से निकलती हैं।

रामनारायण चौधरी : जी हाँ । क्या आप यह मानते हैं कि ब्रह्मचर्य थोड़े से व्यक्तियों के लिये भी निहायत मुश्किल है और बहुतों के लिये तो असम्भव ही है?

जवाहरलाल नेहरु : ब्रह्मचर्य? अब मालूम नहीं आप किस उम्र में कहते हैं, कब — उस पर है, उम्र पर है, व्यक्तियों के ऊपर है। मैं नहीं जानता कि मैं उसका क्या जवाब दूँ। मैंने क्या कोई जाँच-पड़ताल की है?

रामनारायण चौधरी: असल में बात यह है, पंडितजी, कि जो हमारे माहौल में विचार आते रहे हैं उसमें लोग अपके विचार जानना चाहते हैं, याने आप क्या सोचते हैं इस पर। यह बात है असल में। आपने अनुभव क्या किया, यह नहीं। लेकिन आप सोचते क्या हैं, यह सवाल है।

जवाहरलाल नेहरु : ज़ाहिर है कि आमतौर से एक तो यह कि एक उम्र के बाद विवाहित जीवन ज़्यादा मुनासिब है। लेकिन उसमें अलग अलग लोग होते हैं। जो न करें विवाह, ब्रह्मचर्य रखें, अच्छी बात है उनके लिये ज़ाहिर है।

रामनारायण चौधरी : विनोबाजी यह मानते हैं कि काम और क्रोध के मामले में आज का समाज प्राचीन समाज से उन्नत है और इस युग ... जवाहरलाल नेहरु : क्या है? उन्नत? यानी अच्छा है?

रामनारायण चौधरी : हाँ, वो मानते हैं कि काम और क्रोध आज कम है। और इस युग की सबसे बड़ी बीमारी लोभ या स्वार्थ है। उन्होंने अभी कहा है। मैं इस विचार से सहमत हूँ। आपका क्या ख़्याल है?

जवाहरलाल नेहरु : लोभ और स्वार्थ तो हैं ही। यह तो मैं मानता हूँ कि वो इस युग की बीमारी है। लोभ और स्वार्थ तो बुनियाद है कैपिटिलिस्ट, पूंजीवादी सिस्टम की यानी मंज़ूरशुदा बुनियाद है। यह नहीं कि आप उनको इलज़ाम लगायें। उसकी बुनियाद यह है कि हरेक आदमी अगर स्वार्थ के लिये काम करे अपना, तो वो ज़्यादा से ज़्यादा, अधिक से अधिक काम करेगा, और इससे सारे देश का और दुनिया का फायदा होगा। यह उसकी बुनियाद है, उसका सिद्धान्त है। और स्वार्थ के काम करने में चाहे वो एक को धकेले इधर और दूसरे को उधर और एक के कंधे पर चढ़े। इसी तरह से तरक्की होती है, नहीं तो ढील हो जायेगी आदमी के काम करने में। यह कैपिटिलिज़्म का उसूल है। तो वो तो है ही ज़ोर इसका इस दुनिया में। पहले की दुनिया एक दूसरे किस्म की थी। वो एक बंद दुनिया थी और उसमें दर्जे थे समाज के, और वैसे ही लोग रहते थे। बहुत इच्छा नहीं थी अपने दर्जे से ऊपर जाने की। वहीं हैं, वहीं रहेंगे। तो अब दरवाज़े खुल गये हैं। खुलना तो अच्छा है। लेकिन फिर एक तो वो एक-दूसरे के गले काटने तक नौबत आती जाती है। अपनी तरक्की के लिये, चाहे वो देश हो, चाहे व्यक्ति हो, और दूसरा आपने क्या कहा? कि वो उस ओर बढ़ गये हैं? कम क्या है?

रामनारायण चौधरी : यानी 'काम' और 'क्रोध' के मामले में आज का समाज प्राचीन समाज से उन्नत है, यह विनोबा मानते हैं। आप भी ऐसा मानते हैं?

जवाहरलाल नेहरु: मैंने तो कभी इस बात पे इस ढँग से विचार नहीं किया, और मैं नहीं कह सकता। यह मैं कहूँ कि आजकल के समाज में बहुत ज़्यादा लोग हैं जो कि पढ़े-लिखे हैं, सोचते हैं, समझते हैं, बातचीत करते हैं और इस तरह से proportionately यह कहा जाये कि ऐसे लोग अधिक हैं, जो कि कमोबेश समझदार हैं। पहले इतने कम थे मुट्ठीभर; और जो हम कोई पुराने समय की निस्वत राय रखें, तो हम राय बनाते हैं बहुत थोड़े आदिमयों के ऊपर, बड़े से बड़े जो अक्लमंद लोग थे। एक मैं कहीं पढ़ रहा था जब यूरोप के इतिहास में एक गिनती के अक्लमंद आदिमयों में से था, इरास्मस। उसकी लाइब्रेरी में पचास किताबें थीं। उस ज़माने में हाथ से लिखते थे वो तो छपती नहीं थी। और बहुत ही अक्लमंद आदिमी था वह, मशहूर आदिमी। आजकल हम पचासों, हज़ारों किताबें पढ़ें। ज़्यादातर निकम्मी होती हैं, फिज़ूल होती हैं। बजाय दिमाग में कुछ अच्छी बातें आने के, एक असबाब बढ़ जाता है। तो यह सही बात है कि आजकल की दुनिया में कहीं ज़्यादा लोग ऐसे होंगे, जो कि इन प्रश्नों पर विचार करते हैं, अच्छे ढँग से। उनके विचार अच्छे हैं। वो चाहते हैं भलाई दुनिया की। हर देश में, कोई शक नहीं, पहले के मुक़ाबले में बहुत ज़्यादा होंगे। लेकिन मेरा कहना कि पहले के मुक़ाबले में दुनिया बहुत अच्छी हो गई है या बुरी हो गई है, एक पेचीदा सवाल है। किस गज से नापें वो बातें? क्योंकि जैसे अच्छाइयाँ बढ़ी हैं यहाँ आजकल की

दुनिया में, वैसे बुराइयों की भी शक्ति बढ़ गई है। दोनों बढ़ी हैं।

रामनारायण चौधरी: अगर आप भी यही मानते हैं कि स्वार्थ और लोभ ज़्यादा हैं, तो उनका आपने क्या उपाय सोचा है, हमारे देश के लिये ख़ासतौर से?

जवाहरलाल नेहरु: एक तो मैं यह कहना कि मैं मानता हूँ कि स्वार्थ या लोभ बढ़ गया है, यह बात तो मैं नहीं मानता। मैं कहता हूँ कि है, बढ़ गया है और घट गया है, यह मैं नहीं जानता। क्योंकि अच्छाइयाँ भी बढ़ी हैं दुनिया में, बुराइयाँ भी बढ़ी हैं, दोनों बढ़ी हैं। इसका उपाय क्या है, यह सब ढूँढने के माने हैं बुनियादी तौर से समाज का संगठन कैसा हो? जिसमें यह कम से कम हो। शिक्षा, बुनियादी शिक्षा, महज़ नेक सलाहें देना नहीं, लेकिन वो बढ़ें ही ऐसा। इसी तरह से ये बातें हटती हैं।

रामनारायण चौधरी : क्या आप स्त्री-पुरुष की पूरी समानता के पक्ष में हैं? अगर हैं तो प्रकृति ने उनकी बनावट में जो फ़र्क रखा है, उसका कैसे लिहाज़ रखा जायेगा?

जवाहरलाल नेहरु : समानता से मतलब क्या? समानता यह तो नहीं है कि हर बात में वो यकसाँ हों। ज़ाहिर है, नहीं एक हैं, यह हरेक जानता है। लेकिन समानता के माने हैं कि स्त्री को मौक़ा दिया जाये सब बातें करने का, जो पुरुष को होता है, और उसको अधिकार हो। आमतौर से स्त्री के लिये ऐसे काम, जिनमें ज़्यादा शक्ति, ताकृत की ज़रूरत हो, नहीं हैं, उसको नहीं देना चाहिये। लेकिन आमतौर से वो काम कर सकती हैं। और बहुत सी स्त्रियाँ पुरुषों से ज़्यादा तगड़ी होती हैं, वो तो अलग बात है। वो तो सिद्धान्त समानता का है। लेकिन इसके माने यह तो नहीं कि हर काम में आप उनको भर्ती करें। बाज़ ज़्यादा मौजूँ हैं उनके लिये, बाज़ वे करेंगी, बाज़ पुरुषों के लिये ज़्यादा मौजूँ है।

रामनारायण चौधरी : विवाह विच्छेद या तलाक के मामले में भारतीय कानून में आपके ख़्याल से स्त्री और पुरुष के अधिकार बराबर हैं?

जवाहरलाल नेहरु : इस समय?

रामनारायण चौधरी : जी हाँ।

जवाहरलाल नेहरु : जो नये कानून हुए हैं उनसे आपका मतलब है?

रामनारायण चौधरी : जी हाँ।

जवाहरलाल नेहरु : मैं ठीक ठीक इसका जवाब नहीं दे सकता। मुझे याद नहीं। मैंने इत्ता उस पर ग़ौर नहीं किया है। कानून बनते हैं हमेशा ऐसे बहुत बहस के बाद। एक गिरोह इधर है एक उधर है, तो कुछ न कुछ निकलता है उसमें से। सोलह आने चीज़ ऐसी अक्सर नहीं होती है, जो कि पसंद हो, लेकिन मंज़ूर कर लेते हैं। इसमें कोई शक नहीं जो नये कानून बनें, उनसे स्त्रियों के अधिकार बहुत पहले से बढ़े हैं और वो बिल्कुल बराबर हो गये कि नहीं, इसका मुझे याद नहीं है। असल में याद रखिये आप, इन बातों में फिर वही बात आती है, बुनियादी बात, कि आर्थिक स्थिति क्या है? अगर स्त्री पैसे की वजह से मजबूर नहीं है, तो वो ज़्यादा आज़ाद होगी, वो ख़ुद कमाती है या कुछ किसी के पास पैसा है। अगर नहीं है तो फिर कैसे ही आप कानून बनाइये, वो दबाव में रहेगी दूसरे के।

रामनारायण चौधरी : हाँ, लेकिन कानून तो इसलिये बने हैं कि वो रुकावट न रहे।

जवाहरलाल नेहरु : हाँ।

रामनारायण चौधरी : दूसरे मुल्कों से भारत स्त्री-पुरुष की समानता के मामले में आपकी राय में आगे है या पीछे? अगर आगे है तो उसका क्या कारण है?

जवाहरलाल नेहरु : दूसरे मुल्कृ तो बहुत हैं। किसी ख़ास मुल्कृ से मुकाबला हो सकता है, दुनिया के पचास-सौ मुल्कों से तो नहीं हो सकता। अलग अलग हैं।

रामनारायण चौधरी : जैसे पश्चिमी, यूरोप के मुल्क़ हैं।

जवाहरलाल नेहरु : किसी से आगे है, किसी से पीछे है। जहाँ तक राजनीति है, politically भारत बहुत आगे है और बहुत सारे पश्चिम के देशों में वोट तक नहीं है औरतों की अब तक। बहुत सारे तो नहीं, कुछ देशों में ऐसा है। जैसे Switzerland इत्ता ऊँचा देश है, वोट नहीं है वहाँ औरतों को। और उनको ख़ास इच्छा भी नहीं है वोट लेने की।

रामनारायण चौधरी : और मिनिस्टर तो शायद हमारे यहाँ ही सबसे पहले बनाई गई औरत?

जवाहरलाल नेहरु : नहीं, नहीं, मिनिस्टर और जगह भी हैं।

रामनारायण चौधरी : अच्छा? यह हमारे यहाँ आगे होने का क्या कारण है?

जवाहरलाल नेहरु : आगे होने का कारण तो यह है कि हमारा जो राजनीतिक आन्दोलन शुरु से हो रहा है, कांग्रेस का विशेषकर, कांग्रेस के बाहर भी जो हमारे सामाजिक सुधार करने वाले लोग थे, उन्होंने वो ढँग उसे दे दिया था और तब से हटा नहीं है वो।

रामनारायण चौधरी : और आज़ादी लेने में भी तो स्त्रियों का भाग काफी रहा है।

जवाहरलाल नेहरु : और बाद में आज़ादी लेने के गांधीजी ने तो बहुत ज़्यादा मज़बूत किया और उनको आगे लाये बहुत कुछ।

रामनारायण चौधरी: भारतीय कानून में विरासत के जो नये अधिकार स्त्रियों को आम तौर पर और बेटियों को ख़ासतौर पर दिये गये हैं, उनसे किसानों में जो असन्तोष है उसकी आपको जानकारी है?

जवाहरलाल नेहरु : हाँ, कुछ चर्चा हुई थी उसकी । हमारे पार्लियामेंट में जब बहस हुई थी, उसकी काफी चर्चा हुई थी ।

रामनारायण चौधरी : उसका आपने क्या उपाय सोचा है?

जवाहरलाल नेहरु : उपाय क्या सोचना है?

रामनारायण चौधरी : किसानों में असंतोष का।

जवाहरलाल नेहरु : हाँ, किसानों में असंतोष है। अव्वल तो याद रखें कि हरेक को अधिकार है वसीयत करने का। यानी कानून जो है वो ऐसी हालत में लागू होता है जब वसीयत न हो तब लागू होता है सिवाय इसके कि कोई जायदाद का पहले ही से हक हो किसी को। वो दूसरी बात है। लेकिन अपनी कमाई का हरेक को हक है और वो करे वसीयत जैसा जी चाहता है। कोई नहीं उसको दबाता।

रामनारायण चौधरी : यानी ज़रूरी नहीं है कि बेटी को दे ही।

जवाहरलाल नेहरु : नहीं, यह तो मुनेहिसर है न कि जायदाद कैसी है। अगर वो खानदानी जायदाद है, तब तो उसमें कुछ रुकावटें हैं। अगर उसकी कमाई हुई है, तो चाहे एक पैसा न बेटी को, न बेटे को, किसी को न दे। फेंक दे समुद्र में जाके। उसको अधिकार है।

रामनारायण चौधरी : लेकिन मौरुसी जायदाद के लिये?

जवाहरलाल नेहरु : मौरुसी में यह कुछ होता है। तो मौरुसी जायदाद के तो आमतौर से यह ज़्यादा रुपये-पैसे वालों के लिये सवाल उठते हैं। मामूली किसान के लिये यह बहुत ज़्यादा नहीं उठते हैं, कुछ थोड़े से उठ सकते हैं। हो सकता है थोड़ा बहुत।

रामनारायण चौधरी : यानी अभी हमारे यहाँ यह जो ट्रेनिंग में लोग आते हैं, ब्लॉक कमेटीज़ के नान-ऑफीशियल मेम्बर, वो ज़्यादातर किसान होते हैं, अच्छे किसान होते हैं, मुखिया लोग। तो वे इस बात पर बहुत कहा करते हैं, कि पंडितजी से कहिये, आप पंडितजी से कहिये।

जवाहरलाल नेहरु : ख़ासकर पंजाब की बात है, और कहीं की नहीं है।

रामनारायण चौधरी : हाँ, पंजाब की।

जवाहरलाल नेहरु: हाँ, हाँ, पंजाब की है। अब यह सारे विचार ऐसे हैं कि वो किसी व्यक्ति का नहीं विचार करते, वो परिवार का करते हैं। एक लड़की गोया कि असबाब या तो बँधी हुई है इस परिवार से या उस परिवार से, उससे अलग कोई जीवन नहीं है। अब यह पुराना ढँग है देखने का। लेकिन अब नया ढँग होता जाता है, हर व्यक्ति व्यक्ति है, चाहे इधर हो या उधर हो, कहीं हो।

रामनारायण चौधरी: अगर यह सुझाव मान लिया जाये कि पीहर की बजाय ससुराल में स्त्रियों को, यानी बेटियों की बजाय बहुओं को जायदाद का हिस्सा मिले, तो जिन जातियों में पुनर्विवाह का रिवाज़ है उनमें, या तलाक आ जाये तब जो उलझनें पैदा होंगी उनका क्या इलाज हो?

जवाहरलाल नेहरु : अगर यह माना जाये तो क्या इलाज हो? मुझे क्या मालूम, क्या इलाज हो? क्यों उलझन हो और क्यों माना जाये? और आप पहले बहुत सारी बातें मान लेते हैं। उसूलन गलत बात मैं समझता हूँ कि बहू को मिले। कोई माने नहीं।

रामनारायण चौधरी : वो कहते, पंडितजी, यह हैं इस बारे में...

जवाहरलाल नेहरु : भाई साहब, वो सारे मैं माने उनके जानता हूँ। एक सुबह से शाम तक बहसें सुनी हैं बैठ के।

रामनारायण चौधरी : ठीक है।

जवाहरलाल नेहरु: मैं उनसे कहीं इत्तफ़ाक करता, इन बातों में इत्तफ़ाक की बात नहीं, नहीं मैं करता। मैं तो एक व्यक्तिगत रूप से देखता हूँ इस सवाल को। और मेरे पास कोई जायदाद हो और मेरा लड़का-लड़की हो, तो मैं तो नहीं पसंद करूँ कि बहू को मेरी मिले। यानी बहू को दूँ वो और बात है। मेरी लड़की को मिले, या लड़के को मिले। बहू के क्या माने हैं? मेरी तो कुछ समझ में नहीं आती। लेकिन जो लोग कहते हैं यह, उनको न बहू की फ़िकर है, न लड़के की, न लड़की की। उनको अपने परिवार में उसे रखने की फ़िकर है।

रामनारायण चौधरी : सही बात है, सही बात है, क्योंकि परिवार की सम्पत्ति को किसी तरह से अलग नहीं करना चाहते हैं।

जवाहरलाल नेहरु : देखिये न।

रामनारायण चौधरी : पुरुष स्त्री पर राज्य करता है या स्त्री पुरुष पर, इस बारे में मतभेद पाया जाता है। आपका इस विषय में क्या मत है?

जवाहरलाल नेहरु : आमतौर से जिसके पास पैसा होता है घर चलाने का। उसकी आवाज ज़्यादा चलती है यों किसी की भी चल जाये। दूसरे, यह समझा जाता है पुराने ज़माने से कि जिसमें ताकत

ज़्यादा है, कुछ शारीरिक बल है, वो भी कुछ दबाव डाले, लेकिन दूर तक जाता नहीं, पैसे का ज़ोर है ज़्यादातर।

रामनारायण चौधरी : तो इस हिसाब से फिलहाल तो पुरुषों का ही...

जवाहरलाल नेहरु : हाँ, इसमें क्या शक है, है ही।

रामनारायण चौधरी : जब तक स्त्री स्वावलम्बी नहीं हो जाती।

[Translation begins:

Jawaharlal Nehru: What are you going to ask me about today?

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: About the relationship between men and women, Panditji.

Jawaharlal Nehru: What strange questions you ask me. How am I supposed to be an expert on men-women relationships?

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: Not an expert but you are in a situation where people tend to form wrong impressions. They need guidance. So your views must be made known. Generally speaking, a conflict between the public and private lives is less tolerated in the East than in the West. From your knowledge, do you think there is truth in this? In your view, which is right?

Jawaharlal Nehru: I have not understood your question.

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: That is, it is generally felt that in the West, any contradiction between public and private life is tolerated. But it is not so in the East. Which of these practices is right? What should be our practice in this matter?

Jawaharlal Nehru: First of all, I do not agree that in Western public life the things that are considered really bad, are tolerated.

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: Between private and public life.

Jawaharlal Nehru: Yes, in private and public. It is a different thing that standards differ. But if something is considered really bad in private life, it is bound to have an impact on public life.

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: It happens there also?

Jawaharlal Nehru: The fact is that normally the freedom that is enjoyed in the West is not available here. But that is another matter. But when something is considered wrong, it immediately has an impact on public life.

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: Don't you think you we should be a little more liberal in our views, here also? Meaning, that we are too rigid and strict here.

Jawaharlal Nehru: I do not understand what you are specially referring to. There is nothing constant there also. The times are changing and there are new values. There have been great wars and upheaval. Now a new development is that almost every individual—man, woman, boy, girl—is independent, that is, not dependent on parents or anyone else for support. He earns his own living. When that happens, the values change.

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: Oh yes.

Jawaharlal Nehru: So that has been happening there. Most people earn their living even before they become adults. Even if they continue to live with their parents, they are not a burden on them. So there is no doubt about it, that the two big wars have changed the lifestyle to a very large extent. There has been a great upheaval in their lives. It can be said that the restrictions on relationships between men and women are not so many, from the point of view of public opinion, as they are here. Trivial things do not cause an uproar, as it happens here.

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: Do you consider illegitimate sex to be a sin, a social crime, or what?

Jawaharlal Nehru: I do not know what sin is. That has a religions connotation, which I do not know. Yes, there are certain things which can be harmful to society and individual, or both. This is how it has to be seen. Some things are more harmful and others less. You may call the more harmful practices as sins. Now, for instance, if there is something like this between a young boy and girl, it is possible that youthful passions may lead them to make a mistake. I do not think there is any cause to make a great song and dance about it. I would excuse them. I will not forgive the thousands of people who are now in high places, making money dishonestly by telling lies and whatnot. There is no comparison between the two, even if both are wrong. One is a social, personal wrong and the other is something which is done deliberately. It is no doubt true that the former, if it goes on unchecked, can do harm to society, as well as the individuals concerned. That is a different matter.

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: In qualities of character, like economic honesty, welfare of others, etc, who do you think is more advanced—West or East?

Jawaharlal Nehru: Even in this, I cannot understand how the two can be compared. Perhaps in the West there has been a progress in education and well developed public opinion, etc., so that the people are more inclined to a certain direction.

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: In honesty and integrity?

Jawaharlal Nehru: I would not say that. But after all a man who is well-off is not likely to be dishonest about five rupees. He may be dishonest about lakhs; that is a different matter. For instance, you will find milk vans depositing milk bottles in front of houses, which anybody can take away. But nobody does. It costs so little that there is no greed. But that does not make them more honest. They are so well off that they are not tempted to cheat in small matters. Here there is so much poverty that people cheat even for a few annas.

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: Now men and women meet one another freely and work together. Have you thought of any way of dealing with the social problems that are arising and will do so, as a result?

Jawaharlal Nehru: Why should I think of a way, and what do you think I will achieve by that? Such problems keep arising in a society, and gradually they get adjusted. Obviously, they have to be guided and advised by leaders in making that adjustment. But ultimately, even that does not help. For one thing, a great deal depends on the kind of background people come from and the example that the parents set. It is not enough to leave large fortunes, as some people seem to think. The really modern people think that it has the opposite effect. In fact, the best fortune that anybody can leave for their children, is to make a good example of their lives. The second thing is education, school and college education, for that is the time when a child is moulded. The first ten years of a child's life are very important. Therefore, the question is what kind of home background they come from and the education they are given. Everything depends on that, for their child's character gets moulded and there is very little possibility of change.

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: What is the experience in government programmes and offices by such close contacts? If there are any evil consequences, what are the steps that the government is taking to remedy them?

Jawaharlal Nehru: What close contacts? Men and women, working together?

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: Yes, and meeting freely, etc.

Jawaharlal Nehru: I cannot see any special problem. They may arise now and then, but it has never created any serious obstacle to our working. There is one difficulty, and that is when a great deal of money has been spent training girls for some post: they work for a year or two and then get married and leave. That is a great loss to us.

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: No, Panditji, I had asked you once about social work, etc., and you had said that, as far as possible, girls must not be taken into offices but sent in teams of two older women and a couple of girls for field work. This is what you had said once.

Jawaharlal Nehru: I cannot remember saying anything like this. And if they are not taken into offices, where are they to go? After all, these days the jobs are in offices. They must be taken, and others can do field work too.

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: Once when I had asked about social service organizations, you had expressed this view. You did not say that they should be taken into offices.

Jawaharlal Nehru: Yes, it is possible that I may have said it in a particular context. But for some time now, girls have been getting educated and working in offices. There is a world of difference in this, between the time when I was a child and now. Purdah and other restrictions have gone. So it is a method of gradual adjustment, there are ups and downs, people stumble and fall, and there are various problems, but we will have to face those things. There are two ways of doing this. One is, to keep the women in a separate cage and the other is to allow them freedom to come out. Initially, there are bound to be difficulties till people get used to it. When young boys and girls who are not generally in the habit of meeting one another are thrown together, there is bound to be a constraint, or some may misbehave.

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: Yes.

Jawaharlal Nehru: When they get used to being together, then it no longer seems extraordinary. Now, it is possible that closer relationships might develop. That depends on society and other factors. There may be mistakes. But there is no shyness or hesitation in meeting one another. It becomes a common thing. Now, in my childhood, if a woman just walked out on the road in broad daylight, people would stare to see why she had come out of the house. Now nobody cares; thousands of women go about here and there.

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: From the point of view of efficiency, do you find that between the two ...

Jawaharlal Nehru: I have not noticed any special difference in routine office work. Now, there are special people for specialized tasks, and there are some women who are working in the External Affairs Ministry. They are doing very good work and are efficient.

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: Women have been taken in ministries also. Are they in any way less than the men who are ministers?

Jawaharlal Nehru: Ministers?

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: Women have been ministers.

Jawaharlal Nehru: Yes, yes.

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: Is there any difference?

Jawaharlal Nehru: No.

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: Do you think that there is any need for a change in our values in this matter, and if so, in what way? Has there not been a lessening of our rigidity and an enhancement of liberties.

Jawaharlal Nehru: Rigidity, widow remarriage ...

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: No, as I mentioned earlier, when men and women work closely together, a certain rigidity marks our behaviour.

Jawaharlal Nehru: What, what is that?

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: As you said, we attach too much importance to little things and keep a strict watch and look at things from a narrow point of view. Should there not be a difference in our usual way of behaviour, and a great liberation in our thinking?

Jawaharlal Nehru: It is obvious. Rigidity in such matters is a product of narrow-mindedness and ignorance. No wise person could do such things. If someone makes a mistake, it should be corrected, and if necessary, punishment given. But it is absurd to be narrow minded about it and to harass them.

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: Is it enough for a widow or widower, who does not want to remarry, to have a mission or is it also necessary to have some special restrictions and values? That is, it can be taken for granted that the

man who has a great mission in life, can remain pure even if he does not marry, because generally his attention is absorbed in his task. So is that enough or should there be a code of conduct...

Jawaharlal Nehru: Now, what am I to say about all this? This is all old hat. In certain religious centres or convents, there are monks and nuns. That is, for people who are beyond all these things. Whether an individual marries or not, depends on him. Generally, people do marry or wish to do so. So what am I to say. It is obvious that the more they are absorbed in their own tasks, the less they will think of other things though even then, they could feel the need for other things. The thing is that some people like to keep themselves under a tight leash. It does not necessarily mean that they have greater self-control. But such people usually stumble and fall. Those who understand the world, and evolve a path for themselves, find it easier to keep a control over themselves, rather than those who live in fear of the world.

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: Has co-education proved, on the whole, beneficial or harmful from the point of view of good behaviour, generally in other countries, and particularly in India?

Jawaharlal Nehru: The experience of each country must be different. I do not know. But the question of not having co-education does not arise, if everyone in the country is to be educated. When millions have to be educated, it is not possible to make two separate arrangements. There can be only one type of schools and colleges for everyone. There may be some special institutions here and there, which may be separate. But it is not possible to have a separate university for men and women, after all. It cannot work, whether anyone likes it or not. I do not have very much experience of these matters but I think that generally it is better for boys and girls to grow up together, rather than be segregated. It used to be a good tradition, when there were large joint families, with friends and relatives meeting. At least among the Kashmiris there was no purdah between our own families. Everyone would meet freely without any tension of any sort. But there are different points of view about co-education. Some people think it is better to educate boys and girls separately. Anyhow, there are separate hostels, in any case. Then the extent to which they are allowed to be together or not, differs from country to country.

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: Have you had any reports about any harmful effects

Jawaharlal Nehru: Yes ...

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: From the education department ...

Jawaharlal Nehru: Not specially from the education department but we are getting reports from all over the world. Particularly now, some strange trends are developing, which draw attention to the problems.

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: Are you in favour of co-education for students at all stages?

Jawaharlal Nehru: As I said, at certain stages nothing else is possible, like primary education, and university education at the other end. There are two points of view about the intervening period, particularly the high school period. The difficulty about that is, that when education spreads to everyone, such arrangements become more difficult. Separate arrangements can be made for living, etc. ...

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: Hostels, etc.

Jawaharlal Nehru: Hostels may be separate. But it is not possible to have separate classrooms.

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: The objection to artificial methods of family planning is that they make cowards out of human beings by making them afraid of taking the consequences of their acts; secondly, immorality, outside marriage, increases; thirdly, even within a marriage, there is no dignity of sex. What is your answer to these three objections to convince people in favour of family planning.

Jawaharlal Nehru: What family planning?

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: Family planning meaning artificial means of birth control.

Jawaharlal Nehru: You know, I am in favour of it. As to what the method should be, is a matter to be carefully considered. Some are good, others not so good. But the problem has assumed such great importance for us, that if we do not practice it in a big way, and our population keeps growing at the rate it is now, all of us will become economically worse off, to that extent. We cannot get rid of poverty, which is the worst disease that any country can suffer from. Everything else is small by comparison and steers away from it.

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: Oh yes. Do you believe that celibacy is extremely difficult for even a few, and practically impossible for the majority?

Jawaharlal Nehru: Celibacy? Now, I do not know which age you are talking about. Everything depends on the age and the individual. I do not know what I can say to this. I have not done any research into it.

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: The fact of the matter is, Panditji, that people want to know your views about beliefs which have traditionally prevailed in Indian society. It is not a question of your personal experience, but your views on these subjects.

Jawaharlal Nehru: It is obvious that, generally speaking, after a certain age, married life is better. But even in that, people differ. Those who do not marry but want to be celibate should do so. It is a good thing for them.

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: Vinobaji feels that in the matter of passion and anger, today's society is more advanced than our ancient one, and particularly this age ...

Jawaharlal Nehru: What? More advanced? Meaning better?

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: Yes, he believes that both are less today and the greatest affliction of this age is greed and selfishness. He said this recently. I am in agreement with this view. What is your opinion?

Jawaharlal Nehru: Yes, it is no doubt true that greed and selfishness are the great diseases of this age. They are the undoubted basis of the capitalist system. It is not a question of accusing them of it. The basis of capitalism is that each individual works for his own selfish ends; he will work to the maximum and consequently the whole country and the world will benefit. This is its basic principle. In the process of working for selfish ends, they are free to push one another and climb over the others. This is how there can be progress. Otherwise, man becomes slack. This is the principle of capitalism. So that is, of course, there in the modern world. The ancient world was of a different kind. It was a closed world, and there were various sections of society and the people lived accordingly. There was no great desire for mobility to a higher level. They were born to a certain level and stayed there. Now all the doors have opened, which is a good thing. But now they are reaching a stage where they are prepared to cut each other's throats for personal aggrandizement whether it is an individual or a nation. What was the other thing you said? What has become less?

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: Vinobaji believes that in the matter of passion and anger, today's society is better off than the ancient one. Do you also think so?

Jawaharlal Nehru: I have never thought about it along these lines, so I cannot say. I would say that in the modern society, since the number of educated, thinking people is going up, proportionately there is a larger number of more or less intelligent people. Earlier they were very few, a handful, and when we form impressions of the olden days, it is on the basis of a handful of extremely intelligent, intellectual human beings. I was reading somewhere about Erasmus, who was regarded as one of the great intellectuals in European history. He had in his library 50 books. In those days, books were hand-written, not published. He was a great intellectual and very famous. Nowadays, we have access to thousands of books; the majority of them are useless and worthless, and instead of adding something new to one's knowledge, they only add to one's possession. So it is true that in today's world there are far more people who think about these problems in a sensible way. They want the good of the world. In every country, there is no doubt about it that there are a greater number of such people. But for me to say that the world is a better place, or worse than before, is a complex thing. By what yardstick is this to be judged, because while the forces of good have increased, so have the forces of evil. Both have increased

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: If you also accept that there is more greed and selfishness in the world today, have you thought of any method to combat them, particularly for India?

Jawaharlal Nehru: For one thing, I do not agree when you say that I think that greed and selfishness have increased. I do not know whether they have increased or decreased. I say that they are there. Forces of good as well as evil have increased in this world. The only way of combating them is to build a structure of society in which such things would be reduced, to have more education, etc. Moralizing is not enough. There should be proper education. That is the only way to remove these evils.

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: Are you in favour of complete equality between men and women? If so, how are the national [sic] differences between them to be respected?

Jawaharlal Nehru: What do you mean by equality? Equality does not mean that they should be alike in every way. It is obvious that they are not alike. Everyone knows that. But equality means giving the same opportunities to women as the men in everything, and the same rights. Generally speaking, women should not be given jobs which need more physical strength though many women are stronger than men. That is a different matter. The principle of equality should be followed. That does not mean that the women should be taken for all kinds of jobs. Some jobs are better for them and some are better for the men.

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: Do you think men and women enjoy equal rights in the matter of divorce under Indian law?

Jawaharlal Nehru: At the moment?

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: Yes.

Jawaharlal Nehru: Are you referring to the new laws that have been passed?

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: Yes.

Jawaharlal Nehru: I cannot give a definite reply. I do not remember. I have not studied the matter carefully. Such laws are generally passed after a great deal of debate, with different points of view being taken into consideration, and a consensus obtained. Obviously, the result can never please everyone, but there is general acceptance. There is no doubt about it that the new laws which have been passed have given far more rights to women than before, but whether they enjoy equal rights or not, I do not remember. Actually, you must remember that again the basic question is what our economic condition is like. If a woman is economically independent, has some money of her own or earns her own living, she will be more independent too. If she is not, then no matter what laws you pass, she will continue to be under somebody else.

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: Yes, but the laws are passed to see that there are no obstacles.

Jawaharlal Nehru: Yes.

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: So you think other countries are more advanced than India, regarding the equality between men and women? If they are, what is the reason for it?

Jawaharlal Nehru: There are so many countries. How can we compare ourselves with all of them? There are so many countries.

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: Like the countries of Western Europe.

Jawaharlal Nehru: Some are more advanced, some less so. As far as politics is concerned, India is far advanced. In many of the Western countries, women do not have vote even now. In some of them at least, this is so. For instance, Switzerland is such a great country and yet women have no vote and nor do they particularly wish for it.

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: I think we were the first to have women ministers?

Jawaharlal Nehru: No, no, they have in other places.

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: Really? What is the reason for our being advanced?

Jawaharlal Nehru: The reason is the political movement which the country has undergone since the beginning. Particularly in the Congress, and outside too, there have been great social reformers. They have been responsible for these trends, which have stayed on.

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: Women have played an important role in the freedom movement too.

Jawaharlal Nehru: Gandhiji brought them forward and made them very strong.

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: Are you aware of the dissatisfaction among the peasants about the Indian laws giving new rights to women, particularly the daughters?

Jawaharlal Nehru: Yes, there has been some talk about that. There were some debates in Parliament too, which mentioned it.

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: What is the remedy that you have thought of for that?

Jawaharlal Nehru: Why should a remedy be found?

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: About the dissatisfaction among the peasants.

Jawaharlal Nehru: Yes, there is dissatisfaction. First of all, it must be remembered that everyone has the right to make a will. The law applies only in cases where there is no will. The exception to this is ancestral property. That is different. But everyone has the right to dispose of his self-earned property as he likes. Nobody can question that.

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: That is, it is not necessary to give it to the daughters.

Jawaharlal Nehru: No, that depends on the kind of property. If it is ancestral property, then there are some restrictions. If it is his own self-earned income, he has the right not to give a pie to his son or daughter, or anyone. He can throw it into the sea.

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: But about entailed property?

Jawaharlal Nehru: There is some restriction. But generally, this problem arises only in the case of the rich; not for ordinary peasants, at least not very much.

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: The people who come for training to our block committees as non-official members are mostly farmers, good farmers. They often ask me to talk about this to you.

Jawaharlal Nehru: It applies particularly to the Punjab and nowhere else.

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: Yes, the Punjab.

Jawaharlal Nehru: Yes. Now, all these things take the whole family into consideration, and not any particular individual. The old way was to think of girls as the property of one family or the other. Now the thinking is changing and each individual is a person in his own right, to whichever family he or she may belong.

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: If the suggestion that instead of daughters, the daughters-in-law should get a right to property, there will be complications in communities where there is a custom of remarriage and divorce. What is the remedy for that?

Jawaharlal Nehru: What remedy can I suggest? Why should there be complications and why should we accept this suggestion? You have too many preconceived ideas. I think, on principle it is wrong that the daughter-in-law should get it. It makes no sense.

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: They may, Panditji that ...

Jawaharlal Nehru: Bhai Saheb, I know all about that. I have listened to their endless arguments, from morning till night.

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: All right.

Jawaharlal Nehru: I do not get into arguments which make no sense. I am looking at this from a personal point of view. If I had some property, and a boy or girl, I would not like to give my property to my daughter-in-law. I may give what I want to the daughter-in-law, which is a different matter. I will give my property to my son or daughter. What does it mean to say, it should be given to the daughter-in-law? I cannot understand this. But those who say all this are not bothered about the daughter-in-law or the daughter or son. They are worried

about keeping the property in the family.

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: Quite true. They do not want to divide the family property in any way.

Jawaharlal Nehru: See?

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: There is a difference of opinion about whether a man dominates a woman, or vice versa. What is your view?

Jawaharlal Nehru: Generally it is the bread winner of the family whose voice counts. But anything can happen. In the olden days, it was believed that the physically stronger person dominates, but that argument does not go very far. Usually it is the person who has the money.

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: By that logic, at the moment, it is the man who...

Jawaharlal Nehru: Yes. Is there any doubt about it? He is ...

Ramnarayan Chaudhary: Until women become independent economically.

Translation ends]

II. POLITICS

(a) Indian National Congress

(i) AICC Meeting, Poona

19. To Congress Workers: India Capable of Meeting China's Might¹

India's Defences Adequate
Nehru Deplores Pessimistic Outlook
Chinese Aggression: CPI's Stand Criticised
(From Our Special Correspondent)

Poona, June 3.

Prime Minister Nehru declared here today that India was powerful enough to defend herself against China. It was childish to consider India in terms of any weakness. China was a mighty nation indeed, but that did not mean that India was weak and incapable of meeting China's might.

It was a wrong idea, Mr. Nehru observed, to assume that wars could be won only with the aid of arms. The strength of the Indian nation lay in its people and as long as the Indian people backed their Government, the country would remain safe and sufficiently powerful.

Mr. Nehru was referring to the Chinese question during a brief address in the afternoon to a rally of Mandal Congress workers of Maharashtra.

Answering a question whether the Communists' contention that they do not invade any country but only liberate the enslaved people, the Prime Minister denied the claim and said that Communist countries had invaded other lands, which was as clear as sunshine from the Chinese occupation of India's northern border areas.

Addressing the rally earlier, Mr. Sanjiva Reddi, the Congress President, advised the Congress workers to approach the villagers and popularise the Congress ideology and programme, among the rural populace, not for the vote catching purpose, but as part of their sincere duty.

Mr. U.N. Dhebar, the former Congress President, inaugurated the rally.

The Prime Minister (adds PTI) said that the Communist propaganda in India that a Communist country could never commit aggression against another country was "like saying that there is darkness during the day when the sun is shining."

Mr. Nehru said there were many good points about China, but to say that a Communist country could never be aggressive showed lack of intelligence after what was happening on India's northern borders. He declared that India had

Address to Mandal Congress workers of Maharashtra, Poona, 3 June 1960. The Hindu, 4 June 1960.

sufficient strength to meet aggression and that strength was growing every day.

The Prime Minister said he did not want to make any unnecessary brave and heroic statements like some others in the country were doing. That would be childish. "But I am saying this with a cool mind that we have sufficient strength, that the strength is growing and that it will grow still further."

In the final analysis, Mr. Nehru said, the strength of a country lay in the work of the people and the Army could only represent that strength. The Indian people must, therefore, take up the task of building up the strength through their work, he added.

Mr. Nehru said the mandal units of the Congress were the roots that gave strength to the entire organisation. The future of the Congress and that of the country was in the hands of the mandal units and it was really they who were shaping the destiny of the country. He said that as the country was developing, new problems were arising. That was a sign of progress and Congress workers, instead of being overawed by them, should become stout hearted to face and solve them.

Mr. Nehru said the Congress programme of developing the cooperative movement and making village panchayats as the real centres of power had a revolutionary significance. That was spreading eco..omic and social strength among villages and Congress workers must associate themselves with that movement, he said.

20. At the AICC: Organizational Matters²

Top Leadership of Congress Under Fire Charge of Conniving At Party Corruption "The Times of India" News Service

Poona, June 4.

The top leadership of the Congress, including Mr. Nehru, came in for a sustained and bitter attack from delegates at the A.I.C.C. session here today for its refusal to introduce radical reforms in the organisational structure of the Congress and make way for fresh blood.

Delegate after delegate made fiery speeches levelling varying charges against the leadership. It was accused of conniving at party corruption and arresting the march of socialism in the country.

The tone and tenor set by the speeches provoked Mr. Nehru to intervene in the debate and tell the delegates that anger solved no problems.

2. Report of proceedings at the AICC meeting, Poona, 4 June 1960. *The Times of India*, 5 June 1960.

In spite of its shortcomings, the Congress, he declared, was very much alive and continued to be the only party that could lead the country to prosperity.

Mr. Nehru thought that if the rank and file of the party and its leadership could together eliminate "bogus membership" from the organisation "the face of the Congress would immediately change."

He suggested that a system of election should be evolved by which the function of granting ticket could be taken away from persons who had jockeyed themselves into positions as office-bearers of Congress committees.

No Official Resolution

The All-India Congress Committee met at a specially-erected pandal on the spacious grounds of the Fergusson College here. For the first time in the history of the Congress, there was no official resolution on its agenda.

An estimated 5,000 people crowded the pandal to hear speeches from more than 20 delegates on the subject of revitalising the Congress. The crowds, however, melted away minutes after Mr. Nehru's unexpected speech.

The entire day was devoted to consideration of the views expressed by the Congress Working Committee on the various recommendations made by its five-man Reorganisation Committee, headed by Mr. U.N. Dhebar.

None of the views was found acceptable to a majority of the delegates who spoke today. The debate was inconclusive and will be resumed tomorrow when more than a dozen delegates are expected to speak.

The frustration among the rank and file at the rejection by the High Command of the proposals aimed at far-reaching changes in the constitution of the party was very much in evidence in the delegates' speeches.

Some of the delegates accused the High Command of obstructing the introduction of an elected working committee because they had developed vested interests, while some others charged it with deliberately perpetuating the heirarchy in the organisation.

The weather was cool and pleasant as the Congress President, Mr. N. Sanjiva Reddy, rose to deliver his inaugural address. Mr. Reddy expressed gratification at the fact that the "political climate" was equally favourable in Poona.

He said that the creation of a unilingual Marathi-speaking State had swung the tide in favour of the Congress in Maharashtra which was till recently "anti-Congress."

The Congress President acknowledged that there were differences both among the rank and file at Pradesh levels. He, however, said the time was not ripe yet for radical changes in the constitutional structure.

The delegates to the session were welcomed by Mr. Rajarambapu Patil, Chairman of the Reception Committee and President of the Maharashtra Regional Congress Committee.

[FIGHTING THE STATUS QUO] You Said It By LAXMAN



But there's to be status quo in the organisation and we've to continue our activities as before—isn't it, Sir?

(From The Times of India, 9 June 1960, p. 1)

[UNITY IS DIVISION] Political Who's What



[Centre: N. Sanjiva Reddy] (From *The Times of India*, 3 July 1960, p. 9)

Existence of Differences

Mr. Sanjiva Reddy began his speech with a reference to the existence of differences among the rank and file and also at Pradesh levels in the Congress.

He had undertaken a tour of some States after becoming Congress President and he had found that these differences were weakening the organisation. Some States faced a number of people [sic] and unless they could work in a spirit of confidence there could be no progress organisationally.

He said that opposition parties were taking advantage of the weakness in the Congress. The press tended to magnify the shortcomings of the organisation. These differences were, however, superficial. It was necessary to build up the organisatioal structure of the Congress, particularly because of the Chinese aggression against the northern borders.

It was unfortunate, Mr. Reddy said, that after the recent Nehru-Chou meeting Mr. Chou En-lai "became angry" at the mention of the word "aggression". India had never left any doubt that it regarded the Chinese incursions into the border areas as aggression and, in fact, the A.I.C.C. at its last session at Bangalore had passed a resolution stating categorically that China had committed aggression and asking her to vacate the aggression.

The Congress President said that the Chinese aggression had posed a serious problem for the country. India believed in solving disputes peacefully and it was constantly exploring avenues for a peaceful settlement of disputes.

Goa Issue

In a passing reference to Goa, Mr. Reddy said that the Government of India's approach to the problem was promoted [sic] by the desire to avoid force. But that did not mean that India would surrender its claim to the Portuguese settlements. Similarly, in regard to the border aggression while India desired peace, it would not countenance aggression.

He appealed to Congressmen to stand solidly behind the Government and the Prime Minister and to be prepared to extend all possible support to Mr. Nehru.

Mr. Reddy said that the creation of Maharashtra and Gujarat had restored Congress prestige in Maharashtra. Maharashtrians had been considerably disturbed by the formation of a bilingual Bombay State. The decision to bifurcate Bombay, taken by the Working Committee, was a correct one. His predecessor in office, Mrs. Indira Gandhi, he said, was largely instrumental in reopening the bilingual issue. There was great enthusiasm among the people of Maharashtra since the establishment of a Marathi-speaking State. "Maharashtrians, who were anti-Congress, are now completely in favour of the Congress," he added.

Strengthening Congress

Mr. Sanjiva Reddy said that the Working Committee had given thought to the proposals made by Mr. K. Hanumanthaiya, former Chief Minister of Mysore and other reports of the committees appointed by the Congress Parliamentary Party for strengthening the organisation.

He wondered whether the time had come for making drastic changes in the constitutional structure of the Congress. There was considerable talk against the existence of the two wings in the Congress and it was being suggested that the two wings should be integrated. He did not know whether there were really two wings functioning in the Congress. But for the present he felt it would be better if the dual leadership be allowed to continue.

The debate on the report of the Reorganisation Committee was initiated by Mr. U.N. Dhebar who headed it.

Mr. Dhebar explained in detail the various proposals which had come up for consideration before the Committee and why it decided on accepting some and rejecting others.

Two-Fold Purpose

Dual leadership in the party, Mr. Dhebar said, served a two-fold purpose. While the Parliamentary wing carried the decisions and policies of the Government to the people, the organisational wing conveyed to the Government the impact the policies had made on the people. This link between the Government and the masses was a vital one and no party in power could afford to break it. The successful functioning of the link depended on the quality of the workers and the leadership.

What had been achieved in India in the last 10 years had not been achieved in a century.

India had compressed the achievements of a century in a decade. It was, however, a pity that the significance of this achievement had not percolated through to the masses, though it had reached the legislators and office-bearers of Congress committees. The A.I.C.C. must now think how best a greater contact could be established at the lower levels, he said.

Mr. Dhebar said that the proposal to abolish the primary membership of the organisation was not constructive. One did not cut off one's head because of a headache. There were several steps that could be taken to prevent bogus membership and the Congress committees ought to enforce these measures rigidly.

Mr. Dhebar complimented Mr. Hanumanthaiya for preparing a report on the organisational changes that were needed.

Mr. Hanumanthaiya, who launched a tirade against the Working Committee members in general and on Mr. Nehru in particular, said in a brief speech that it

had become a tradition with the High Command to ignore the views of the delegates.

Describing himself as an unemployed person who "can afford to waste his time," Mr. Hanumanthaiya said he was not alone in recommending constitutional changes. Most of the office-bearers of Congress committees shared his views and felt that the "status quo" was not desirable.

He said that it was strange that the Dhebar Committee had agreed with many of the changes proposed, but had advocated the retention of the present constitution. He dismissed the argument that organisational improvements could be effected in course of time and through consultations.

Malpractices Continue

Mr. Dhebar, he said, had had long innings as Congress President. Could he effect any improvements during his tenure? What guarantee was there that the malpractices in the Congress would disappear with the passage of time? The Working Committee had been seized of this matter for over a decade now. Yet, malpractices not only continued to exist, but had assumed proportions.

The Working Committee, he said, had adopted the "line of least resistance" in regard to making changes in the constitution. The "line of least resistance" theory had almost become a norm. In regard to China, too, nothing was being done except protesting and holding public meetings.

Politics, he said, could not be divorced from morality and spiritual progress. The basis of morality was fast disappearing in an organisation which was built up by the great apostle of truth, Mahatma Gandhi. While Mahatma Gandhi used to fast to bring erring members back to the right path, the Working Committee was conniving with the malpractices in the organisation merely because they enjoyed security of tenure. The Working Committee had rejected the idea of an elected Working Committee; it had developed vested interests.

A Suggestion

He appealed to the "noble nature" of the Working Committee members to agree, if not to total election, at least to a compromise by having 50 per cent of the members elected and the rest selected. All he was asking, he said, was that the A.I.C.C. should be given a say in the composition of the Working Committee.

Mr. Hanumanthaiya made two other points: Firstly, moral standards had fallen in the party and corruption had increased. Secondly, no attempt had been made at an "evolution of leadership." He was opposed to the nominations to the Working Committee not because nominations were inherently immoral, but because that process stood in the way of the evolution of leadership. The process of nominations, he added, was breeding a psychology of subservience. Were

[AGE AND EFFICIENCY]

You Said It



If these old chaps keep getting extensions, we will never get a chance! (From *The Times of India*, 24 June 1960, p. 1)

Ministers to continue in office for life just because they had become Ministers? He said that Mr. Nehru had pointed out recently that though Pandit Pant was old, he continued to work. Mr. Hanumanthaiya said that there was no reason why Pandit Pant should continue working. There were many young men in the country who would work equally efficiently if they were appointed Home Minister.

Mr. Mahavir Tyagi said that the system of organisational elections had generated ill feelings among Congress workers. Every Congressman, who went to the rural areas for canvassing votes, made allegations against other Congressmen. "How can an organisation in which such things go on can ever become strong," he asked.

Mr. Tyagi suggested that the introduction of new blood into the organisation was possible only through the creation of an associate membership. He blamed the High Command for not establishing a second rung of leadership. Harijans and minorities were being neglected.

Fear of Executive

Mr. Abraham Antule suggested that greater efforts should be made to draw intellectuals into the Congress.

Mr. K.K. Shah, who made a frontal attack on the Congress leadership, said that the rank and file was working under a fear complex. Even delegates were afraid to criticise the decisions of the Working Committee lest they should be punished for indiscipline.

Mr. C. Stephen (Kerala) said that every time he attended an A.I.C.C. session, he returned home with the feeling that he "wasted his money, time and energy." The need was for developing an inner-party democracy.

Mr. Maneklal Varma said that communism had no chance of succeeding in India till the Congress collapsed. The Congress was bound to collapse if the tickets for elections were given to people who had no faith in its socialistic policies. Millionaires were being made members of the Congress. No organisation could call itself socialistic or promote socialism if it had millionaires on its rolls.

Mr. Shyamnandan Misra, Union Deputy Minister for Planning, described the views expressed by the Working Committee on the Reorganisation Committee report as "highly frustrating." The Working Committee did not seem to know its own mind in regard to the type of organisation it wanted.

He suggested that one-third of the Working Committee members should be elected and a committee should be appointed to evolve a code of conduct for Congressmen and measures for national reconstruction.

Mr. Bhagwat Jha Azad (Bihar) who was the day's most forceful speaker, made a scathing criticism against the reluctance of Mr. Nehru to appoint a vigilance committee or a tribunal to investigate party corruption. The High Command was aware that corruption existed on a large scale, but preferred to shut its eyes. Why was it fighting shy of investigating how an ordinary member came to own buildings, after becoming an M.P.

Mr. Jha alleged that the Congress had become "an organisation of indiscipline." He cited a case in which an expelled member of the Congress had been readmitted to the Congress fold and made a minister, thanks to the intervention of the Union Finance Minister. He did not mention the member's name.

Import Not Clear

Mr. Nehru said many lengthy speeches, some of them forceful, had been made on the report of the Reorganisation Committee, but unfortunately, their exact import was not clear.

Several delegates had referred to their "distressed hearts" and "frustrated souls," but none of them had made any concrete suggestions in regard to the problems facing the organisation.

Mr. Nehru admitted that neither the delegates nor the Working Committee had come to grips with the problem. The entire question on the need for constitutional changes in the Congress has led to the drafting of a report by Mr. Hanumanthaiya after a country-wide tour and the subsequent appointment of several committees.

Two Ways

There were two ways open before the A.I.C.C., Mr. Nehru said, in tackling the question. One was the consideration of the reports submitted by the various committees, and the other, a better one, was to view the entire problem in a larger perspective as affecting not only the organisation, but the country as a whole.

The problems faced by the Congress were in fact problems faced by other parties and by the entire world. Problems before the Congress were the problems posed by a changing world.

He said: "It is essentially a problem of weakness. The entire world is changing, but we remain static. All organisations in the world face a similar problem. What we must consider now is how to meet this challenge. The difficulties we face are partly because of our own faults and shortcomings, and partly because of circumstances."

Wrong Approach

Mr. Nehru said that the speeches of the delegates indicated that their approach to the question of strengthening the Congress was wrong. They seem to think in narrow grooves forgetting that the world was changing fast and "we are out of step with the changing world." The world had entered a technological age.

Mr. Nehru said angrily that he was amazed at the continuous reference by members to two wings in the Congress. This was mere slogan-mongering and dishonest. There was no such thing as two wings in the Congress. The Congress was an integrated organisation. The terminology of two wings originated at a time when the Congress was engaged in the freedom struggle and some Congressmen entered legislative bodies. This was followed by the "talk of prochangers and no-changers." It had some meaning in those times, a quarter century ago. But it was meaningless to refer to two wings today.

No political party thought in terms of elective and parliamentary wings.

Congressmen's Aspiration

Mr. Nehru referred to the earlier speech of Mr. Bhagwat Jha Azad, a delegate from Bihar, and conceded that most of the Congressmen aspired to become MPs and MLAs. This was reducing the organisation to one of haves and have-nots—the haves being those who were in a position to achieve their aspirations. But this

[ONLY GENUINE PARTY MEMBERS]

You Said It



... and lastly, we must devote all our time to increase the membership of our party. (From The Times of India, 3 June 1960, p. 1)

was not such a formidable problem that the A.I.C.C. should be upset over it.

Mr. Hanumanthaiya had referred to the need for single leadership. This meant that the Congress President should be the Prime Minister and the Chief Minister of a State should be the President of the Pradesh Congress Committee.

This suggestion was fantastic and was potentially harmful. It was not as if the Congress would not continue to function under such a system.

It would, however, be considerably weakened. An organisation did not derive strength through parliamentary speeches, but through active and constant contact with the masses.

Mr. Nehru said that the entire structure and shape of the Congress would change if bogus membership could be eliminated. "If you are successful in preventing fraudulent membership and punishing those responsible for it, then you will have succeeded in introducing a revolutionary metamorphosis in the Congress," he said.

In Uttar Pradesh and Bihar, several bogus members had recently been struck off the rolls. It was, however, true that the Congress could not lay its hands on those who were financing these bogus members. It was these people who needed to be chased out. Bogus membership could be checked if Congressmen went about the job honestly and mercilessly. It may be that some Pradesh Congress might collapse, but at least "the artificiality about them would disappear."

Mr. Nehru referred to the controversy over the composition of the Working Committee.

There were advantages in both an elected and a nominated Working Committee. It was, however, wrong to compare systems in America and England. India had adopted the Parliamentary form of Government on the British pattern with all its implications of joint responsibility. How could elected committees be compatible with the idea of joint responsibility, Mr. Nehru asked.

Energising the Masses

Mr. Nehru, however, said that he was prepared to request the Working Committee, though he was not a member of it, to consider the demand of the delegates and see to what extent it could be met. It might involve amendments to the constitution. But, Mr. Nehru said, the problems before the Congress would not be solved just by changing the composition of the Working Committee. Ultimately, it was a question of energising the masses for constructive work. The Congress could not remain isolated from the Government. If the Government functioned badly, its impact would be felt on the Congress. On the other hand, even if the Government functioned well, its achievements would be fruitless if the party in power failed to maintain contact with the masses. The importance of eliminating bogus membership, therefore, was vital. But he was totally opposed, he said, to the abolition of primary membership.

21. At the AICC: A Survey of International Affairs³

Delhi Must Be consulted In Matters Affecting India P.M.'s Declaration: World Situation Reviewed "The Times of India" News Service

Poona, June 5.

Mr. Nehru said here today that the history of the world "might have been somewhat different if India had not been there for the past 12 year following the path of peace and non-alignment."

3. Report of speech at the AICC meeting, Poona, 5 June 1960. The Times of India, 6 June 1960.

He declared that India would, "in its limited sphere of foreign policy" of friendliness with all countries, do "everything in our power" to lessen tensions.

He said that world problems appeared to depend very much on the "great nuclear Powers." But, to think that the future of the world would be decided by three or four great Powers was not correct. That time had passed. There ought to be a "co-operative approach" on a bigger scale to tackle world problems.

Mr. Nehru said that he would personally be happy if three or four great Powers met and came to terms. But, he added, "nobody has the right to decide without consulting me a matter which affects me." He cited the issue of disarmament which, he said, concerned the entire world. It was true that large gatherings discussing important issues might not be helpful. "Therefore, I do not want to push myself in or be pushed into anything. But, obviously, we have to observe out right in matters concerning us." He added.

In a 60-minute survey of international affairs, Mr. Nehru analysed before the A.I.C.C. session the recent developments in Africa, the Summit conference "that was to take place but did not," and the Sino-Indian border problem.

Referring to the India-China border situation, Mr. Nehru said that no significant development had taken place since the issue was debated in Parliament. During the last two month, there was no significant exchange of papers or correspondence between the two countries. Mr. Chou En-lai had visited Delhi and, for five or six days, they had prolonged talks which did not result in any kind of agreement. They, however, agreed to continue examination of the relevant data over the border issue. In furtherance of that understanding, an expert mission would shortly be sent by the External Affairs Ministry to Peking to discuss various matters connected with the border issue. That mission could not, however, come to any conclusion, decision or agreement nor could it make any recommendations. All that it could do was to sort out data to find out where there was broad agreement and where there was disagreement.

Mr. Nehru said that some time later another meeting would take place in New Delhi between the Indian and Chinese representatives. Thereafter, they would report to their respective Prime Ministers. What would happen afterwards he could not say.

Mr. Nehru said that the border question had affected the people of India "deeply" and that it was constantly agitating their minds. The border issue demanded that the people should show all their strength, wisdom, patience and firmness and not merely indignation—virtuous or otherwise. At the same time, a clear appreciation of all facts and an appraisal of all the consequences was needed.

Those consequences would lead them outside the normal scope of their lives and, therefore, it was not wise to talk a great deal without thinking of them. "We cannot take a step in such a matter without thinking clearly of every step that is to be taken. At the same time, one tries one's best to secure an agreement by peaceful methods," he added.

It was bad enough that a large area of Indian territory had been taken possession of by foreign authorities and forces. In another way, it was worse. "We have to deal not only with the present but also the future history of two countries which is ahead of us—to be shaped, to some extent, by our actions. It is, therefore, a serious matter, not a matter of mere slogans but of far-reaching consequences."

Happenings in Africa

Mr. Nehru said that one of the outstanding events of present times was the happenings in Africa. That great Continent, which had been outside the pale of history for many hundreds of year, a "plaything" of great Powers, had suddenly come into the world picture. Therefore, the things that had been taking place there were rather bewildering. Africa was in a ferment today. The urge for freedom from foreign rule was being felt everywhere.

The Prime Minister said that there was no doubt that within the next 10 years tremendous changes would take place in the African Continent. Even now some countries were achieving independence. He referred to Algeria—"Arab Africa, not so much of African Africa"—and said that it was a tragedy. One million people were said to have died during the national struggle there.

Algeria, said Mr. Nehru, was a tragedy because in other parts of Africa, the French Government had acted with some wisdom. Six or seven months ago, President de Gaulle laid down his policy which showed some promise of a settlement in Algeria because he accepted the idea of self-determination. It narrowed the gap considerably between the French Government and the Algerian nationalists, yet the gap remained and the tragedy continued.

22. To the Press: Election and Nomination to CWC4

I find that there is some controversy about the recent voting at the meeting of the All-India Congress Committee in Poona. This was in regard to the proposal that one-third of the Working Committee should be elected by the A.I.C.C. members.

Some misunderstanding appears to have arisen from a wrong report of my speech in Hindi on the subject. It is stated in the newspapers that I criticised and opposed this proposal strongly. This is not correct. What I said was that the proposal to have a nominated committee, like a nominated cabinet, had strong reasons behind it and, in fact, that had been long the practice of the Congress.

^{4.} Statement to the press, 7 June 1960. The Times of India, 8 June 1960.

[VOTING TO NOMINATE TO AICC]

"You Have My Vote"



While he commended the existing practice of nominations to the Congress Working Committee, Pandit Nehru voted in favour of partial elections to that body.

[From left: G.B. Pant, U.N. Dhebar, N. Sanjiva Reddy, Morarji Desai, Nehru, Jagjivan Ram, K.N. Katju, Sampurnanand, others]

(From Shankar's Weekly, 12 June 1960, p. 5)

Nevertheless, because many members wished to have an elective element, I saw no harm in accepting their proposal and I suggested to the Working Committee to consider this matter afresh. This was what I said in my speech on the first day. I do not know if there were any further developments on the day as I was partly absent from the meeting. The next day when the time for voting came, I voted for the elective proposal. There was thus no question of my changing my mind during the course of the night. Possibly, what I said in my speech lacked clarity and hence led to some misunderstanding.

(ii) Other Matters

23. To Chaudhri Hyder Husein: A Rajya Sabha Seat⁵

7 June 1960

My dear Hyder Husein,6

I have your letter of May 30th.

I do not usually take much interest in the nomination of candidates for elections. I am not a member of the Congress Parliamentary Board. But sometimes a reference is made to me and if I know a person, I give my opinion. When Rashid Shervani's name was mentioned, I said that he was a good man and would be a good choice. I have no recollection of your name being mentioned in this connection at the time.

As for Shri Balkrishna Sharma's⁸ seat, I do not even know where it is. ⁹ I am, therefore, sending your letter to the Congress President. Usually recommendations come from the Pradesh Congress Committee and the choice is made from them.

Yours sincerely, Jawaharlal Nehru

24. To Sushila Nayar: No Job for You¹⁰

7 June 1960

My dear Sushila,11

You gave me a letter some time ago and also a long note addressed to Dr. Mudaliar. ¹² I have read both.

You are completely wrong in thinking that I have any kind of a prejudice against you. I would indeed like your ability and experience to be utilized. I could not do so for a variety of reasons so far. One of these reasons you have yourself hinted at. There are too many people from the UP in the Government and I do not

- 5. Letter.
- Congress, Lok Sabha MP from Gonda District (North), UP, 1952-57.
 Mustafa Rashid Sherwani, Congress Rein Cold North), UP, 1952-57.
- 7. Mustafa Rashid Shervani, Congress, Rajya Sabha MP from UP, 1960-66.
- 8. Congress, Rajya Sabha MP from Uttar Pradesh, 1959-60; died on 29 April 1960.
- Election for the Rajya Sabha seat that fell vacant on Balkrishna Sharma's death was due to take place in the UP Legislative Assembly on 9 August.
- 10. Letter.
- 11. Congress, Lok Sabha MP from Jhansi, UP.
- 12. A. Lakshmanaswami Mudaliar; headed the Health Survey and Planning Committee set up in June 1959.

wish to add to them. I agree with you that there should be other opportunities in regard to specialised medical committees or deputations and the like where you would be very useful. I have not personally had much to do in choosing members for these committees etc. Hence perhaps your name did not come up for consideration by those in charge. I hope this will be done in future.

You should certainly continue as a Member of Parliament. When elections come, we can decide where you should stand from, that is, from the UP or the Punjab. Either should be feasible.

Yours affectionately, Jawaharlal Nehru

25. To D.P. Karmarkar: A Job for Sushila Nayar¹³

7 June 1960

My dear Karmarkar,14

I am writing to you about Dr. Sushila Nayar, a Member of Parliament, whom you of course know. She is competent and well trained. I have a feeling that you should be able to utilise her services in many ways. It is a pity not to do so in the case of such a person who has received so much training and has so much experience.

I am not referring to anything which will involve her leaving her membership of Parliament. But, surely, there are many committees connected with your Ministry where her presence would be exceedingly useful. She will also be good as a member of the delegation to the WHO. Apart from her initial training which was good and her educational career which was considered outstanding, she has kept up her knowledge by taking a doctorate in Public Health from Johns Hopkins in the USA and by other work in the medical line. I would like you, therefore, to keep her in mind and give her suitable work from time to time.

Yours sincerely, Jawaharlal Nehru

^{13.} Letter

^{14.} The Minister of Health.

26. To Aruna Asaf Ali: Let us Meet15

7 June 1960

My dear Aruna, 16

I received your letter when I was leaving for Poona. I returned yesterday.

I do not know if I can bring much relief to you in this troubled and complicated world. But, anyhow, I should like to see you and have a talk with you. Perhaps it would be better if you saw me a few days later because I want to clear off all kinds of pending matters which have accumulated because of my long absence.

> Yours affectionately, Jawaharlal Nehru

27. To Sri Prakasa: Thank You¹⁷

8 June 1960

My dear Prakasa,18

I am just writing a few lines to you to thank you for the chance I had of spending three days with you in Poona. I enjoyed them in spite of the burdens of the A.I.C.C. meetings. I was particularly happy to have a fairly long talk with you, and I am grateful to you that you have accepted my advice.

Here in Delhi, it is hot, but hotter than the weather are the antics of the Akalis

under the leadership of Master Tara Singh.

Indira is going with Feroze and their children to Kashmir for two or three weeks.

> Yours affectionately, Jawaharlal Nehru

- 15. Letter.
- 16. Former Mayor of Delhi.
- 17. Letter.
- 18. The Governor of Maharashtra.

28. To Jagdish Narain Choubey: Camps Should Not Become Picnics¹⁹

10 June 1960

Dear Jagdish Narainji,20

I have received two letters from you, both dated the 9th June. One of these is about the camp you had from the 10th to the 16th May at Ramnagar.

I have read the papers about this camp and am glad to learn of the good work done at this camp. I think such camps are good but a camp lasting a few days or a week only probably does not produce results as one hopes for. Also such camps tend to become rather big picnics and probably the cost incurred is considerable. The ideal camp would be where the work done goes a long way to cover the expense of the camp.

You refer to some kind of a national project such as digging a canal. Any organised work of this kind will certainly be good. But I have often found that this kind of thing is done more for publicity than anything else. I have myself participated in digging several times. Here also the cost of upkeep of the people working is often far greater than the work they do.

In your second letter, you refer to a proposal to call a conference of Congress workers at Patna from the 10th to the 14th November. I have nothing to say about this. I like everything that leads to serious thinking and work. My usual criticism is that all this is rather superficial. In any event, it would be completely inappropriate to call the convention "Nehru Vichar Dhara Parishad". Everyone, I suppose, has some way of thinking but to refer to my views as some kind of a special ideology is neither correct nor desirable. Also such an approach to a convention is wrong. Instead of trying to discuss matters and understand situations, people will discuss what I may have said on the subject. I am, therefore, entirely opposed to your calling anything by my name.

Yours sincerely, Jawaharlal Nehru

^{19.} Letter.

^{20.} General Secretary, Bihar Pradesh Youth Congress.

29. To M. Chenna Reddy: Welcome Back²¹

11 June 1960

My dear Chennareddy,²²

I have your letter of the 7th June. I am glad you are back again in the Congress organisation. I hope we shall have in Andhra Pradesh unified and cooperative working in the Congress. We have big work to do, and we must not waste our time and energy over trivial or personal matters.

Yours sincerely, Jawaharlal Nehru

30. To B. Shiva Rao: B.N. Rau's Archive²³

14 June 1960

My dear Shiva Rao, 24

Thank you for your letter of the 13th June. Longmans have sent me the book.²⁵ I think it was a very good idea of yours to collect B.N's²⁶ papers and publish them. I have been looking into them and found them fascinating. As source material for our Constitution, they are invaluable.

There is another aspect also. They bring out here and there the personality of this man of tremendous learning and equal modesty. No one who knew him can ever forget him.

Yours sincerely, Jawaharlal Nehru

31. To Puran Singh Azad: Plans²⁷

I do not know if messages on special occasions do much good. There is a demand for a message for every occasion and sometimes for no occasion at all. Thus perhaps we cheapen the value of a message, if it has any value.

- 21. Letter.
- 22. Congress MLA, Andhra Pradesh.
- 23. Letter.
- 24. B. Shiva Rao, Congress, Rajya Sabha MP from Mysore, April 1957-April 1960.
- 25. B. Shiva Rao, India's Constitution in the Making (Calcutta: Orient Longman, 1960).
- 26. B.N. Rau, Constitutional Adviser to the Constituent Assembly of India.
- 27. Message, 15 June 1960, to the General Secretary, Indian Youth Congress, 1959-64.

[PLAN FLIGHT FROM REALITY]

You Said It



Trying to escape from the hard facts of life? (From The Times of India, 13 July 1960, p. 1)

However, the subject of this special supplement is undoubtedly of high importance. What are the young people of India to do, more particularly in connection with our Plans? Plans are not paper essays, but rather an attempt to visualise this ever moving and dynamic India of ours with its hundreds of millions of people; to try to understand whither it is going and where we should like it to go; to realise our own part in this mighty undertaking and to endeavour to fulfil it. Thus the cold printed words of the Plan become living with flesh and blood and the drama of a great people on the move, reaching out to desired ends and trying to achieve them.

32. To Arjun Singh: Cannot Sign Membership Forms²⁸

18 June 1960

Dear Arjun Singhji,²⁹

I have your letter of the 12th³⁰ June.

You have made a strange request and I doubt if it is proper for me to sign a Congress membership form in the capacity of a witness or one who enrols members. That would not be quite correct. If you want my signature, I can give it to you separately or even on a photograph. But to sign a four-anna membership form in this way is something that I have not yet done. Therefore, you must not ask me to do this. I am returning the membership forms to you. I am sending you, however, a photograph of mine.

Yours sincerely, Jawaharlal Nehru

33. To Sadiq Ali: An MLA Nomination for Roda Mistry³¹

19 June 1960

My dear Sadiq Ali,32

Last evening a lady, Shrimati Roda Mistry,³³ came to see me from Hyderabad. I had met her previously on some occasions in Hyderabad and other places.

She told me that her name had been suggested for nomination to the seat in the State Assembly which has become vacant by the resignation of Shri Mehdi Nawaz Jung³⁴ who has become Governor of Gujerat. According to her, not only Mehdi Nawaz Jung had strongly supported her for the seat, but also our Congress President, Shri Sanjiva Reddy, who knew her well. In spite of these recommendations, apparently her name has not been included in the list sent to the AICC by the Andhra PCC.

- 28. Letter.
- Arjun Singh (1930-2011); Congress member, Madhya Pradesh Legislative Assembly, 1957-85; Chief Minister of Madhya Pradesh, 1988-89; Union Minister of Human Resources Development, 1991-94 and 2004-2009.
- 30. The date in the typed copy of Nehru's letter is not clear; most probably it is 12th.
- 31. Letter.
- 32. General Secretary, AICC.
- Roda Mistry (b. 1928); Congress Member, Andhra Pradesh Legislative Council, 1960-67, and Andhra Pradesh Legislative Council, 1968-80; Minister, Government of Andhra Pradesh, 1968-71 and 1978-80; Member Rajya Sabha, 1980-86.
- 34. Minister in Andhra Pradesh Government, 1952-60; Governor of Gujarat, 1960-65.

I knew nothing about this matter and this was the first time I had heard of it. I know that Roda Mistry is an effective and earnest social worker, apart from being well educated and competent. She gave me copies of two letters from Mehdi Nawaz Jung. One of these was addressed to Pantji and the other to Sanjiva Reddy, both recommending her. I am enclosing both these copies.

I wanted to enquire about this matter from the Congress President, but he is not here and is not likely to return for some time. I do not know what you can do in this matter. I am only anxious to avoid any kind of local group tactics which try to keep out proper persons because they do not belong to a group. That kind of thing is always bad. Roda Mistry apparently belongs to no group, but is a competent woman worker with a good record. What other names have possibly been suggested I do not know. Anyhow, it would be better to include this woman's name since many people who know her work speak very well of her. There is another reason also. This lady has been working hard in Mehdi Nawaz Jung's constituency for a considerable time and is well-known there.

As I have said above, I do not know what I can do in this matter or what you can do. You might perhaps draw the attention of the Congress President to it or you might ask the Andhra PCC people why her name has not been included in the list sent.

Yours sincerely, Jawaharlal Nehru

34. To Ghulam Mohammed Bakhshi: Not Attending Youth Congress Meeting³⁵

23 June 1960

My deal Bakhshi,36

Your letter of June 21 about the Youth Congress. I have already written to the Youth Congress people that I shall not be able to go there to attend this for a number of reasons. That time is a difficult one for me to leave Delhi. Parliament will be sitting and it is not easy for me to go away even for a day when matters of grave importance are before us. The second reason is that I do act normally attend these Youth Congress meetings unless they happen to be in Delhi. I do not travel for them. I think they should be left to themselves and too many so-called leaders should not impose themselves upon them. The old practice in this regard was not a good one. Thirdly, I have just issued a circular, a copy of which I sent

^{35.} Letter.

^{36.} Prime Minister of Jammu and Kashmir.

you, disapproving of conferences being held in Kashmir and thus casting a burden on your Government.³⁷

Yours sincerely, Jawaharlal Nehru

35. To N. Rachiah: Amending the AICC Constitution³⁸

26 June 1960

My dear Rachiah,39

Thank you for your letter of the 17th June, which I have read with interest.

I think it would have been a good thing if the All India Congress Committee had accepted the proposal to have one-third of the members of the Working Committee elected by the A.I.C.C. But, the fact that this was not accepted then, need not be treated as a tragedy. As a matter of fact, the acceptance of that proposal would not have made any immediate difference. The change has to come by an amendment of the constitution of the A.I.C.C. Perhaps, this matter will be pursued later.⁴⁰

Yours sincerely, Jawaharlal Nehru

36. To N. Sanjiva Reddy: Chagla Returning⁴¹

10 July 1960

My dear Sanjiva Reddy,

I should like to inform you confidentially that our present Ambassador in Washington, M.C. Chagla, is anxious to come back to India with a view to entering politics.⁴² That, of course, means entering Parliament. I think personally that his coming to Parliament would be a great acquisition to us.

- 37. See item 3.
- 38. Letter.
- 39. Minister for Agriculture, Government of Mysore.
- 40. The Congress Working Committee decided in New Delhi on 28 July that one-third of its 21 members be elected by the AICC and that the constitution be amended at the AICC due on 29-30 October 1960. The Times of India, 29 July 1960.
- 41. Letter.
- 42. See Appendix 65.

I have told him that he need not come back soon and that I would like him to stay in the United States for another year or so. Even if he comes back in August 1961, there will be time enough for him to think of standing for election to Parliament during the general elections.

I am merely writing to you so that you might keep this in mind. 43

Yours sincerely, [Jawaharlal Nehru]

37. To Lal Bahadur Shastri: Khemka's Election Case at Allahabad44

12 July 1960

My dear Lal Bahadur,45

I have today received notice of appeal from the Allahabad High Court in the case of Sitaram Khemka⁴⁶ against me. The date fixed for appearance in the High Court is the 11th November 1960. What am I supposed to do about this now? There is nothing in this appeal. What surprises me is that it has been admitted. However, there it is. I suppose some arrangements will have to be made in Allahabad to deal with this.

Yours affectionately, [Jawaharlal Nehru]

38. To Sri Prakasa: A Suggestion about Indira Gandhi⁴⁷

13 July 1960

My dear Prakasa,

This is just to let you know that I received a few days ago your letter of June 30, written from Poona. I am grateful to you for it.

- 43. The same day Nehru also wrote to Y.B. Chavan, the Chief Minister of Maharashtra, about his correspondence with Chagla, and asked him to keep Chagla's name in mind for the next general elections.
- 44. Letter.
- 45. Minister of Commerce and Industry.
- 46. Contesting as an Independent candidate in the general elections in 1957, Sitaram Khemka, General Secretary of the All-India Cow Protection Committee, had lost to Nehru from the Phulpur Lok Sabha constituency in UP.
- 47. Letter. There is no other information on this matter in either the JN Collection or the Sri Prakasa Papers in the NMML.

The suggestion you have made in it about Indira is not, in my opinion, feasible. Indeed, I do not think it would be right considering all the circumstances. I am sure Indira will agree with me. You need not worry about these matters.

This is a brief letter, as we are in the middle of this unfortunate strike and all its consequences.

Yours affectionately [Jawaharlal]

39. To Gopalrao Bajirao Khedkar: Congratulations on Election⁴⁸

26 July 1960

My dear Khedkar, 49

Thank you for your letter of the 25th July. I am very glad to learn that you have been elected President of the re-organised Maharashtra Pradesh Congress Committee. 50 My congratulations to you on this election. I realise, as you do, that this is a very responsible position. But I am sure you will deal with it adequately.

As for your resignation from Parliament, you have already written to the President of the A.I.C.C., who will no doubt give you advice in the matter.

Yours sincerely, Jawaharlal Nehru

40. To the CPP51

[Nehru first spoke in Hindi.]

[...] है उसको हम कर लें। श्री बाल कृष्ण शर्मा, चौधरी परागी लाल,⁵² श्री देवानापल्ली राजैया,⁵³ श्री धर्मदास⁵⁴ और श्री सी.पी. मैथन 1⁵⁵ तो हमारे मेम्बर और एक पुरानी असेम्बली के, Central

- 48. Letter.
- 49. Congress, Lok Sabha MP from Akola-SC, Bombay.
- Khedkar, a Vidarbha Congress leader, was unanimously elected President of the Maharashtra Pradesh Congress Committee on 25 July.
- 51. New Delhi, 31 July 1960. AIR tapes, NMML.
- 52. Paragi Lal, Lok Sabha MP from Sitapur-SC, UP. He died on 18 May 1960.
- Devanapalli Rajayya, Lok Sabha MP from Nalgonda-SC, Andhra Pradesh. He died on 9 July 1960.
- 54. A. Dharam Dass, a member of the Constituent Assembly and a former Rajya Sabha MP from UP, died on 27 July 1960.
- 55. C.P. Matthen, a former Lok Sabha MP.

Assembly के मेम्बर श्रीमती राधाबाई सुब्बारायन। ⁵⁶ तो हम खड़े हो जायें इनके लिए। ... बैठें। एक और शख्स गुज़र गये, हमारी असेम्बली के नहीं, न हिन्दुस्तान के, लेकिन मुझसे अभी रामसुभग जी⁵⁷ ने कहा कि कुछ न कुछ हम, अगर आप पसंद करें, कुछ हम भेज दें अपनी हमदर्दी का इज़हार, वो एन्यूरिन बेवन⁵⁸ हैं। तो मैं समझता हूँ अच्छा हो अगर हम इनकी बीबीं⁵⁹ को भेज दें यहाँ कांग्रेस पार्टी की तरफ से एक मैसेज अपने अफसोस का। इंग्लैण्ड की सियासत में और किसी कदर उसके बाहर भी एक उनका बडा हिस्सा रहा। वो आप शायद जानते हों, उनकी जिन्दगी शुरु हुई एक miner का काम, pit boy और फिर वो अपने ढँग से ख़ास एक आदमी थे वहाँ की पार्लियामेंट में, वहाँ की लेबर पार्टी में। और हिन्दुस्तान से उनका कुछ संबंध रहा। आये तो एक ही दफ़े थे थोड़े दिन के लिए वो। कोई दो-तीन बरस हुए लेकिन दिलचस्पी पहले से थी और एक ख़ास आदमी थे। मालूम नहीं आपमें से कित्ते लोगों से मिले वो, एक ख़ास एक, जैसे कि ऐसे आदमी होते हैं, एक जानदार आदमी कुछ, क्या कहूँ, कुछ, दिमाग में जिसके थोड़ी बहुत वहशत भी होती है – अच्छे किस्म की वहशत। यानी वो महजु मामूली ज़ाब्ते के पॉलिटीशियन नहीं थे। बल्कि उनके सामने कोई चीज़ थी जो उनको हर वक्त जगाये रखती थी। वो लडा करते थे. बडे-बडे causes के लिए, उनका गुजर जाना एक बुरा हुआ - वहाँ की, अंग्रेज़ों की पार्लियामेंट के लिए, लेबर पार्टी के लिए और दुनिया में और भी जो लोग कुछ अपने दिल में ऐसे ideals वग़ैरह रखते हैं, उनके लिए लड़ते हैं। तो आपकी इजाजत हो तो मैं एक मैसेज उनको भेज दूँ, मिस जेनी ली को। मंजूर है आपको? हाँ।

अच्छा, हम आज बहुत दिन बाद सब मिल रहे हैं। तीन महीने से ऊपर हो गये और इन तीन महीनों में बहुत ख़ास बातें हुई हैं। आमतौर से कुछ न कुछ होता रहता है। उससे ज़्यादा हुई हैं। थोड़े दिन बाद पार्लियामेंट के उठने के, मैं बाहर गया था, Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference में। और उसके बाद दो-चार मुल्क़ों में गया था, इजिप्ट, टर्की। फिर बाद में सीरिया और लेबनान। टर्की में मैं ख़ास ज़माने में पहुँचा। कोई इरादतन तो था नहीं, पहुँचा और कुछ लोगों को ये कुछ एतराज़ हुआ कि मैं ऐसे मौक़े पे क्यूँ गया वहाँ? लेकिन जैसा मैंने कहा मैंने कोई तारीख़ ख़ास साया देख के तो मुक़र्रर की नहीं थी। बहुत रोज़ से वहाँ से बुलाया था तो मैंने सोचा हो आऊँ। लेकिन वाक़या ये है कि मेरे उस वक़्त वहाँ जाने से कुछ फ़ायदा ही हुआ हमें, हमारे मुल्क़ को, हमारे रिश्ते को टर्की से।

उसी ज़माने में जब मैं Cairo में था, फिर रहा था, summit conference होने वाली थी पेरिस में, और वहाँ की ख़बरे आयें उसके ख़ात्मे की, बिल्क शुरु ही नहीं हुई वो। और उसके पहले वो हादसा हुआ था U-2, जिसमें अमरीकन हवाई जहाज़ रूसियों ने गिरा दिया था। उस ज़माने से जबसे ये summit conference का टूट जाना हुआ। मुसलसल आक्रामक बातें हुई हैं जिससे दुनिया की हवा और भी ख़राब होती गयी और कशमकश बढ़ता गया है और वो बात जारी है। एक तरफ़ से तो ये हुआ है। और और बातें भी हुई। उसकी निस्बत में कोई किस्सा तो आपको, कहानी तो सुनाऊँ नहीं बाहर की। गरज़ कि हालते, इंटरनेशनल हालत ज़्यादा पेचीदा हो गयी, ज़्यादा

^{56.} A member of the Central Legislative Assembly, 1938-45; she died on 2 July 1960.

^{57.} Ram Subhag Singh, Lok Sabha MP from Sasaram-SC, Bihar.

^{58.} Aneurin Bevan, the deputy leader of the British Labour Party, died on 6 July 1960.

^{59.} Jennie Lee.

तकलीफ़देह हो गयी और जो उम्मीदें थीं, दो-एक बरस से थीं, कि कुछ हल्के हल्के ये cold war ख़त्म होगा, कुछ हल्के हल्के मसले हल होंगे, वो टूट गयी एकदम। और अब तक कोई जुड़ी नहीं है, न जुड़ने का कोई रास्ता नज़र आता है। हाँ एक बात है कि बावजूद इन सब होने के, मुल्क़ों को इत्ता डर है, घबराहट है असली लड़ाई लड़ने से कि हाथ उधर नहीं, रोक देते हैं। ये आप याद रिखए कि जो हालत आजकल है उसमें ये बात सही है कि कोई मुल्क़ लड़ना नहीं चाहता। लेकिन ये बात भी सही है कि इत्तिफाक़ से लड़ाई हो सकती है, जानबूझकर नहीं, इरादतन नहीं। जब हर वक़्त एक बड़े-बड़े हवाई जहाज़ हवा में हैं, उड़ रहे हैं, इधर जाते हैं, उधर जाते हैं, कोई शख्स, किसी पायलट का दिमाग ज़रा बदल जाये, दिमाग में ख़लल हो जाये, गर्मी चढ़ जाये, उसको कुछ कार्रवाई से लड़ाई तो नहीं हो जाये। एक आदमी के ऊपर रह जाता है हज़ारों में से। ख़ाली आपको तवज्जो दिलाना चाहता था कि ये ख़राबी जो पैदा हो गयी है अंतरराष्ट्रीय हवा में।

उधर दूसरी तरफ़ आप देखें अफ्रीका में; वहाँ एक अजीब हालत कि हर दूसरे, तीसरे दिन अख़बार पढ़िये तो पढ़ें आप कि कोई नया मुल्क़ आज़ाद हो गया। मुमिकन है बहुत सारे आप लोगों में से उस मुल्क़ का नाम भी न जानते हों। न ये मालूम हो कि कहाँ है, अफ्रीका के किस हिस्से में। क्योंकि छोटे-छोटे मुल्क़ बहुत सारे थे, बाज़ बहुत ही छोटे हैं। यानी ऐसे छोटे हैं कि जिनकी आबादी लाखों में है, ज़्यादा नहीं। दो-चार लाख की है। इंडिपेंडेंट, आज़ाद मुल्क़ हो गये। ये सब सिलिसले होते गये अजीब। अब ज़ाहिर है इसमें बड़े पेंच हैं वहाँ। आपस में कशमकश है मुल्क़ों में। कुछ मुल्क़ अफ्रीका के चाहते हैं कि वो इस नये ज़माने में वो आगे हों, औरों को रास्ता दिखाएँ। कीन आगे हों? इसमें अन्दरूनी बहस है, तरह तरह की बातें होती हैं।

इसमें फिर एक बड़ा मुल्क कूदा Congo का। और Congo की हालत ये है कि मुझे ठीक मालूम नहीं, लेकिन बहुत ही कम लोग Congo के इस पिछले ज़माने में यानी Belgium की हुकूमत के ज़माने में बहुत ही कम वहाँ ज़्यादा पढ़े-लिखे लोग निकले। स्कूल में पढ़े-लिखे थे काफी। लेकिन ज़्यादा पढ़ना-लिखना बहुत उच्चस्तरीय शिक्षा हाई ग्रेड एजूकेशन बहुत technical या मामूली या बहुत ही कम। तो एक मुल्क़ आज़ाद हो गया। बग़ैर, कोई लोग काफी सीखे हुए, पढ़े हुए जो उसको चलाएँ। चाहे technically चाहे मामूली तौर से। और फिर आपस में आपने देखा कि उसका एक हिस्सा जो कि सबसे अमीर हिस्सा है, क्योंकि वहाँ से कॉपर निकलता है बहुत। और वो दौलत ज्यादातर Belgium जाया करती थी। तो उस हिस्से में एक प्रोविन्स है उसने कोशिश की है अलग हो जाने की, हम अलग मुल्क़ होंगे। और ग़ालेबन उसे कुछ इसमें इशारा हुआ यूरोप के मुल्क़ों का भी। तो ये झगड़े वहाँ बहुत कुछ पैदा हुए। उधर एक तरफ़ Belgium वाले जाने लगे तो वहाँ तो जो फ़ौज थी अफ्रीका वालों की उसके अफ़सर सब Belgium के थे। क्योंकि किसी और को सिखाया गया नहीं था। और उनके जज़्बे उनके ख़िलाफ़ थे कुछ बलवा हुआ। उन्होंने मारा अपने Belgian officers को, क्या क्या हुआ? और बाद में, बाद में क्या, फीरन ही बाद दो बातें हुई। एक तो Belgium ने अपनी कुछ फ़ौजें वहाँ हवाई जहाज़ से भेजीं, अपने लोगों की हिफ़ाज़त करने को ये उन्होंने कहा, दूसरे United Nations की तरफ़ से इन्तज़ामात हुए भेजने को फ़ौजें। फ़ौजें United Nations ने अफ्रीका ही की ज़्यादातर भेजीं, अफ्रीका के मुल्कों की और फिर बाद में कुछ यूरोप की भी। उन्होंने ये कहा कि हम कोई बड़े मुल्क की फ़ौज नहीं भेजेंगे शक्तिशाली, great powers की। वो ठीक किया। तो ज़्यादातर अफ्रीका के और जैसे स्वीडेन वग़ैरह उनकी कुछ भेजीं। हमसे उन्होंने कोई फ़ौज नहीं माँगी और ये अच्छा किया। बहुत ज्यादा ख़ाहिश हमारी नहीं थी कि हम भेजें। लेकिन काफी अफ़सर माँगे। सीखे हुए लोग इन्तज़ाम करने के लिए। हवाई जहाज़ के लोग, ऐसे transport aircraft चलाने के लिए वग़ैरह। वो हमने भेजे हैं। एक हमारा अफ़सर वहाँ उनका चीफ़ वो क्या, चीफ़ ऑफ स्टाफ तो नहीं उनका कुछ एक number two, या कुछ उसमें भी गये हैं। कुछ हमने वहाँ Congo गेहूँ भी कुछ भेजा है, wheat भेजा है, आटा भेजा है। वहाँ कमी थी। इस तरह से रोज़ कुछ न कुछ माँग आती है वहाँ से क़रीब क़रीब।

तो ये जो अफ्रीका में गरज़ कि हो रहा है जिसका मैंने महज़ एक छोटा सा इशारा आपके सामने किया। ये एक ग़ालेबन आजकल की दुनिया में असल में बड़ी बात हो रही है क्योंकि इत्ते बड़े continent का जागना कुछ अक्ल से, कुछ वहशत से, कुछ गुस्से से। लेकिन जागना बहुत बड़ी

बात है। और ज़ाहिर है हमारी ख़्वाहिश है कि हमारे रिश्ते उन मुल्क़ों से अच्छे रहें।

ये तो मैंने आपको बाहर का कुछ कहा। बाहर की बहुत बातें और हैं। हमारे मुल्क में उसी जमाने से मुझे कोई ठीक तारीख़ तो याद नहीं। लेकिन शुरु से यहाँ आप जानते हैं कि अकाली तहरीक शुरु हुई पंजाबी सूबे के लिए, और वो सिलसिला कुछ धूमधाम से चला। फिर कुछ ठण्डा

हो गया और कुछ हल्के हल्के कुछ चलता जाता है।

इधर दो-तीन और ख़ास बातें हुईं जो आपके सब दिमाग में होंगी। एक तो ये जो general strike थोड़े दिन हुए, हुई थी, पाँच दिन चली। हालाँकि पाँच ही दिन चली लेकिन ऐसी चीज़ हिला देती है फिर भी देश की आर्थिक स्थित को, इन्तज़ामात को और काफी नुकसान करती है। तो उसकी याद भी ताज़ा होगी आपके दिमाग में और किस तरह से उसका मुक़ाबला किया गया? और उस मुक़ाबले में, मैं समझता हूँ ये सही होगा कहना कि जो गवर्नमेंट की मशीनरी थी। यानी सेन्ट्रल गवर्नमेंट या स्टेट गवर्नमेंट; उसने बहुत अच्छी तरह से काम किया। लेकिन असल बात तो ये है कि ऐसी बात का मुक़ाबला कोई गवर्नमेंट की मशीनरी ख़ाली कर नहीं सकती। कर सकती है लेकिन वो एकतरफ़ा हो जाती है। असल में जिस चीज़ ने जनरल स्ट्राइक, आम हड़ताल का मुक़ाबला किया वो आम जनता ने। और जो बेशुमार वालन्टियर्स आये काम करने के लिए, वो बढ़ते ही जाते थे। जिनसे हम, सबों से काम भी नहीं ले सकते थे। उसने और उस हवा ने उसको दबाया। अब ये हमारे सामने सवाल हैं, आपके सामने, पार्लियामेंट के सामने कि इस बारे में हम क्या करें? कानून नये लायें, किस ढँग से लायें? और चन्द रोज़ में शुरु ही में कल, परसों, नरसों, इसकी निस्बत कुछ पार्लियामेंट में बयान होंगे। क्या हमारी पॉलिसी है?

तीसरी बात जो कि बहुत दर्दनाक हुई है, वो आसाम में। इस महीने के शुरु में कुछ थोड़ा बहुत फुटकर, तो जून के महीने में भी, अप्रैल में भी कुछ इधर-उधर, कुछ छोटी बात होती थी। बहुत ज़्यादा नहीं थी। लेकिन चौथी जुलाई से वहाँ ये बात भड़क उठी ज़्यादा। और कोई एक सात, आठ, नौ दिन तक फैली रही। उसके बाद वो काबू में लायी गयी और ऊपरी तौर से काबू में है। कोई छोटी-मोटी बातें कुछ इधर-उधर हो जायें कुछ चपतबाजी हो जाये। लेकिन कोई उस पैमाने पे कुछ नहीं है। अब इसका बड़ापन आप इसी से देख सकते हैं कि पचास हज़ार या कुछ ऐसे ही लोगों को घर छोड़ना पड़ा अपना। घर के माने हैं कि बड़े आलीशान घर नहीं। लेकिन जो huts वग़ैरह वहाँ होती हैं ज़्यादातर, छोटे घर, या bamboo huts हैं, बांस की झोपड़ियाँ जहाँ रहते हैं आम लोग। उनको छोड़ना पड़ा और काफी तादाद में वो huts जला भी दी गई। बहुतों को छोड़ना पड़ा बग़ैर जले भी, डर के मारे छोड़ते हैं, बहुत जलाई गयीं। तो इससे आपको अंदाज़ा हो सकता है कि कित्ती मुसीबत और परेशानी वहाँ लोगों को हुई।

और पहला सवाल इस वक्त कि मैं वहाँ गया था कोई दस रोज़ हुए, दस-बारह दिन हुए। तो मैं गया था उसी वक्त कुछ ये बातें ठण्डी हो गयी थीं। यानी फिर वाक्यात नहीं हो रहे थे। कुछ तो ये वज़ह कि हमारी फ़ौज काफी वहाँ फैली हुई थी उस वक्त । कुछ ये वज़ह कि करने वाले कुछ शर्मिन्दा हो गये थे। एक गुस्से में, जोश में किया। और ऐसे जो सिलसिले हैं लोग थक भी जाते हैं। ख़ैर मुख़्तलिफ़ वज़ूहात थे तो बंद हो गयी थी। कभी कभी अब भी आप सुनें कोई छोटी सी बात कहीं गयी। किसी ने डरा दिया, किसी को धक्का दिया, वो होती है। लेकिन इन पिछले दिनों में कोई ख़ास वाकया नहीं आया। अक्सर लोगों को धोखा हो जाता है वहाँ की निस्बत। इसलिए कि अब भी पुराने वाक्ये का हाल, तफ़सील लिखी जा रही है कि पाँच जुलाई को यहाँ हुआ था या सात जुलाई को, तफ़सील बाद में मालूम हुई। अब अख़बारों में कभी कभी निकलती है। लोग समझते हैं कि अब हो रहा है। लेकिन वाक्यात असल में, बड़े वाक्यात उस आठ-दस रोज़ में हुए थे। नौ से लेके कोई चौदह तारीख तक, तेरह, चौदह, पन्द्रह तक समझ लीजिए। वाकयात तो बंद हो जायें लेकिन उसका असर बड़ा ज़बर्दस्त जारी है। एक तो यही कि लोग ये कि camps में पड़ें हैं ज़्यादातर आसाम में; कुछ कोई आठ हज़ार के क़रीब बंगाल में आ गये थे। और ज़ाहिर है परेशान हैं, तकलीफ़ में हैं, मदद उनकी की जाती है। तो पहला सवाल उनके वापस जाने का, उनके घर, वो वापस जायें। यों भी जायें और अलावा इसके बहुत सारे किसान हैं, उनके खेत खड़े हुए काटने के लिए, अगर न जायें तो इनका वो भी नुकसान हो, हरेक का नुकसान हो। तो इसलिए इस बात की कोशिश की गयी जल्द से जल्द वो जायें। और ज़ाहिर है उनका पूरा इंतज़ाम किया जाये उनकी हिफ़ाजत का। क्योंकि महज़ इंतज़ाम ख़ाली न किया जाये बल्कि उनके दिल में इत्मिनान हो कि इन्तज़ाम हुआ है। क्योंकि अगर दिल में डर है तो मुश्किल है। चाहे, इंतज़ाम तो काफी है वहाँ मामूली। वहाँ कोई बड़े पैमाने पे कुछ हो नहीं सकता। जैसा मैंने कहा फौज इधर-उधर सारे में है, फ़ौज ही तो नहीं रोक सकती है कोई किसी को चपत लगा दे। लेकिन हाँ, इसको रोक सकती है, कहीं बड़े पैमाने पे नहीं हो सकता। लेकिन अलावा इसके हवा बदल गयी बहुत कुछ और अक्सर जगह मैंने और, औरों ने वहाँ कहा था जो ऊपरी इन्तज़ाम हैं वो तो हैं लेकिन वहाँ के लोगों को खुद की कमेटियाँ बनानी चाहिए; मदद करने के लिए ऐसे शरणार्थियों को, उनको बसाने के लिए। और उनको इत्मिनान दिलाने के लिए कि वो उनकी मदद और हिफ़ाजत करेंगे। कुछ न कुछ हुआ है। और कुछ लोग वापस भी गये हैं। कई हज़ार आदमी अपने घरों में वापस गये हैं आसाम में जो थे। जो आसाम में कैम्प में थे। बंगाल के लोग, जहाँ तक मुझे इल्म है अभी गये नहीं। लेकिन कुछ तय हुआ है कि दो हज़ार आदमी उनमें से वहाँ जायें, खासकर ये ही, खेत वगैरह से जिनका ताल्लुक था उनको देखने।

तो ये मैंने बिल्कुल एक ऊपर से आपको बता दिया एक हौलनाक, दर्दनाक वाक्ये को। अब उसके पीछे तो एक लम्बी कहानी है और मुख़्तिलफ़ राय हो सकती है, क्यों हुआ? क्यों नहीं हुआ? किस तरह से ऐसी बातें रोकी जायें आइन्दा? क्योंकि ऐसी बातों की जड़ें बहुत दूर तक होती हैं। तो ज़ाहिर ये हुआ वहाँ की ज़बान, भाषा के सिलसिले में, और कुछ का ताल्लुक़ था। लेकिन वो भी एक ऊपरी ताल्लुक़ था। उसके पीछे political बातें, उसके पीछे आर्थिक, economic बातें, इंप्लॉयमेंट की बातें, बहुत सारी बातें मिल जाती हैं। लेकिन जो कुछ हुआ उसमें कोई शक नहीं वो बहुत ही तकलीफ़देह और दर्दनाक हुआ। और ये कि हमारे लोग अपने घर-बार छोड़ के भागे। हमें, पार्टीशन के बाद हमें मालूम था, ख़ास मौक़ा था, दूसरा मुल्क़ बना। लेकिन इस तरह से

हिन्दस्तान के अन्दर हो ये हो वो तो बहुत ही तकलीफुदेह बात है। तो मैं ज़्यादा तो इस सिलसिले में आपसे इस वक्त अर्ज़ नहीं करता।

एक बात और। वो आपने सुना हो कि चंद दिनों से यहाँ एक डेलीगेशन आया था; ये Naga People's Convention, ये एक संस्था कोई तीन-चार बरस हुए वहाँ बनी थी। वो आया था, उनकी तजवीज़ें थीं। ⁶⁰ वो मुझसे असल में मिलना चाहता था पिछले अप्रैल में। लेकिन अप्रैल के आख़िर में मैं जा रहा था विलायत, तो वो मौजूँ वक्त नहीं था। वहाँ से आने के बाद मैंने पिछले महीने में उनको ये वक्त मुकर्रर किया था, वो आये। और उनसे बातें आके हुईं और कुछ बुनियादी बातों पर हमारा और उनका समझौता हुआ। या एग्रीमेंट हुई। उन्होंने स्वीकार किया और शायद आज वो गये मुझे मालुम नहीं, जाने वाले थे। तो मैं तो खुश हूँ उससे, उसकी तफ़सील वग़ैरह तो आपके सामने आयेगी। शायद कल मैं एक छोटासा बयान भी दूँ लोक सभा में। और बाद में कोई कानून की शक्ल में भी रखी जायेगी आपके गौर करने के लिए, मंज़ूर करने के लिए। इसके माने ये नहीं हैं, मैं साफ कर देना चाहता हूँ कि नागा लोगों का मसला पूरे तौर से हल हो गया। यानी एक माने में समझा जाये, हल हो गया। वो ठीक है, लेकिन जो लोग वहाँ झगड़ा कर रहे थे वो ज्यादातर लोग उसमें शरीक नहीं हैं जो हमसे मिलने आये। वो अपनी मुखालफ़त जारी रख सकते हैं। और मुमिकन है कुछ रखें। फिर भी मैं समझता हूँ ये कदम, ये जो उठाने का हमने इरादा किया है वो अच्छा है। सही है, उसूलन सही है और वाक्याती तौर से भी इससे मदद होगी।

ये चन्द बातें मैंने आपके सामने रखीं, तफसील से नहीं, मोटे तौर से। अब ये पार्लियामेंट का सेशन आ रहा है और इसमें ज़ाहिर है इन बातों का एक अक्स, साया पड़ेगा। ये उठेंगी, तरह तरह से उठेंगी, मेम्बरान की तरफ़ से, गवर्नमेंट की तरफ़ से। और उस पर जो कुछ पार्लियामेंट फैसला करे, बहस होगी, फैसले होंगे। ये बड़ी-बड़ी बातें हैं जोकि एक माने में नयी बातें हैं अक्सर। ये मामूली के अलावा, मामूली बातें क्या हैं? मामूली से मेरा मतलब जो हर सूरत से होती हैं। एक तो बड़ी बात है हमारे Third Five Year Plan की है। बहुत ज़रूरी बात है हमारे मुल्क के लिए। और अगर ये वाक्यात न होते तो उसी पे सारी तवज्ज़ो होती। अभी भी होगी तवज्जो उसपे ज़ाहिर है। तो वो है। और गालेबन उसके ऊपर वो निकला है, आपमें से अक्सर लोगों ने उसको देखा हो, वो तो एक ड्राफ्ट है, मसौदा है ग़ौर करने के लिए और इस साल के आख़िर और अगले साल के शुरु में, फिर वो पक्का किया जायेगा। और उस हालत में, उस शक्ल में फिर पार्लियामेंट के सामने रखा जायेगा। उसपे ग़ौर करना है काफी। ग़ौर करना है महज़ इस तरह से नहीं कि आप देखें कि कौन फैक्टरी, कौन प्लान्ट, कौन, क्या हो रहा है? बल्कि उसके पीछे क्या विचार हैं? क्या फ़लसफ़ा है? क्या उसमें perspectives, हैं? वो असल बुनियादी बात है, और चीज़ें तो हम बदल सकते हैं। उसको मंज़ूर करना। किताब में आपने देखा होगा कि उसके पहले शायद चार चैप्टर्स या क्या हैं, वो एक general approach है इस प्लान के लिए। फिर और बातों में जाते हैं। ये एक बड़ी बात है। अब इसके साथ एक सवाल जोकि हमेशा ही एक ज़रूरी हमारे लिए है लेकिन आजकल और भी ज़रूरी हो गया है, वो ये है कि चीज़ों के भाव क्या हों? प्राइस लाइन क्या हो, बहुत ज़रूरी है। और ख़ासतौर से उन चीज़ों के जोकि आम लोग लेते हैं, खाना है, कपड़ा है।

^{60.} The Naga People's Convention, at its third session held at Mokokchung, 22-26 October 1959, had adopted a 16-point resolution to form the basis of negotiation with the GOI for the Naga political settlement. See also items 150 to 152.

[...]

बिल्क factual शहादत, evidence पे हो, कि उस पे ग़ौर करें। क्या उसकी बात है, हमारी क्या है, हमारी सीमा की निस्बत। तो वो हमारे गये थे लोग, और अब आ रहे हैं, अभी वापस नहीं आये हैं, दो-तीन रोज़ में आ जायेंगे। और आके वो रिपोर्ट करेंगे जो कुछ वहाँ हुआ और दो चार हफ़्ते बाद वहाँ से उनके officials आयेंगे, वो सिलसिला वाकयात पे ग़ौर करने का यहाँ दिल्ली में करेंगे। वो फिर रिपोर्ट करेंगे, दोनों Governments को और फिर जो कुछ मुनासिब समझा जायेगा उस वक़्त और क़दम उठाया जायेगा। तो मैंने आपको ये एक, एक उधर जो बड़े सवाल हमारे सामने हैं, उनकी तरफ़ इशारा किया।

अब एक और बात मैं चाहता हूँ आप ग़ौर करें, वो ये कि इत्ते बड़े सवाल हैं और पार्लियामेंट में तो उठेंगे। लेकिन हमारी पार्टी को भी मौका मिलना चाहिए उन पर अलग अलग ग़ौर करने का। तो अच्छा हो अगर हम कोई बात अब भी तय करें, निश्चय करें कि कैसे पार्टी उसपे ग़ौर करे। यानी दिन मुक़र्रर कर दें, ये न हो कि हर दफ़े कोई तय न हो तो फिर उसमें दिक्कतें हो जाती हैं तारीख मुकर्रर करने के लिए। मसलन हम तय कर सकते हैं, हफ्ते में एक दफे, दो दफे पूरी पार्टी की मीटिंग हो, दिन मुकर्रर कर दें। हरेक को मालूम हो। तो क्या मज़मून उस दिन हो वो हम बाद में भी करें लेकिन पार्टी की मीटिंग का तो निश्चय हो जाये, करें। इस ढंग से करें तो जरा ज्यादा इत्मीनान से काम हो सकेगा। और जो पूरा मौका पार्टी को होना चाहिए इन मसलों पे ग़ौर करने का वो भी मिलेगा। ये सेशन तो हमारा कुछ लम्बा है नहीं, पाँच हफ़्ते का है शायद, कि क्या है, छः हफ़्ते का है, और बातें बड़ी बड़ी हैं जो मैंने आपसे कहीं। और यों भी बड़ी हैं और जो विरोधी दल हैं opposition वो और भी उसको लम्बा कर सकते हैं। तो ये भारी होगा ये सेशन, काफी भारी भरकम होगा। लेकिन ये और भी जरूरी है कि हमारी पार्टी इसमें मिलकर, आपस में हम इन मसलों पे ग़ौर कर लिया करें तो मसलों पे ग़ौर करना तो है, लेकिन अगर ऐसी ही कोई मुकर्रर कर लें, कब कब पार्टी की मीटिंग हों, तो उसमें फिर आसानी सभों को होगी। [...]61

[Translation begins:

[...] Let us do that. Shri Balkrishna Sharma, Chaudhari Paragi Lal, ⁶² Shri Devanapalli Rajayya, ⁶³ Shri Dharam Dass ⁶⁴ and Shri C.P. Matthen; ⁶⁵ and a member of the old Central Assembly, Shrimati Radhabai Subbarayan. ⁶⁶ So let us stand up. ... Please sit.

One more individual has passed away, not of our Assembly, not even an Indian. But Ram Subhagji⁶⁷ told me just now that we should send a message of

- 61. After this Nehru spoke in English. The proceedings in English are printed immediately after the English translation of the preceding part of the proceedings.
- 62. See fn 52 in this section.
- 63. See fn 53 in this section.
- 64. See fn 54 in this section.65. See fn 55 in this section.
- 66. See fn 56 in this section.
- 67. See fn 57 in this section.

condolence, if you like, on the death of Aneurin Bevan. ⁶⁸ So I think it would be better to send a message of condolence to his wife, ⁶⁹ on behalf of the Congress Party. He played quite a big role in English politics and to some extent outside too. You may perhaps know that he started life as a miner, a pit boy. Then he became a powerful factor in the Parliament there, in the Labour Party. He had a special relationship with India and though he came here only once, two or three years ago, his interest in India was long-standing. He was a very special kind of person—I don't know how many of you have met him—special in the sense that he was full of life and he had, what I would call, almost an obsession—in a nice way. That is, he was no ordinary politician. There was an urge in him which drove him constantly to fight for big causes. It is sad that he has passed away, sad for England, the Labour Party and for the world too, for people who still believe in ideals and, in fighting for them. So with your permission, I will send a message to Miss Jennie Lee. Is that alright? Yes.

Well, we are meeting again after a long time, after more than three months and in these three months many important things have happened, more than normally so happens. A few days after the Parliament Session, I had gone to attend the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference. I visited a few countries after that—Egypt, Turkey and then Syria and Lebanon. I happened to go to Turkey at that particular moment, not by design, and was criticized for having gone there at that juncture. But as I said, I did not plan the visit in view of the situation there. The invitation had come sometime earlier and so I decided to go there. But as it happened, my being there at that time has been good, for relations between Turkey and India.

When I was in Cairo the Summit was taking place in Paris, and even before it could begin news came of its failure because of the U-2 incident of an American plane being shot down by the Russians. Since the failure of the Summit, there has been tension and the atmosphere has been vitiated which prevailed even now. On the one hand this happened and other incidents too. But I don't want to give a long account of them. However, the international situation has become more complicated and troublesome. And the hope we have had in the last two to three years that this cold war would slowly come to an end and the problems will be solved, disappeared completely. So far there seems to be no way of patching up the situation. But one thing must be said. All the countries are so scared of an actual war taking place that they restrain themselves a great deal. But you must remember that though no country wants a war, it is also a fact that a war can come about accidentally, not by design or deliberately. You have all these big planes air borne all the time all over the place. Even if one pilot loses his head or

^{68.} See fn 58 in this section.

^{69.} See fn 59 in this section.

mental balance and does something foolish it can lead to war. Even one individual can bring this about. So these dangers are ever-present. I don't want to say much about this but I want to warn you that the international situation is very bad.

Then there is Africa. A strange situation exists there. Every two or three days you read in the newspapers that one more country has become independent. It is possible that many of you may not even have heard the names of those countries nor know in which part of Africa they are in because there are many small countries there. Some are so small that their population is not more than a few hundred thousand each. They have become independent. So these strange things are happening. Now, obviously there are many complications in this and there is constant tension between these countries. Some of them want to progress fast in this modern age and lead the way. Now the question arises as to who should do so. These are internal debates.

Then the Congo, a big country, jumped into the fray. I don't know for certain but the situation in the Congo is that, having been under the rule of Belgium, very few are educated there. Many might have gone to school but higher or technical education was not within the reach of many. The country became independent without having educated, trained and skilled people to administer it. Then there is a part of the Congo which is very rich because it has copper mines. This province tried to secede from the rest of the country. In this it was aided and abetted by some countries of Europe. So all these quarrels are taking place there. When the Belgians were leaving, it was found that the officers of the army were all Belgians and they had not bothered to train any Africans. There was a mutiny and many Belgian officers were killed. Immediately two things happened. Firstly, Belgium sent in its troops to protect its officers and secondly, preparations were made for the United Nations forces to be sent there. Most of them were from African countries and later some were sent from Europe. The UN did the right thing by saying that they would not send in the troops belonging to any of the Great Powers. So they sent in troops from the African countries and some from Sweden. They did not ask us to send troops, and it was good because we had no desire to send in our troops. But our officers were in great demand, like trained personnel to fly transport aircraft, etc. We sent them. One of our officers will be next to the chief of staff there. We have sent some wheat and flour, etc., also to the Congo as they did not have enough. Practically everyday we are getting some demand or the other.

So I am merely giving you a hint of the big thing that is happening in the world today, the awakening of such a huge continent, in anger, violence and sometimes peacefully, but nevertheless the awakening is a great thing. And it is obvious that our desire is to have friendly relations with those countries.

All this is about the international situation. There is much more happening everywhere. In our country, in this period, the Akali agitation for a separate Punjabi

Suba started—I don't remember the exact date—and it gained momentum and then calmed down. But even now it goes on. One or two other things have happened which must be in your minds too. One was the general strike recently which went on for five days. Though it lasted only for five days, such a thing shakes up the economic arrangements of the country and causes a lot of damage. The memory of that must be fresh in your minds and how it was dealt with. I must say that the government machinery, central and state, did a very good job. But the fact is that government machinery alone cannot deal with a situation like this and if it does, the effort becomes one-sided. Actually the general public dealt with the strike. Numerous volunteers came to help; in fact, there were so many that we could not use everybody. Thus the general atmosphere in the country broke the strike.

Now, the question before us and Parliament is as to what we should do in this regard, whether we should pass new laws and how it should be done. In a few days, in fact tomorrow or the day after, we will have some statements in Parliament as to what our policy in this regard is likely to be.

The third thing that happened—something really tragic—was in Assam. From the beginning of this month, there have been some stray incidents there, in June and earlier in April too, nothing serious, but on the 4th of July the situation suddenly flared up and lasted for seven to nine days. After that it was brought under control but the calm is only on the surface. Some incidents are still taking place here and there, some violence, but not on a large scale. You can judge the magnitude of the problem by the fact that nearly fifty thousand people had to leave their homes. Their houses were not palatial, but were made of bamboo, small huts normally inhabited by the common people there. A large number of huts were burnt down. Most people ran away in fear. So you can judge from this how much hardship those people have suffered. I had been there ten to twelve days ago and by then the situation had calmed down a little, that is, no incidents had occurred, partly because our Army was there in great strength and partly because the rioters were by then slightly ashamed of themselves—they had done all that in a fit of anger and passion. Anyhow, the situation had calmed down. Even now, you hear of cases of people being threatened, etc. but no serious incident has occurred. Often people are misled by reports of earlier incidents—newspapers are still giving details of the incidents of the 5th or the 7th of July and people think that these incidents are taking place even now. But actually the main incidents occurred between the 9th and the 13th, the 14th and the 15th of July.

Though the incidents have stopped but their effects continue to be felt. One of them is that people are still living in camps, mostly in Assam, and about eight thousand have spilled over to Bengal. Obviously they are in great difficulty, and though they are being helped the first question is about their going back to their own houses. Apart from anything else, they should go back because many of them are farmers and their crops are standing, ready to be cut. If they don't go,

not only will they suffer losses but it will be a loss to everyone. So efforts are being made to see that they go back under proper protection because merely to make arrangements to send them will not suffice if they do not have the confidence about their safety. Even if a great deal of arrangements are made nothing will be of any use if there is fear in their hearts. As I said, the armed forces are all over the place but they cannot prevent stray incidents. All they can do is to see that nothing flares up on a large scale. But the atmosphere is changing. I have often been telling people that apart from the official arrangements, the local population should form committees to help these refugees to settle them and to instill a sense of confidence in them. Some of this has been happening and people have gone back—a few thousands who were in camps in Assam have returned to their houses. As far as I know, the refugees in Bengal have not yet gone back but it has been decided that about 2000, chiefly farmers, etc., should go back immediately.

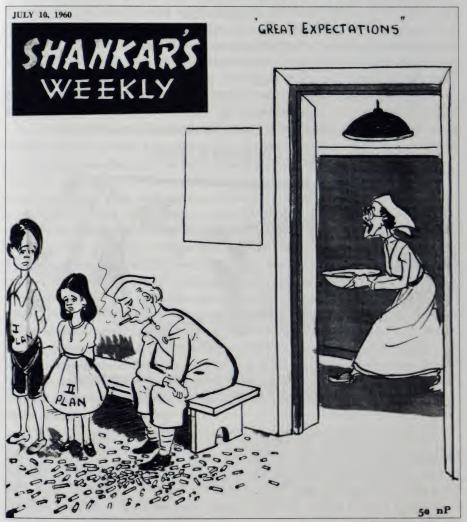
So I have given you a broad outline of a very tragic incident. There is a very long story behind it. And opinions will vary as to why this should have happened and what should be done to prevent a recurrence of a similar thing. These things have very deep roots. The ostensible cause of this particular incident was the language issue. But there are deeper causes, political and economic, the question of employment, etc., behind it. But whatever it is, there is no doubt that the whole thing was very tragic, people leaving their own homes and running away, and all that. We experienced this situation at the time of partition but then a new country was coming into being. It is very painful that such things should happen within the country. But I won't say anything more on this subject just now.

You may have heard that recently a delegation from the Naga People's Convention, which was formed three or four years ago, has been here with some demands. In fact, they wanted to meet me in April but as I was going abroad at the end of April. So last month, after my return from abroad, I asked them to come now. We had some talks and came to agreements on some basic issues. I think they have gone or are going back today. I am very happy about it. The agreements will be placed before you and I may even give a short statement in the Lok Sabha tomorrow. Later on something will come up in the form of a legislation for your consideration. I want to make it clear that this does not mean that the Naga problem has been resolved. In a sense it has been solved but the people who are rebelling were not part of this delegation. So they could continue to rebel and it is possible that they will. But I think that the step we have taken is a good one. It is right in principle and it will help from the practical point of view too.

So I have placed these things before you in a general way. Now, the Parliament Session is about to begin and it is obvious that these matters will come up for

^{70.} See fn 60 in this section.

[THE LAW OF DIMINISHING PLANS]



[Seated centre: Nehru; right: G.L. Nanda] (From *Shankar's Weekly*, 10 July 1960, cover page)

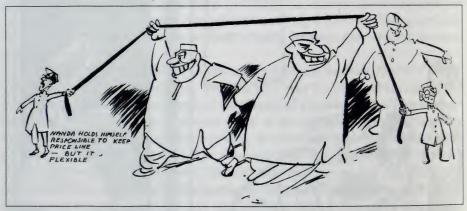
discussion. Matters will be debated in Parliament and decisions taken. These important matters are new in a sense.

Then there is the Third Five Year Plan which is of great importance to our country and if these other things had not happened all our attention would have been focused on that. Even now it is obvious that the focus would be on it. Many of you may have seen the Draft Plan which has been put out for discussion. It

will be finalized by the end of this year or early next year and the final Plan will be put before Parliament. The whole thing has to be well considered. You have to see not merely how many factories or plants are going to be put and where but the idea behind it. What the perspectives and basic issues involved are and what we can change. You may have seen that perhaps the first four chapters of the Draft Plan deal with the general approach, and then other things follow.

One issue which has always been important to us but has now become very urgent is the price of commodities. It has become very important to hold the price line, especially of consumer goods, like foodstuff and cloth, etc.

[FLEXIBLE PRICE LINES]



[From left: G.L. Nanda, black marketeers, Morarji Desai] (From Shankar's Weekly, 17 July 1960, p. 13)

[...]

We have to consider the border question on the factual evidence. Our team has gone there and should be coming back soon. They will make a report. Three or four weeks later their officials will come to Delhi to have further discussions. Then they will report to their Governments and further steps will be taken after considering what is proper. So I have drawn your attention to this big problem which is before us.

Now there is one thing more that I want you to consider. It will come up in Parliament, of course. But the issues are so big that our Party should also have an opportunity of discussing them. It will be better if we fix a date just now. It becomes very difficult to fix a date if we don't decide in advance. I mean to say we can decide that there will be a Party meeting once a week or twice a week and fix the date so that everyone knows about it. What we are going to discuss on a particular day can be decided later. But the date of the meeting should be fixed earlier. In this way the work will get done better and the Party will get an opportunity to discuss things at leisure, as it should. This session is not going to be a long

one—it is perhaps for five or six weeks—and there are big problems before us. They are complicated enough as it is and the opposition parties exaggerate them out of all proportion. So this session will be a stormy one. As it is very important that we should get together often to discuss these things, it will be better if we decide on the time and place of the meetings for the convenience of everyone.⁷¹

Translation ends]

[...] Soon after the last session ended I went to London for the Prime Ministers' Conference. Even while I was there, that incident took place, the shooting down of the American plane U-2 in the Soviet Union but although this was a major incident, somehow or other it did not attract that much attention, it did attract attention but not quite that much as it did later. [...] The question before [us] there when we were in London in, was a question which was not on the agenda of the Prime Ministers' Conference. That was the question of apartheid in South Africa, and its growing consequences, and about that, I need not tell you, how strongly we feel about it but it was surprising—the strength of feeling in England against the apartheid. Indeed, for many long years no demonstration has taken place in London bigger than the ones that were held against the apartheid. And almost every newspaper including the Conservative newspapers wrote strongly against it and not only in England but to some extent in other countries of Europe and in America also. In fact, it appeared that South Africa in this matter was almost completely isolated from world opinion. Maybe some countries like Portugal supported it, or maybe one or two others, but broadly speaking, well, this was made quite evident. No resolutions were passed on this subject by the Prime Ministers' Conference.

Then I came away and visited some countries like Egypt, Turkey, Syria, Lebanon. I went to Turkey quite in the ordinary course because it is a long-standing invitation and I thought I might as well go there and not keep it pending. It so happened that I went there rather at a critical time. Later some people, some newspapers here, criticized me for going there just at that time. I should have chosen a better time. Well, I really did not choose the time, the time chose itself. But it so happened, I think, that my going there then was a good thing, was a definitely advantageous thing, from the point of view of India and Turkey and their relations. It was never my business naturally to interfere in their internal happenings but I was much gratified to receive the welcome I did, from the populace there. I am not referring to Government because Government's welcomes are formal welcomes.

And, well, just when I was in Turkey I think, or going there, the Summit Conference collapsed with a great bang, and that, of course, was a very major

^{71.} After this Nehru spoke in English.

event in international affairs. Because suddenly that turned the whole shape of things internationally and the process that had been going on for two or three years very slowly, but a process in the direction of lessening of tensions in cold war and some attempt at agreements, all that process was stopped and reversed and the cold war came back with a bang. And it has been continuing since then and it has been a dangerous [...]. So we live now in an even more dangerous phase than previously. The only thing that keeps people back, I suppose, is a fear, the fear of war, which will be terribly destructive, nevertheless the kind of existence now in the world today is so, always so much on the brink, on the verge, that any incident might topple it over. That is the position.

In Africa, you have seen strange and dramatic events taking place and day after day almost a succession of new states come into being, become independent. Possibly many of you, and I am speaking to you for myself, some of the names were new to me. Also the names change too now. There used to be one name, now [it's] changing. Small states, even states for a few lakhs population become independent countries. Now, in about two months' time one of the biggest states of Africa, that is, Nigeria is going to become independent, 1st of October I think. That is a big thing, So it is really one of the biggest and most dramatic things which is happening in the world today—this renaissance or awakening of Africa, bringing in its trail hopes and also complications and difficulties and dangers.

These dangers became very obvious in the case of Congo, which is a big country but which lacks very much any trained, educated personnel to run it with the result that there is a kind of a vacuum and vacuums are not allowed to exist in nature. Somebody tends to fill a vacuum, something. And there has been trouble, as you know, and the African troops mutinied and pushed out their Belgian officers and then there are stories of all kinds, the behaviour of African troops. We do not know what the exact facts are, anyhow the ghastly stories are circulated in Europe and the Belgians sent their armed forces by air. This again gave rise to a counter-movement against the Belgian action. Meanwhile quite swiftly the United Nations came into play. I must say that it was gratifying the way the United Nations and the Secretary General⁷² took action quickly and troops on behalf of the United Nations were flown in, firstly, and chiefly from African countries themselves, Ghana and other countries, and one or two I think from Asia was also invited, Burma was invited. We were not asked to send any troops there, but we were asked to send officers, trained men, pilots, aircraft engineers-that type of persons were asked. We have sent them immediately. We also sent some wheat as a gift to Congo. We may send other things. Constantly some kinds of demands are coming, not only to us but to dozens of countries because Congo is a big place and, I said, with no trained personnel, so they want everything. Big problem, internal difficulties and all that-I would not go into that now.

^{72.} Dag Hammarskjold.

So much for external happenings. Then I refer to internal happenings. Among them, chiefly the strike, the general strike about which your memories must be fresh. According to our thinking, the strike was a very irresponsible affair even apart from the merits of the demands made, or not made-that is considered separately. But it was a very irresponsible affair because whether it succeeded or failed it had bad results. If it succeeded it meant chaos obviously and a general strike of this kind must inevitably be a political strike; it ceases to be a industrial affair, or a trade affair. And, well, it failed as I suppose it was bound to do and I think that I should put in a good word for the efficiency, the sheer efficiency with which the administrative apparatus, both in the Centre and the states, dealt with it. I mean to say it was, and when you see a job efficiently done it shows a certain standard of achievement. But what I would like to lay much more stress on is the popular response to this challenge because undoubtedly the biggest factor was this popular response against this strike, vast numbers of volunteers coming in to help in the work, and they did, many of them, and many more were available. We just could not use them. And generally the atmosphere, the public atmosphere, was against the strike which was very helpful. In this connection, without trying to differentiate, I would like to say that Congress committees and Congress organizations all over the country and Congressmen played quite a notable part in coming, I mean to say, offering volunteers and in taking charge of many kinds of work.

Now, after this strike of course, the strike like this has a great upsetting effect, upsetting economically. It is a heavy [...], etc., but even more so [it has an] upsetting effect in the minds of men, and we have to think of these problems that such a thing should not occur again and that we must device some machinery which is adequate and effective to deal with such problems as they arise and they are not left over till they become very big. About that you will be informed, the House will be informed, of Government's approach to these matters in the course of the next few days and it may be that in the course of the session some legislation may be brought forward also. Because there is this double approach and there must be, one, a preventive one, and one rather against such strikes in essential services occurring; the other, the way to deal with problems, not leave them undealt with as they arise, so they may automatically settle themselves.

Then apart from all this, a very big and dreadful happening has been in Assam, as most of you know. I am not going into details naturally but broadly speaking, in May, in June there were odd small incidents, by themselves of no great significance unless one saw below the surface of things. The big scale trouble in Assam started on the 4th July when near Gauhati firing took place by the police on a miscellaneous crowd, and some students also perhaps, and as a result of that firing, one student died in his hostel, not outside, inside the hostel. He was obviously not concerned with any trouble; I think he was reading a book or had a book in his hand.

That is one major incident which set off a chain of consequences. But the chain of consequences only occurred because there was a fire and there was extreme tension and then a lot of dreadful happenings took place, [...] consisting of burning of small houses and huts, bamboo huts, where most people live there. that is, the burning of huts, etc., of Bengali speaking residents of Assam. I say so; I do not use the word "Bengali" only but the Bengali speaking residents of Assam, because there is a difference between the two and this went on for about a week, eight, nine days or so. And in some districts of Assam the local authorities could keep this in check; they did. You could almost see where a really efficient set of officers could hold a thing in check, in others it went loose. And I think it is difficult to give the exact figures but the best of our information—I think it is correct within two or three perhaps—is that thirty-two or thirty-three persons were killed and nearly all except two, nearly all Bengalis, and thousands of these small huts were burnt down. And a very large number, 50,000 or more refugees came out. They sought shelter in camps, most of them in Assam itself, roundabout, and I think probably about 8,000 or so crossing over to Bengal nearby. There are camps there and you know that these suddenly improvised camps are not places which are pleasant to live in or to look at [...] with extreme discomfort. That is to say, in many of these people went [who had] their houses burnt down, many went because of—the houses were not burnt—but fear that this is going to happen, both types of persons went.

One thing I should like to say that—because this has been referred to in newspapers I think—about treatment of women, rape, etc. To the best of our information, only two cases occurred of rape and no more. There was no particular [...] or attempt at that kind of thing. But, of course, people are pushed about women, men, in this riotous behaviour. Well, now this is the first time that this kind of thing has occurred. You cannot compare with the Pakistan migration, because they were very peculiar—different countries, but within India that this kind of thing should happen is not only exceedingly deplorable but gives us, I mean to say, makes us think hard why this should happen and how it can be prevented from happening and all that.

Now I cannot, obviously, there is no time for one to analyse the deep causes and the real causes of all this. Some people say that it was an organized movement to drive out all the Bengalis, [it is] difficult for me to say; some people may have felt that certainly not all Bengalis, some in Assam, but some people may have felt that. But I would remind you that if you look at [the figures] for the last few years, about five lakhs of refugees from Eastern Pakistan have been accommodated in Assam, quite a considerable number, in fact. To their misfortune many of these refugees themselves who had been settled there were pushed out again by this movement.

Now, as I said, I am not going into the deeper causes and other things but it seemed to us and it seems to us that the very first thing to do is to bring them, all

the refugees, back and rehabilitate them, build their huts or houses, help them to build them. And just at present it is a time of harvesting coming and many of these are agriculturists and so if they do not go back the harvest is spoiled; it is bad for them and bad for everybody. So the first idea is that those people who are in camps in Assam—I mean to say those because many of their houses are still there or huts—they can go back, and those who have not should also go back. And they will be put in school hostels, and like buildings or tents immediately till their huts are built, they are easily built, quickly built. And those in Bengal also to be brought back, but bringing them back you cannot and you should not forcibly bring anybody back unless there is a feeling of some assurance of security in the minds of the people, otherwise there is not much point, they will be afraid, terrified.

Therefore the problem becomes of giving that feeling of security from the point of view of, let us say, external security, army, police, this, that and other. At the present moment an army is spread out in various parts of these affected areas of Assam. As a result, nothing, no mob violence, can take place in Assam. That is quite certain. Nobody can guarantee any individual misbehaving, of course. How can? They can misbehave in the streets of Delhi, anywhere, but no mob violence can take place. What is important however, more important however, is to change the atmosphere which brought this trouble and even more important to root out the causes dealing with it. They are called language riots and no doubt language is concerned. But I do not think that is an adequate explanation. Behind language, there were political causes, economic causes, unemployment, and all that, a feeling among the Assamese that most of the jobs are going to outsiders, especially Bengalees, where do we come in, all kinds of things. That, of course, is no reason why people should behave in a brutal manner. But I am merely suggesting things to you.

One unfortunate fact was that just when this thing flared up in a big way the Chief Minister, Mr Chaliha, was ill. He was ill somewhat but from the 6th of July onwards he was very ill. He was so ill that it was not even possible to tell him what was happening. I met him on the 18th of July. He knew nothing of what had happened from the 6th to the 18th. His doctors did not permit a word to reach him. He had high fever and maybe, of course, it was [...] also, whatever it was. So he was completely out of the picture from the 6th of July onwards. The other senior minister, Mr Fakhruddin Ahmed, ⁷³ was attending a conference in Srinagar, Kashmir, one of our conferences that we had of ministers from all states, I forget what it was, Community Development, Cooperation. The Chief [...] of Assam was also attending that same conference. So it was rather unfortunate that some of the principal parties who might have dealt with it were away. Mr. Fakhruddin Ahmed came back on the 6th.

^{73.} Fakhruddin Ali Ahmed, Minister for Finance, Community Projects, and Local Self-Government, Assam Government.

So that the problem, apart from the deeper problems, the immediate problem is to take back the refugees and give them, as far as possible, a sense of security, then we can deal with the other matters. As I said, external security is assured, nothing can happen there. Internal security, feeling of security, is a more difficult thing to tackle. One can try to do so and is trying to do so. And then, in this trying to do so there are two ways of looking at it. Obviously, people cannot live, neighbours cannot live, as if in two armed camps, that kind of thing is [...], but it is not a way that you can deal with population. Therefore, it becomes rather essential that these basic antagonisms or fears, because they are fears after all, should be dealt with. [It] may take a little time.

Now, external protection is essential and we give it and yet concentration only on external protection does not bring about that inner protection of neighbours. It is an odd thing, because in fact it almost has a reverse effect. So we have been trying to give both, that is, external protection, army, police, etc, now, plus an appeal to the people there to form committees in each village to help in the rehabilitation and in protection, etc., to create an atmosphere. That is the present position and some people, some thousands from the Assam camps have gone back to their homes and I believe they are going back every day. Thus far, so far as I know, many people have not gone back from their camps in Bengal. Though it has been, I think, settled that 2,000 should go back, and chiefly these agriculturists who can look after their [...], and adequate protection should be given to them.

That is in so far as Assam is concerned.

Then just a word. When the Naga people were here, the representatives of the Naga People Convention ... This Convention was established three years ago [...], and it is formed by each tribal [...] its representative and it is a very representative organization although it does not contain direct representatives of the hostile Nagas. But no doubt there are border lines; they are in touch with each other still. It is three years ago. When it met after a long argument, it passed some resolutions, or call them requests or demands. One of them was that the Naga area should be formed into a single entity. It was there [...] there is a Naga Hill and there is Tuensang District; there are also some Naga population living in Manipur, etc., but leave that out. [The] main demand was that this area should be made into a single entity and dealt with, put directly under the Government of India, and then it was the External Affairs Ministry. We accepted that request and Parliament passed a law to that effect, creating the Naga Hills Tuensang Area, which was a separate entity directly under the Government of India through the External Affairs Ministry and the Governor of Assam. That was about two and a half years ago.

This Convention has continued to meet and meet for—it is not a question of quick meeting—they meet for days, weeks, discussing things at great length. So they produced a set of all the demands and whatnot and these were formally—

informally we had heard of them—but formally they were communicated to the Governor⁷⁴ in April last, I think, and to us. They asked for to meet me. I was going in April, the end of April, so I said I am going away now, and on my return I shall meet you. Therefore, we fixed this date to meet them. I fixed it about a month ago, not now, or more than a month ago. Soon after my return from my tour abroad, I fixed this date and so they came and we discussed matters and we came to some broad agreements, which will have to be worked out. About this, I shall make a further statement tomorrow in the Lok Sabha. I think I have covered all the ground.

One thing I forget; I did say previously. All these are, almost everything that I have said, the first two are unexpected happenings. I mean to say we did not expect the general strike; we did not expect the Assam tragedy which was unexpected; new things or the world upset. But the expected work of the highest importance is all this business of the Third Five Year Plan, etc., which has been presented, the draft which will come before you, etc., and as a part of that this basic proposition dealing with prices being held down.

[...]

I think that we might meet next Sunday at 5 o'clock, 7th, and the Executive Committee might meet on Wednesday, 3rd August, at 10.15. The Executive Committee, apart from other things, might consider fixed dates for the general party meetings. So we may know when they are occurring.

Someone: [...]

Jawaharlal Nehru: You see we are not discussing any special subject today. This was a kind of a general talk about the past period. What we will discuss in future, it depends on the desire of members [...]. I entirely agree with you, that is an elementary subject that we should discuss fully in this party, Five Year Plan, various aspects of it, and certainly this state trading, etc., prices.

Someone: Planning committee [...]

जवाहरलाल नेहरुः हाँ, वो तो आपकी कमेटी है और उसके अलावा एक so called MPs' informal committee है जो आपको शायद याद हो, जिसमें सब पार्टीज़ के एक दो आदमी हैं, हमने बनाई थी, [...] प्लानिंग की। [...] फूड पे अलग है। उसमें तो, सब पार्टीज़ के हैं जित्ती लोकसभा में हैं। एक गिरोह ने इंकार किया था आने से, हालाँकि ज़ाब्ते से हमने बुलाया था उन्हें। यानि स्वतंत्रा पार्टी ने इंकार किया था। क्योंकि उन्होंने लिखा 'हम प्लानिंग को मानते ही नहीं हैं।' तो लाचारी थी। आप क्यों तकलीफ़ करें फिर?

तो फिर अगले इतवार को पाँच बजे हम मिलेंगे यहाँ।

74. S.M. Shrinagesh, the Governor of Assam.

[Translation begins:

Jawaharlal Nehru: Oh yes, there is a committee, and apart from that, there is a so-called MPs' Informal Committee, which you may remember we had formed with one or two members from each party. [...] It was for Planning. [...] The one for Food is separate. All the parties in the Lok Sabha are represented on that. One of the parties had refused to join in, though we had duly invited them and that was the Swatantra Party. They wrote that "We do not believe in Planning." We were helpless.

We meet here again next Sunday at 5 o'clock.

Translation ends]

(b) Andhra Pradesh

41. To Raj Bahadur Gour: Auditing the Nizam's Trusts⁷⁵

24 June 1960

Dear Dr. Raj Bahadur Gour,76

I have your letter of June 22nd about the Nizam's Trusts.⁷⁷ I understand that some arrangements have been made for a proper audit of these Trusts by the Accountant-General or some other senior officer. I do not quite know how I can call for the Agenda of the Board of Trustees' meeting. Nor can I ask the Special Police Establishment to investigate these matters at this stage. I am, however, enquiring what the position is.

Yours sincerely, Jawaharlal Nehru

^{75.} Letter.

^{76.} Raj Bahadur Gour, CPI, Rajya Sabha MP from Andhra Pradesh.

^{77.} See Appendix 41.

42. To D. Sanjivayya: Auditing the Nizam's Trusts⁷⁸

24 June 1960

My dear Sanjivayya,79

I enclose a copy of a letter I have received from Dr. Raj Bahadur Gour, M.P., about the Nizam's Trusts.⁸⁰ I have been under the impression that some kind of audit of these Trusts is being undertaken by your Accountant-General or some other competent officer. What is the position and how can we deal with complaints?

Yours sincerely, Jawaharlal Nehru

43. To N. Srinivasa Rao: Factional Politics81

31 July 1960

Dear Shri Srinivasa Rao,82

I have your letter of the 27th July. I am sorry to learn of some conflicting trends in the Congress in Andhra Pradesh. I see no reason for them. Shri Sanjiva Reddy has, of course, been the leading man in Andhra Pradesh and now occupies the honoured place of Congress President. He will always be the leading person in Andhra. As for the present Chief Minister, D. Sanjivayya, according to our information, he has done well in his work. Shri Satyanarayana Raju⁸³ is also a man of high reputation.

There is no reason at all why Andhra Pradesh should have any internal conflicts when there are such good leaders.

Yours sincerely, [Jawaharlal Nehru]

- 78. Letter.
- 79. The Chief Minister of Andhra Pradesh.
- 80. See Appendix 41.
- 81. Letter.
- 82. Congress Member, Andhra Pradesh Legislative Assembly.
- 83. Alluri Satyanarayana Raju, Minister for Irrigation and Power, PWD, and Relief and Rehabilitation, Andhra Pradesh Government.

(c) Bihar

44. To R.M. Hajarnavis: Returning Officer for AICC Elections⁸⁴

29 July 1960

My dear Hajarnavis,85

Your letter of the 29th July. I have no objection to your accepting the request of the A.I.C.C. to serve as a Returning Officer for elections to the remaining seats in the Bihar Pradesh Congress Committee. It is something in your favour that you are not familiar with conditions in Bihar. You can apply a fresh mind to any problems that come up before you.

Yours sincerely, [Jawaharlal Nehru]

(d) Delhi

45. To Kesho Ram: Sundry Problems⁸⁶

Shri Brij Krishen⁸⁷ has written to me the attached letter. The questions touched upon are important. For the present, however, I would like to devote myself to the various meetings on planning that we are having and I should like to avoid long interviews. Afterwards, I shall gladly meet him.

- 2. As for the broad question of the deterioration of public standards and morals, it is highly important, but unless we have some specific proposals to deal with it, it is not clear what I can do.
- 3. The Chief Commissioner of Delhi at present, Shri Bhagwan Sahay, is a good man. He has the social outlook as well as competence and I should like Shri Brij Krishen to keep in touch with him. He should, of course, also keep in touch with the Delhi Corporation. I understand that the Mayor has not returned from America yet. 88 When he returns, I shall write to him about slums and other matters and suggest to him to keep in touch with the Bharat Sewak Samaj.

^{84.} Letter.

^{85.} Ramchandra Matand Hajarnavis, Congress, Lok Sabha MP from Bhandara-SC, Bombay, and Deputy Law Minister.

^{86.} Note to Principal Private Secretary, 7 June 1960.

^{87.} Brij Krishen Chandiwala, convener of the Delhi branch of the Bharat Sevak Samaj.

^{88.} Sham Nath, the Mayor of Delhi, had gone to the US to attend the International Conference of Mayors at Chicago. He returned to Delhi on 14 June.

- 4. I do not know what I can do about the Najafgarh Nala at this stage. You may perhaps enquire from the Chief Commissioner about it.
- 5. As for education, that, I take it, has to be dealt with either by the Corporation or the Chief Commissioner.
- 6. You might please write to Shri Brij Krishen or see him and have a talk with him on these lines.

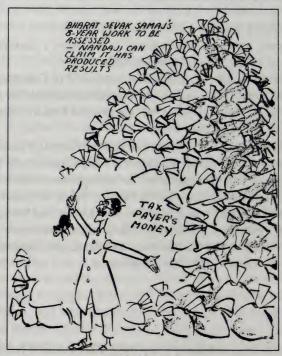
46. To Sham Nath: Slum Clearance89

16 June 1960

My dear Sham Nath,

I see that you have returned from your tour in the United States. I hope that you had a profitable and enjoyable tour.

[NANDA'S LABOUR TO PRODUCE A MOUSE]



[G.L. Nanda] (From Shankar's Weekly, 3 July 1960, p. 12)

I am writing to you specially about slum clearance work in Delhi. This matter has been engaging our attention for some years. It is true that something is being done, but I am afraid the progress has been slow. The chief burden of this work rests on the Corporation, and unless you take particular interest in the matter, delays are bound to occur.

Brij Krishan Chandiwala has taken particular interest in this on behalf of the Bharat Sevak Samaj which has done very good work. I would like you to discuss this matter with Brij Krishan and speed up this work.⁹⁰

Yours sincerely, Jawaharlal Nehru

47. To Baba Kharak Singh: The Akali Demonstration on 12 June⁹¹

20 June 1960

My dear Baba Kharak Singhji,

Thank you for your letter of today's date. 92 It is always a pleasure to hear from you or about you. I hope you are keeping well.

You refer to the recent Akali demonstration held in Chandni Chowk on the 12th of June, and suggest that an Inquiry Commission should be appointed. I am glad to learn that you are of opinion that the present Punjab State should not be further divided.

As for the events of the 12th June, I have gone carefully into the matter and, indeed, on the very day of these occurrences, I kept myself very fully informed. I have had many accounts from people who were present. All these disturbances took place not in some hidden corner of the city, but in the heart of the city and before vast numbers of persons. The Press, both Indian and foreign, was present there in very large numbers, and these people saw for themselves what happened. There was thus no secrecy about anything, and the actual sequence of events has been witnessed by many competent observers.

^{90.} According to The Times of India of 1 July 1960, Nehru discussed Delhi's slum clearance programme on 26 June with Sham Nath and Chandiwala, on 30 June with Sham Nath alone; thereafter officials and Delhi Corporation members held weekly review meetings. See also item 45.

^{91.} Letter, copied to G.B. Pant.

^{92.} See Appendix 40.

You no doubt know that processions on that day were forbidden. In fact, processions in Chandni Chowk have been forbidden long before for all parties or groups and quite apart from the Akali agitation. They were forbidden for the very good reason that the life of the city should not be held up because some group wants to take out a procession. Normally such processions are not permitted in great cities anywhere in the world, because they come in the way of public convenience and business. Thus this prohibition of processions in those areas had been made long ago. Some of the Akali leaders wanted special permission, in spite of this previous prohibition. This was not given to them not only because of the previous order, but also because this would have involved a possible danger to the peace.

Anyhow, permission for the procession was not given.

Nevertheless, some of the Akali leaders decided deliberately to break this order and made every effort to collect large numbers of people from places other than Delhi even. When this large crowd assembled before the Sisganj Gurdwara, the police held them there and told them not to advance along the prohibited route. The police were strictly told not to use any violence except such as may become absolutely necessary. Senior Magistrates and police officers were present on the occasion.

I shall not go into a detailed account of what happened, but my own impression from all the accounts I have heard, is that the police behaved with extraordinary restraint. They were pushed and harried and a regular attack was made not only on them in Chandni Chowk but on the Kotwali nearby. They were overwhelmed by stones and brickbats thrown from various storeys of the Sisganj Gurdwara where evidently these brickbats had been collected. A large number of policemen were injured. The police chiefly used tear-gas bombs. At some stages, they used their lathis for defence. As a matter of fact, there was hardly any room for what might be called a proper lathi charge, because of the aggression of the Akali crowd. In any event, when there is such a major conflict with a large crowd, it would be extraordinary to suggest that the police should either remain passive and suffer blows and hits by stones or surrender to the crowd.

Broadly speaking, this is an account which has been given in the Press by those who were present and the account which I have received from others. It is rather extraordinary to suggest that a deliberate and organised attack should take place on the police, and large numbers of them should be injured by this attack, and yet anyone should criticise the police. I cannot imagine of any other way of dealing with this situation by any government. Criticism has been made by many that the police were too soft on this occasion.

Apart from this, it is not clear to me how any Commission can enquire into such a public matter where thousands participated. It may be that hundreds of people are examined and each gives his limited version. No one can give a full version except partly those who stood by distantly and looked at the scene. These

probably were the newspapermen who have already given their versions. I hope you will appreciate what I have written. With regards,

> Yours sincerely, Jawaharlal Nehru

48. To Shiv Charan Gupta: Delhi Congress's New Magazine⁹³

20 जून 1960

प्रिय शिवचरण जी.94

आपका 1 जून का पत्र मिला। यह मालूम हुआ कि दिल्ली कांग्रेस की ओर से एक मासिक पत्रिका निकलने वाली है, मुझे खुशी हुई। लेकिन उसकी निस्बत राय तो जभी दी जा सकती है जब यह मालूम हो कि वह कैसी है और किस ढँग से चलाई जाती है। खैर, फिर भी मैं अपनी शुभ कामनाएँ उसके लिए भेजता हूँ।

> आपका जवाहरलाल नेहरु

[Translation begins:

20 June 1960

My dear Shiv Charanji,95

I have your letter of the 1st June. I am glad to learn that the Delhi Congress is going to start a new monthly magazine. But I can give my opinion only when I see it and how it is being brought out. Nevertheless, I send my best wishes for it.

> Yours sincerely, Jawaharlal Nehru

95. See fn 94 in this section.

^{94.} Shiv Charan Gupta, President, Delhi Pradesh Congress Committee.

49. To Labh Singh Narang: Akali Demonstration and Policemen⁹⁶

24 June 1960

Dear Shri Labh Singh Narang,⁹⁷ I have your letter of 23rd June.

I do not see how any worthwhile enquiry can be held into the occurrences of June 12 in Chandni Chowk. These took place very much in the public with thousands of people watching and hundreds of newspapermen. They were major conflicts. There may have been, of course, individual cases of misbehaviour. But these have to be seen in the context of events. For hours the Police were harassed and pushed and large numbers of stones were thrown upon them. It is hardly fair to expect each individual policeman, many of whom have suffered, to be held to account during this melee.

Nor do I see how this conflict could have been avoided when it was deliberately provoked by the Akali leaders present.

Yours sincerely, Jawaharlal Nehru

50. To Sant Singh: The Akali Demonstration and Civil Liberties⁹⁸

13 July 1960

Dear Sardar Sant Singh,99

I have your letter of the 11th July. I have already dealt with the question of having a judicial inquiry into the events which took place in Delhi on the 12th June. You refer to these events as the culmination of the wave of repression of the Sikhs in the Punjab and Delhi. I should like to draw your attention to the fact that it was not the Government that had taken the initiative in this matter. For weeks previously there were fierce attacks on Government and talks of "morchas" and the like. A "morcha" itself is aggressive action.

It was not Government that organised the "morcha" in Delhi on the 12th June or in Amritsar or elsewhere. They had to meet a situation that had been

^{96.} Letter.

^{97.} A resident of A-1, Jangpura Extension, New Delhi.

^{98.} Letter.

^{99.} Honorary Secretary, Chief Khalsa Diwan, Amritsar.

^{100.} See items 49 and 161.

carefully organised. For weeks past it was a situation which no government could allow to pass by without abdicating its functions as a government.

Even normally it would be improper for the life of a great city to be upset and held up by crowds being collected in the principal streets which come in the way of all traffic and business. I am not aware if this kind of thing will be allowed in any great city in the world. Apart from this, these crowds who had been collected not from Delhi only, but from outside also, were to indulge in a deliberate defiance of an order passed by Government. That order was passed for that neighbourhood long ago and not even especially for June 12th.

The incidents that took place were in day time with hundreds of newspapermen and others watching. There was no secrecy about them. Organised attacks were made on the police and the police station nearby. Stones were hurled from the upper storey of the Sisganj Gurdwara. We have a large number of eye witnesses' accounts from the newspapers and elsewhere. I find it difficult to describe all this as peaceful activity or peaceful processions.

Broadly speaking, there is a great strain on the police force as on others and according to the evidence of large numbers of people who were present there, the police showed remarkable restraint. It is quite possible that some individual policeman became rather ruthless towards the end of the day and committed some acts which he should not have done. But one has to see all this in the context of events.

As I have said, I do not see what good a public inquiry into this would do. Hundreds or thousands of witnesses could be brought forward to give their varying accounts of what they saw because all this was seen by tens of thousands.

It is a matter of wonder to me how civil liberty is brought in over these questions. When the authority of Government is defied, whether it is for good reasons or bad, Government has to take action. Civil liberty does not come into the picture. Even if a person does satyagraha for a very good cause, he does so realising that he will have to face the consequences. You say in your letter that you wish to send your letter to the Press. From this I gather that the main purpose of your writing your letter was to send it to the Press. It is open to you to do as you wish.

Yours sincerely, Jawaharlal Nehru

51. To G.B. Pant: Land Use in Delhi 101

27 July 1960

My dear Pantji,

The other day, the Cabinet agenda contained an item about land in Delhi. There was a note by the Chief Commissioner. We postponed consideration of this, and you were good enough to say that you would like to go into this matter personally before it was put up formally again.

I am glad you did this because my own mind has been somewhat confused on the subject. There are the questions of broad policy which, of course, are important. There is also another aspect, and that is in regard to the commitments we have made. I do not like commitments to be broken unless it is for some paramount reason.

I had a deputation today from Secretary-General N.R.Pillai, ¹⁰² Solicitor-General Daphtary ¹⁰³ and Auditor-General Asok Chanda. They came to me on behalf of the Maharani Bagh Cooperative [House] Building Society. ¹⁰⁴ They spoke to me about this Society. They also spoke to me about the larger questions of principles involved. I do not propose to go into all these and their arguments. But it did appear to me that these people had been given a rather hard time. For three years, they have been kept dangling and they have been unable to take any step.

I am all for our taking adequate steps to prevent speculation in land in Delhi and people making large sums of money out of it. And yet I see that this is still being done, and big houses are being built by private individuals over fairly large pieces of land. How we propose to control all this, is not clear to me. Then there is the question of trying to keep prices low, within the reach of normal individuals, apart from rich contractors, industrialists and the like. I suppose it is not an easy matter to do that in a growing city like Delhi. Is Delhi then to become a preserve of only the very wealthy? I hope not.

For the moment, I am only writing briefly to you. Should you wish to see any of the persons who called on me in this connection, you might perhaps send for him.

Yours affectionately, [Jawaharlal]

101. Letter.

102. Secretary-General, MEA.

103. C.K. Daphtary.

104. In Delhi.

(e) Gujarat

52. To Jivraj N. Mehta: Visiting Kachholi Village 105

1 June 1960

My dear Jivraj,

You wrote to me on the 15th May about my proposed visit to Kachholi Village in Surat district. I have decided to go to Kachholi on the 22nd June. I am not quite clear how to get there and would like your advice in the matter. In your letter, you had suggested my going to Baroda and then by devious ways. I can remain in that neighbourhood on the 23rd and part of the 24th, but I should like to come back by the afternoon or evening of the 24th June. Till then, I shall be in your hands, and you can make any programme you like for me.

Yours sincerely, Jawaharlal Nehru

53. To Kesho Ram: Date for Kachholi Village Visit 106

Please write to Shri Mohamad Issop Nagdee. ¹⁰⁷ Tell him that I hope to visit his village Kachholi in Surat District, on the 22nd June, if that suits him and his colleagues. I shall have to get this date approved of by the Chief Minister of Gujarat, to whom I have written.

54. To Mangaldas Pakvasa: Visiting Maroli Village 108

6 June 1960

My dear Pakvasa, 109

I am sorry for the delay in answering your letter of May 23rd. Soon after returning to India I went to Poona and I have only come back to Delhi today.

I intend going to the village Kachholi in Surat District on 22nd June. I shall stay in Gujerat on the 24th June and return to Delhi on the 24th June. I have

105. Letter.

106. Note, 1 June 1960. File No. 8/143/60-PMP, Prime Minister's Secretariat.

107. See item 8, fn 64.

108. Letter.

109. Officiating as the Governor of Mysore in the absence of Jaya Chamaraja Wodeyar, the Governor. See Dr. Rajendra Prasad: Correspondence and Select Documents, Vol. XXI (New Delhi: Allied Publishers, 1995), pp. 56-57.

written to Dr. Jivraj Mehta and requested him to draw up my programme of this stay of about two days. ¹¹⁰ If it is possible for me to visit the Maroli village, I shall gladly do so. But it will be for Dr. Mehta to draw up this programme. Will you, therefore, please communicate with him?

Yours sincerely, Jawaharlal Nehru

55. To Jivraj N. Mehta: A Visit to Dandi 111

14 June 1960

My dear Jivraj,

I have received the following telegram from Shri Gosaibhai C. Patel, President, Navsari Taluka Congress, Navsari:

"Gujarat Government cancelled programme opening Gandhi Memorial at famous Dandi 24 miles from Kachholi fearing half mile padyatra. People desire do come."

It is for you to decide. But if at all possible, I should like to go to Dandi. A little walk will not matter much.

Yours sincerely, Jawaharlal Nehru

56. To Kesho Ram: Gujarat Tour Programme¹¹²

I am agreeable to this programme except that it seems to me that too little time has been given to Village Kachholi which is the main object of the Gujerat Government.

2. As for the dinner at the Rotary Club, Navsari, I want to be excused. These dinners after a heavy day are tiring and I would much rather have a small private dinner.

^{110.} See item 52.

^{111.} Letter. File No. 8/143/60-PMP, Prime Minister's Office. Also available in JN Collection.

^{112.} Note, 14 June 1960. File No. 8/143/60-PMP, Prime Minister's Office.

(f) Himachal Pradesh

57. To Upadhayaya Jaidev: Zamindari Legislation 113

12 जुलाई 1960

प्रिय उपाध्याय जी,114

आपका 2 जुलाई का पत्र मिला। 115 आपने मुझे हिमाचल प्रदेश के ज़मीदारी कानून के बारे में लिखा है और उसको मेरे पास भेजा है। यह कानून तो छह वर्ष हुए स्वीकार हुआ था और इस पर अमल हुआ है। अब मैं इसमें क्या कर सकता हूँ? ऐसे ही कानून सारे देश में बने हैं।

अगर मैं किसी और तरह से आपकी कुछ सहायता कर सक्रूँ, तो मैं खुशी से करूँगा।

आपका जवाहरलाल नेहरु

[Translation begins:

12 July 1960

Dear Upadhyayaji,116

I have your letter of the 2nd July.¹¹⁷ You have written to me about the zamindari legislation of Himachal Pradesh and also copied it to me. This was passed six years ago and has also been implemented. What can I do about it now? Similar laws have been enacted throughout the country.

If I can be of help to you in some other way, I shall gladly do so.

Yours sincerely, Jawaharlal Nehru

Translation ends]

^{113.} Letter. File No. 17/1/58-60-H, Prime Minister's Office.

^{114.} A resident of Mandi, Himachal Pradesh.

^{115.} See Upadhayaya Jaidev to Nehru, 2 July 1960, Appendix 57.

^{116.} See fn 114 in this section.

^{117.} See fn 115 in this section.

(g) Jammu and Kashmir

(i) Tour Programme

58. To Indira Gandhi 118

11 June 1960

Indu¹¹⁹ darling,

Thank you for your note from the station. ¹²⁰ There is nothing at all for you to feel bad about me. I think you have done the right thing to take the children to Kashmir for a short spell there.

Today, at your instance, Krishna Mehta¹²¹ came to lunch with me. She grew lyrical in praise of Kishtwar and round about. Of course she has done this previously and for many long years I have wanted to go to Kishtwar because of the accounts I have read of the beauty of the scenery there which, some say, surpasses the valley of Kashmir.

The novel element introduced by Krishna in her talk was to make me realise that this is fairly easily accessible. I had an idea that it took several days march. Now it appears that a good road has been built from Batot¹²² and the distance is about fifty miles. Buses run on this road. I was told there there was even an airfield in Kishtwar, but how big it is I do not know. Krishna tells me that even the road from Batot goes through magnificent mountain scenery. It is worthwhile to go along that road for ten or twelve miles even though we may not go further. You are going by car from Jammu to Srinagar and you must have passed Batot. Presumably you will come back the same way. At least up to Jammu. Why not go to Kishtwar for a day or two? If that is not feasible, why not at least go along that road for some distance?

118. Letter

119. Indu is Indira Gandhi.

120. Refers to undated letter, sent from New Delhi. It reads:

"Darling Papu,

"I feel so bad going off to Srinagar & leaving you all alone in this terrible heat. But the children are badly in need of a change.

"I do hope you can come for more than a couple of days. You need to get away every now & then and we shall all be missing you.

"Lots of love.

"Indu"

Sonia Gandhi (ed.), Two Alone, Two Together: Letters between Indira Gandhi and Jawaharlal Nehru 1940-1964 (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1992), p. 630.

121. Congress, Lok Sabha MP from Kishtwar, Jammu and Kashmir; she was the widow of Dunichand Mehta, who was shot and killed by raiders from Pakistan in October 1947 when he was the District Magistrate of Muzaffarabad.

122. Usually spelt as Batote.

As I told you, I am vaguely thinking of going for a day or two to Kashmir. The real object is to go to Leh in Ladakh. Perhaps I might be able to fix this up about the first week of July. I would then go, let us say, for two days to Srinagar and one or two days to Ladakh. On my return journey, I should like to pay a visit to Kishtwar for a day or so. That would probably mean coming back by car upto Jammu. All this is very vague. But if I do so, I should like to fit in with your return date so that we might come back together.

Love.

Papu

59. To Indira Gandhi 123

13 June 1960

Indu darling,

I had a talk with Subroto Mukerjee¹²⁴ today about my going to Ladakh. He said that this could easily be arranged, but he would like it to be as early as possible in order to avoid the early rains. He would have liked me to go some time during the last week of June. That is not feasible because I have a good deal of work to do here. On the 1st of July, there is the celebration of Ghana's new Republic, and I should like to be here then. So the earliest I can leave Delhi is the 2nd July.

This means that the earliest I can go to Ladakh is the 3rd July. At first I had intended going to Leh, spending a night there, going on the next day for a flight over our eastern border and possibly getting down at Chusul, and returning to Srinagar. There is one snag about this programme. If I reach Leh and the second day is not a good day for flying, I might get hung up there till the weather clears.

Therefore, it seems better to go to Leh from Srinagar and come back the same day. The next feasible day I go for the flight to the border and also come back the same day. On both these days I shall have to start early, about 6 A.M. as that is the best time for flying. I should return by 12 Noon or perhaps a little earlier.

Provisionally, therefore, I am arranging to reach Srinagar on the 2nd July forenoon. If the weather is good, I shall go on the 3rd to Leh early morning and come back before mid-day. Probably on the third day, if the weather is good, I shall fly to the border and come back.

My present intention is, subject to developments, to stay in Srinagar for four days, including the visits to Ladakh. This means from the 2nd to the 5th. On the 6th, I should like to start on my return journey. As I have written to you, I should

123. Letter.

124. Chief of the Air Staff.

like, if possible, to pay a brief visit to Kishtwar as well as the other place nearby (I think it is called Bhartawa¹²⁵) from where Krishna Mehta comes. Although there is said to be an air strip at Kishtwar, I think it will be better to go by car as this will enable me to see the new tunnel¹²⁶ also and go over the mountain road from Batote to Kishtwar. Probably I shall have to spend the night round about there. The next day I could go to Jammu by car and take the plane from there to Delhi. This is a rough idea of what I have in mind at present. I do not know how this will fit in with your programme.

I am writing briefly to Bakhshi Sahib about my visit.¹²⁷ I do not know where I should stay at Srinagar. I would, of course, like to be near you, but perhaps that may not be feasible because you are in a house-boat. In any event, I should like to spend much of my time with you and the children. I do hope that Bakhshi Sahib will not have functions for me.

Delhi continues to be as hot as ever. I am pretty well used to it. On the whole, I am having a fairly easy time as after a succession of Cabinet meetings, we are having an interval. Pantji is probably going tomorrow to Naini Tal for some days.

The Akali demonstrations, morcha, etc. were a big show yesterday. Our police behaved rather well and with great restraint. The Akalis were very violent. But, in spite of all this violence and stone throwing from houses, and especially from the Sisganj Gurudwara, which is a several-storeyed building, there was no firing and not much in the way of lathi charges. Tear gas was used several times. In spite of the violence and aggressiveness of the Akali crowd, the police held them, prevented the procession, and ultimately cleared Chandni Chowk.

I hope you are having a good time.

Love.

Papu

60. To Bakhshi Ghulam Mohammed 128

13 June 1960

My dear Bakhshi,

I have been thinking of paying a brief visit to Ladakh. I have not been there for many years and perhaps my going there will have a good effect in some ways. I want to go to Leh for a short while and I also want to go to Chushul and fly over

^{125.} The correct name is Bhadarwah.

^{126.} Banihal Tunnel, also known as Jawahar Tunnel, was opened in December 1956.

^{127.} See item 60.

^{128.} File No. 8 (145)/60-PMP, Vol. I, Prime Minister's Secretariat. Also available in JN Collection.

part of the border area. I had a talk with our Air Marshal¹²⁹ today. He said that he would arrange this, but he would have liked me to go if possible during the last week of June as there was some chance of the early rains affecting the weather later.

I am afraid I cannot go in June. In fact I have engagements till the evening of the 1st July. The earliest that I can leave, therefore, is the morning of the 2nd July reaching Srinagar in the forenoon.

My idea was at first to go to Leh, spend the night there and next morning go to Chushul and the border, returning to Srinagar. But the Air Marshal pointed out that there was a certain risk about the weather. If after I reach Leh the weather changes for the worse, I might be held up there for a day or two. Therefore it is now proposed that I should make two trips—one to Leh and back to Srinagar the same day and the other to Chushul etc. on another day. On both these days I shall have to leave Srinagar very early in the morning about 6.00 a.m. as that is the best time for the flight, returning by mid-day.

Therefore, my present provisional programme is to reach Srinagar on the 2nd July forenoon; on the 3rd morning to go to Leh and come back by mid-day; on the 4th, if the weather is good, to go to Chushul etc. and also come back by mid-day; on the 5th I remain in Srinagar; on the 6th I return.

I was thinking that it might be better for me to return by road to Jammu as this would enable me to see the new tunnel and the road. Also, it struck me that it might be worthwhile for me to go from Batote to Kishtwar, which I understand is only fifty miles away and the road is fairly good. I have never been to Kishtwar and would like to go there. I will spend the night there, returning the next day to Jammu and then by air to Delhi. This is about a week's programme. All this, as I have said above, is rather provisional.

I would be very grateful to you if my visit is treated as completely private and informal and there are no formal receptions at the airport or in the city. Also if other functions are avoided, I want to have a quiet time.

I would like to stay somewhere near Indira and the children if that is possible. In any event, I should like to spend some time with them.

Yours sincerely, Jawaharlal Nehru

61. To Karan Singh 130

13 June 1960

[My dear Tiger,] 131

I am thinking of coming over to Srinagar, chiefly with a view to paying a brief visit to Ladakh. Probably I shall reach Srinagar on the 2nd July forenoon. If the weather is good I shall go on the 3rd early morning to Leh and come back to Srinagar by lunch time. The next day I want to go from Srinagar early morning to Chushul and the border, also coming back the same day. Another day might be spent at Srinagar, and on the 6th I would like to return.

I have been thinking that it might be better for me to return by road and thus see the new tunnel. This would also enable me to go from Batote to Kishtwar where I have not been previously. From there I would go by road to Jammu and by air to Delhi. 132

This is a tentative programme which I have suggested to Bakhshi Saheb. I have particularly requested him not to have formal receptions or other functions as I want to have a quiet time.

Yours affectionately, Jawaharlal Nehru

62. To Indira Gandhi 133

20 June 1960

Darling Indu,

I shall probably reach Srinagar airfield early on July 2nd at about eight thirty a.m. It is better to fly early in the morning. I shall start by Viscount at seven a.m. from Palam.

The next day I shall go to Chushul, etc, starting at six a.m. for Srinagar airfield.

130. Letter.

131. Nickname for Karan Singh, the Sadar-i-Riyasat of Jammu and Kashmir.

133. Letter. Sonia Gandhi (ed.), Two Alone, Two Together, p. 636.

^{132.} Karan Singh replied on 16 June: "I think it a good idea to return from Srinagar to Jammu by road through the new tunnel. With regard to Kishtwar, however, it is just possible that the monsoon will have broken in the Jammu province by the first week of July, and in that event the roads leading to Kishtwar will be extremely unsafe and uncertain. In any case it should be possible for you to motor down to Jammu and perhaps spend a day there before flying back to Delhi." Jawaid Alam (ed.) Jammu and Kashmir 1949-64: Select Correspondence between Jawaharlal Nehru and Karan Singh (New Delhi: Penguin, 2006), p. 277.

Bakhshi suggests that I should stay at Dachigam. That will be very far from the airfield and therefore rather inconvenient.

He also suggests that all of you should shift to Dachigam. That I think is not at all necessary. You should stay on in your houseboat.

Love.

Papu

63. To Indira Gandhi 134

20 June 1960

Indu darling,

This morning I wrote a hurried letter to you. 135 The President went off to the Soviet Union at 6 a.m. from Palam. We all went to see him off, although that meant getting up very early. On my return from Palam I wrote to you.

On coming to the office later in the morning I received two letters from you, one dated 16th and the other dated 18th June. 136

As for staying in Srinagar, I should very much like to stay somewhere in Nagin Bagh, in a house or in a tent. The more I think of it the more I do not approve of the idea of staying at Dachigam. That is much too far and is closed in. If you like, you can speak to Bakhshi Sahib about the house. Even a tent would be good. I am also writing to him on the subject.

As for going to Kishtwar, it is possible for me to fly there in a small plane. Subroto Mukerjee has agreed to fly me there, although I told him that I would prefer to go by road. Anyhow, he will keep a small aircraft ready. Now that I have said that I would go there, I should like to keep my promise. I should have liked to go to Bhadarwah also. This is in a slightly different direction. This is the place from where Krishna Mehta comes. I doubt, however, if this would be possible. In any event, if I go to Kishtwar, I shall have to spend a night there and from there I shall have to fly to Jammu in a small aircraft. From Jammu I can come back by the Viscount. In flying from Srinagar to Kishtwar or Kishtwar to Jammu I am told that I should do this in the early morning before 10 o'clock.

All of you can, of course, come back with me to Delhi from Srinagar. There will be no difficulty about that.

Love.

Papu

^{134.} Letter. File No. 8 (145)/60-PMP, Vol. I, Prime Minister's Secretariat. Also available in JN Collection. Indira Gandhi was staying in a houseboat in Nagin Bagh in Srinagar.

^{135.} See item 63.

^{136.} For the two letters of Indira Gandhi, see Sonia Gandhi (ed.), Two Alone, Two Together, pp. 633-635.

64. To Bakhshi Ghulam Mohammed 137

20 June 1960

My dear Bakhshi,

Your letter of 18th June.

I am told that flying in the early morning is better. Therefore I shall start from Palam on 2nd July at 7 a.m. by the Viscount. This means I shall reach Srinagar airfield at about 8.30 a.m. that day.

I shall probably go to Chushul etc. on the 3rd July. I shall have to start very early because of weather conditions—that is at 6 a.m. from the Srinagar airfield. The next day I shall also have to start for Leh at 6 a.m. and spend about 3 hours at Leh.

As I have to start so early it will be inconvenient to stay so far away as Dachigam. The journey from Dachigam to the airfield is a long one.

I think that Feroze and Indira had better stay on in their houseboat. The children will I am sure prefer staying in the Nagin Lake. There is no point in shifting them all to another place.

If you like I shall address a meeting at Jammu.

Yours sincerely, Jawaharlal Nehru

65. To Bakhshi Ghulam Mohammed 138

20 June 1960

My dear Bakhshi,

I wrote a brief letter to you this morning¹³⁹ after coming back from Palam where I had gone to see our President off on his Russian journey. A little later I received a letter from Indira. In this she tells me that the children are enjoying themselves greatly in Nagin Bagh. I do not think it would be right for us to drag Feroze, ¹⁴⁰ Indira and the children to Dachigam or some other place. They should be left in those delightful surroundings of Nagin Bagh.

Indeed, I am wondering if I could not stay in a tent or in some other place in Nagin Bagh. It will be delightful under the big trees and near the lake with the valley stretching all round, Indira writes that there is some kind of a small house

^{137.} Letter. File No. 8 (145)/60-PMP, Vol. I, Prime Minister's Secretariat.

^{138.} Letter.

^{139.} See item 64.

^{140.} Feroze Gandhi

available there. Perhaps, you could talk to her on the subject. I do not want much accommodation. As far as I can see, the only persons accompanying me will be my P.A. and Hari. If anyone else comes with me, ha can stay elsewhere. Dachigam will be definitely too far, although it is a delightful place. To go from Dachigam every day to the airport would be very tiring. Also, I should like to have a view of the open valley, if possible. If, therefore, it is not inconvenient to you, arrangements might be made at Nagin Bagh either in a house or in a tent. If I stay there, the question of food etc. will offer no difficulty, as I can have my meals with Indira.

I understand that it will be possible for me to fly to Kishtwar in a small Otter aircraft. Perhaps, it would be better for me to fly there, spend the rest of the day and then fly from there to Jammu, also in the Otter, the next day.

I am going to Gujerat early morning tomorrow returning on the 23rd evening.

Yours sincerely Jawaharlal Nehru

66. To Indira Gandhi 142

23 June 1960

Indu darling,

I returned this afternoon from Gujarat. I had a good tour there even though the heavy rains came in the way and I could not go to some places because of them. My return journey this afternoon on the Illyushin was again a rather unpleasant experience. However, I have recovered.

I have had a letter from Bakhshi Sahib in which he tells me that he is making arrangements for me to stay at Chashma Shahi Rest House. Karan Singh has also written inviting me to go there. I suppose I had better stick to this now. I however hope that I shall be able to spend some time with you and the children at Nagin Bagh.

I shall write to you more about my possible programme later. I was happy to receive the little notes from Rajiv¹⁴³ and Sanjay. ¹⁴⁴ Love.

Papu

^{141.} Harilal, personal attendant to Nehru.

^{142.} Letter.

^{143.} Rajiv Gandhi.

^{144.} Sanjay Gandhi.

67. To Bakhshi Ghulam Mohammed 145

23 June 1960

My dear Bakhshi,

Thank you for your letter of June 22. If you so wish it, I shall stay at the Chashma Shahi Rest House. The Yuvaraj¹⁴⁶ has also written to me about it.

As for my programme, I had mentioned to you that one of the main purposes of my visit was to go to Chusul and Leh. This has to be done on separate days. I have to fix this up with our Air Marshal. Partly this will be dependent on the weather, but it is desirable that I should go there as early as possible. That is why I am thinking of going to Chusul on the 3rd July early morning, returning before mid-day. The next day we might go to Leh. For the rest, you need not fix any programme yet.

Yours sincerely, Jawaharlal Nehru

68. To Karan Singh¹⁴⁷

23 June 1960

[My dear Tiger,]

Thank you for your letter of June 21.¹⁴⁸ I shall be happy to stay at the Chashma Shahi Rest House. But I do not at all like the idea of your mother to have to move to some other place.

Dachigam does not suit me. It is too far out, and I shall be repeatedly going to the airport in the early morning for my visits to Chusul and Leh.

I hope to reach Srinagar on the 2nd July morning at about 8.30 by the Viscount, As at present arranged, I want to go to Chusul at 6 A.M. on the 3rd.

[Yours affectionately, Jawaharlal Nehru]

- 145. Letter.
- 146. Karan Singh.
- 147. Letter.
- 148. Karan Singh wrote: "Bakshi Sahib has just informed me that he has written to you suggesting that you stay in Dachigam... If, however, you would prefer to stay a little closer to Srinagar then may I suggest that you stay at Chashmashahi. Mummy is there at present but she insists on moving into our Lake Pavilion for a few days so that we can place the Chashmashahi house at your disposal. I can assure you it will give us the greatest pleasure if you would like to stay there." Jawaid Alam (ed.) Jammu and Kashmir 1949-64, p. 277.

69. To Indira Gandhi 149

24 June 1960

Darling Indu,

I have your letter of the 22nd June. ¹⁵⁰ I wrote to you last night. ¹⁵¹ I have now had a talk with Subroto Mukerjee. It seems to me that the proposed visit to Kisthwar is rather a complicated and dusty affair. This will involve my going to Jammu and spending the night there. Subroto has now ruled that he will not permit me to go by air anywhere in the afternoon. Possibly, therefore, I shall give up the Kishtwar visit and return to Delhi direct from Srinagar. We can fix this up after our arrival there.

Bakhshi Saheb wants me to reach Srinagar airport at 12.00. I do not like this at all as this will break up my first day there. I have, therefore, arranged now to reach Srinagar airport at 9.00 a.m. on the 2nd July.

There will be no difficulty in regard to you and the children returning with me. For the present my programme is to go on the 3rd to Chusul, coming back by mid-day to Srinagar and to go to Leh on the 4th. Thimayya¹⁵² and Subroto Mukerjee will accompany me. From Chusul I would like to go by helicopter to the forward areas. The helicopter can carry only four persons.

Love.

Papu

70. To Bakhshi Ghulam Mohammed 153

24 June 1960

My dear Bakhshi,

I wrote to you last night about my programme.¹⁵⁴ Today I had a talk with Air Marshal Mukerjee.

I now feel that a visit to Kishtwar, whether by road or air, will be tiresome. I am, therefore, inclined to give this up. That also means giving up the idea of going to Jammu. It would probably be better for me to return directly to Delhi from Srinagar. Otherwise the little benefit I might have from my stay in Srinagar, etc. may well be lost by the journeys to Kishtwar, etc.

^{149.} Letter. File No. 8/145/60-61-PMP, Vol. II, Prime Minister's Office. Also available in JN Collection.

^{150.} See Sonia Gandhi (ed.), Two Alone, Two Together, pp. 638-639.

^{151.} See item 66.

^{152.} K.S. Thimayya, Chief of the Army Staff.

^{153.} Letter. File No. 8/145/60-61, PMP. Vol. II, Prime Minister's Office.

^{154.} See item 67.

I had in mind seeing the Banihal tunnel. That is not very necessary. If, however, this is considered necessary, I can go there from Srinagar and return to Srinagar.

I have written to you that I can reach Srinagar airport at 8.30. The Air Marshal tells me that you want me to arrive at 12 because of reception, etc. I would beg of you not to insist on this. If I arrive there at about 8.30 or 9.00, I shall have the whole day for rest. Otherwise, instead of rest I shall have a tiring time and a good part of the day will be lost. I intend, therefore, reaching the airport at 9.00 a.m. Please do not bother about any special reception.

General Thimayya and Air Marshall Mukerjee will be accompanying me as they want to go to the Ladakh area with me. We shall fix up our exact programme after arrival.

> Yours sincerely, Jawaharlal Nehru

71. To Indira Gandhi 155

28 June 1960

[Indu darling,]

I have now finalised my programme for my visit to Kashmir. There are far too many important problems here for me to be away for long. I have, therefore, given up the idea of going to Kisthwar. So now I shall reach Srinagar aerodrome at about 9 a.m. on the 2nd July. On the 3rd and 4th, I pay visits to various parts of Ladakh, going early in the morning and coming back by lunch time. 5th and 6th I shall stay in Srinagar. 7th morning about 8.30 a.m. I hope to leave Srinagar for Delhi, reaching here about 10 a.m. that day.

I hope this will suit you and the children can accompany me back to Delhi. I am bringing a good quantity of sweets, cigarettes, playing cards, etc. with me for our men in Ladakh.

There is much talk here about the possibility of a general strike of Government employees. ¹⁵⁶ During the next few days we may have some further developments. But there is always a possibility of some kind of a strike coming off and we shall have to prepare for it as we did nearly three years ago when a big P&T strike was threatened. ¹⁵⁷

[Love.]

[Papu]

155. Letter.

156. See items 234 to 272 and passim.

157. The strike, proposed to be held from 8 August 1957, did not take place. See also item 247, fn 617.

72. To Bakhshi Ghulam Mohammed 158

28 June 1960

My dear Bakhshi,

The situation here is getting more and more complicated in many ways. There has been the Third Five Year Plan which has taken a good deal of our time and now there is the threat of a general strike. I do not particularly like leaving Delhi when all these things are happening here. However, I shall stick to my Kashmir programme more or less. But I have given up the idea of going to Kisthwar.

Thus, my programme now will be:

2nd July - Reach Srinagar Airport at 9 a.m.

3rd and 4th - Visits to Leh and other areas in Ladakh. Return to

Srinagar each day by lunch time.

5th and 6th - In Srinagar.

7th - Leave Srinagar Airport at 8.30 a.m. for Delhi.

General Thimayya, Air Marshal Mukerjee and Mullik, 159 our DIB, will be accompanying me. This is rather accidental as they were also thinking of going there about this time.

Yours sincerely, Jawaharlal Nehru

(ii) Other Matters

73. To Bakhshi Ghulam Mohammed: Agricultural Progress in J&K¹⁶⁰

26 June 1960

My dear Bakhshi,

S.K. Dey¹⁶¹ came here this evening. He seemed to be in high spirits after his conferences in Srinagar.¹⁶² Apart from the conferences, he gave me an account of what he saw in the Valley. He was much struck by the progress that had been made in agriculture, roads, buildings, etc. As he was quite enthusiastic about this, I have felt like writing to you and telling you about it. I need hardly say that I was very happy to learn this from him.

158. Letter.

159. B.N. Mullik, Director, Intelligence Bureau.

160 Letter

161. Minister for Community Development.

162. See item 4, fn 37 and 38.

Pakistan newspapers, and some Delhi papers also, say that when I go to Srinagar, or just before, a large number of people will be rounded up by the J.&K. Government for so called security reasons or to prevent demonstrations against me. It is for you, of course, to judge. But I must confess that I dislike this rounding up business very much. It hurts my self-esteem and, of course, it has a bad effect in foreign countries, because foreign newspapers give publicity to this kind of thing. There are, of course, mischievous people in every part of India. But they are not rounded up when I visit that part. I do not personally think that there is any greater risk to me in Kashmir than elsewhere in India. Normal security steps will no doubt be taken, as they are taken elsewhere. But I would much prefer if people are not arrested and detained when I visit Srinagar for a few days.

Yours sincerely, Jawaharlal Nehru

74. To Bala Kak Dhar: No Functions With Pandits 163

27 June 1960

Dear Shri Bala Kakji,164

Thank you for your letter of the 24th June and your invitation on behalf of the Kashmiri Pandits. I am afraid I shall not be able to accept any invitation to a meal. I am going to Srinagar principally because I want to visit Ladakh and some of our border areas. I shall therefore be mostly away from Srinagar. There will be some very little time that I shall spend there, but I shall do so quietly without having to attend any function.

But if you or any of your other colleagues want to meet me, I shall try to find some time. Or, you can approach the Prime Minister of Jammu & Kashmir State and mention this matter to him.

Yours sincerely, Jawaharlal Nehru

^{163.} Letter, copied to Ghulam Mohammed Bakhshi.

^{164.} Former Wazir Wazarat of Kashmir state and founder member of the Hindu Education Society of Kashmir.

75. To G.M. Sadiq: Cannot Address Your Party Workers 165

30 June 1960

My dear Sadiq,166

I have your letter of 28th June. 167

I am a little surprised at your asking me to address your workers. You will, no doubt, appreciate that this will not be proper for me at all as I do not agree with the policy being pursued by your Party and workers. Partly this would apply to social functions. As a matter of fact, I do not want to go to any social functions if I can help it.

My chief reason for going to Kashmir is to pay brief visits to our Ladakh borders.

If it is possible, however, I shall gladly see you personally. 168

Yours sincerely, Jawaharlal Nehru

76. To Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit: Flying Over Kashmir¹⁶⁹

Chashmashahi, Srinagar, 3 July 1960

[Nan dear,]¹⁷⁰

I am writing this from Srinagar. I arrived here yesterday. I have come away for five days at a time when there is a threat of a general strike which may materialise to some extent. I had, however, decided to come here and I did not wish to change my programme. The main purpose of my coming here was to visit Leh and Ladakh and some other forward areas in Ladakh where we have some of our troops stationed. Having made arrangements for these visits, I did not like to disappoint those forward troops who live in these very remote areas under difficult conditions.

^{165.} Letter. File No. 8/145/60-61-PMP, Vol. II, Prime Minister's Office. Also available in JN Collection.

^{166.} President of the Democratic National Conference.

^{167.} See Appendix 51.

^{168.} According to *The Times of India* of 7 July 1960, Nehru declined Sadiq's invitation to tea but met him for half an hour.

^{169.} Letter.

^{170.} Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit (pet name Nan) was the High Commissioner of India to the UK.

So I came, but I have not bargained with the weather. I was to have gone at sunrise today to Leh and come back the same day. The next day I would have gone to those forward areas. I intended travelling by air, of course, by Dakota, but in some areas I wanted to go by helicopter which we have recently purchased from the U.S. and which is capable of flying at great heights, which the old style helicopters could not do. All was fixed up and I brought large quantities of sweets and cigarettes and playing cards etc. to distribute to our people. Last evening there was some apprehension about the weather. However, we decided to start. I had to get up about 4 o'clock in the morning and we took off at the crack of dawn. We went along the Sind Valley, over Sonemarg and Baltal. We saw there a mass of dark clouds over the Zoji-la effectively barring any entrance to the Ladakh table-land. So it was decided to give up the idea of going to Leh. Subroto Mukerjee, who was with me, as was also Thimayya, suggested that we might have a flight over other parts of Kashmir State. I welcomed the idea. So we turned somewhat and went towards Haramukh and Gangabal; then over the Gureiz Valley, Baramulla and Gulmarg; we saw from the air both sides of the new tunnel at Banihal, and then proceeded to Kistwar of which we had a good view from the air. Turning again, we went towards Pahalgam though we did not quite reach it, and then back to the valley and flew over Srinagar City. All this took just two hours and a half and I must say that I enjoyed the flight and the overall view of many parts of Kashmir. Some of these I had visited previously trekking, so it was all the more interesting to see these places from the air.

We have been waiting for further news about the weather tomorrow and the latest is that it is clearing up. We hope, therefore, to start again very early tomorrow morning and if all goes well, we visit Leh.

This flight at considerable height reminds me of a vague idea I have nursed for some time past and which I had practically given up. I should like to have some very light wind-proof and, of course, rain-proof clothing. This means a jacket with sleeves and trousers which can be put on top of the normal trousers or pyjamas. This kind of thing is often used by mountaineers and airmen. Also by skiers sometimes. Some of the airmen's suits are heavy and normally it is all one-piece. I do not like this. I would prefer a separate jacket and separate trousers. But it is essential that they should be light.

I wonder if it is possible for you to get them for me from London. I do not suppose I shall have occasion to use them much. Still on occasions they might prove useful. You know my general measurements. I am 5' 61/2" in height. 171

^{171.} On 30 July 1960, a few days before her departure for New Delhi, Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit wrote to Nehru: "I have procured for you from the [Royal] Air Force the kind of high altitude suit you wanted. I am assured this is the proper thing and though it seems slightly bulky to me, I understand that it can be made no lighter. However, I am bringing it along in the hope that it may be the sort of thing you wanted. It is a gift from the Royal Air Force."

Indu and the children have been here and I think they have enjoyed their stay. They look well. Rajiv and Sanjay have spent most of their time in the water or fishing. Both the boys have become rather good at water skiing. I watched them today.

[Love]

[Jawahar]

77. At Leh: Public Meeting 172

कुशक जी,¹⁷³ भाइयो, बहिनो और बच्चो,

दस बरस हुए मैं यहाँ आया था लद्दाख़ में, लेह में, दो तीन दिन यहाँ रहा था¹⁷⁴ और मुझे यहाँ आकर बहुत खुशी हुई थी आप लोगों से मिलकर, लद्दाख़ी लोगों से। और यह जो कश्मीर का एक कोना है और भारत, हिन्दुस्तान का, एक पहाड़ का एक कोना है, वहाँ आकर भी मुझे बहुत खुशी हुई।

आज इस दस बरस में बहुत कुछ हुआ और मैं देखता हूँ कि लेह में भी बहुत कुछ उन्नित हुई है, पढ़ाई में, लिखाई में, स्कूल में, और बातें हुई हैं। बहुत सारे दरख़्त निकले हैं और पानी की नहरें निकली हैं और बहुत सारी बातें होने वाली हैं। कुशक जी ने बहुत सारी बातें तो अपने उसमें कहीं, यह भी करो, वह भी करो। वह सब बातें तो नहीं हो सकतीं एकदम से, हल्के हल्के बातें होंगी। लेकिन यह बात आप याद रखें कि जो इलाक़ा, जो जगह अब कुछ आगे बढ़ना चाहती है तो अपनी ताकृत से बढ़ते हैं दूसरों की नहीं। अगर आप चाहते हैं कि लेह और लद्दाख़ मज़बूत हों, बढ़ें, तो आपको काम करना है मुझे नहीं। मैं वहाँ से बैठ के क्या काम करुँगा? [तालियाँ]

देश में, वही देश मज़बूत होते हैं जहाँ के लोग तगड़े होते हैं, काम करते हैं। जो लोग महज़ औरों से कहते हैं काम कर दो, वह कमज़ोर, दुर्बल हो जाते हैं। तो लद्दाख़ी लोग तो तगड़े हैं, मज़बूत हैं। यहाँ हमारी बहिनें भी मज़बूत हैं, तगड़े हैं, आप के बच्चे सुंदर है। तो आप भी यहाँ खूब अपने इस इलाक़े को मज़बूत करने के लिए काम करें और हम आपकी पूरी मदद करेंगे। [तालियाँ]

अब, आप जानते है कि सड़क भी जो श्रीनगर से यहाँ आने की कारिगल से बन रही है वो भी अब क़रीब क़रीब तैयार हो गयी है और शायद महीना दो महीना में वह तैयार पूरी हो जाये। तो फिर श्रीनगर से यहाँ आने का रास्ता हो जायेगा, तब आप आसानी से आ-जा सकेंगे। हवाई जहाज़ तो आते हैं लेकिन हवाई जहाज़ से सब लोग तो नहीं जा सकते। इसलिए सड़क बन जाना बहुत अच्छा है यहाँ के लिए। आपकी तरक्की के लिए, यहाँ सामान आये, आपका सामान जाये और आपकी रक्षा करनी हो, हिफ़ाज़त करनी हो तो वो भी मज़बूती से हो सके। हमारी यहाँ फ़ौज भी है और आप जानते हैं, मिलिशिया भी है, इसमें लद्दाख़ी लोग भी हैं और मैं आशा करता हूँ कि लद्दाख़ी लोग इसमें खूब जायेंगे, तगड़े होंगे, सीखेंगे, अपनी रक्षा करना। तो वह लोग तो यहाँ आपके

^{172.} Speech, 4 July 1960. AIR tapes, NMML.

^{173.} Kushak Bakula, Minister of State, Ladakh Affairs and Trade Agencies, Jammu and Kashmir Government.

^{174.} Nehru visited Ladakh, 4-8 July 1949.

भाई की तरह आए हैं आपकी ख़िदमत करने, सेवा करने। क्योंकि हमारा तो दस्तूर है देश भर में कि सब लोग मिलकर रहें, कोई किसी पर हुकूमत नहीं करे, बराबर से मिल के रहें और आम लोगों की ख़िदमत हो, सेवा हो।

जब मैं दस बरस हुए आया था, उस समय भी मैंने आपसे कहा था, और उस समय मुझे याद है कई कमेटियाँ चुनी गयी थीं और औरतों की भी, स्त्रियाँ भी कमेटी में चुनी गयी थीं, तो मुझे खुशी हुई देखकर, अभी दस वर्ष बाद मिलके डोलमा जी¹⁷⁵ से जो उस वक़्त चुनी गयी रही मेरे सामने। और यह रानी साहब¹⁷⁶ से भी, जो मुझसे मिलने आयी थीं दिल्ली में। तो आपकी औरतें तो बड़ी मज़बूत हैं। खूब उन्हें, अपनी देखभाल कर सकती हैं, काम कर सकती हैं और आप सब। इस तरह से आप काम में लगें मज़बूती से। डिएए नहीं किसी से, जो लोग डरते हैं वो कमज़ोर होते हैं। हम इस देश की सारे की मज़बूती से रक्षा करेंगे। कोई हमला करे, कोई दुश्मन आये तो अपनी ताक़त से अपने आपस में मिलकर। लेकिन उसके लिए तैयार होना चाहिए। और आप जानते हैं कि नये नये हमारे सामने कभी ख़तरे आ जाते हैं तो ख़तरों से भी डरना नहीं होता है, उससे और मज़बूत हो जाना होता है, इसी से जो नये ख़तरे हमारी सीमा पर, सरहद पर आएँ उससे हम घबरायें नहीं। हाँ, उसके लिए हमने नया-नया इंतज़ाम किया, फ़ौज का इंतज़ाम, जनता का इंतज़ाम किया और रहेगा वहाँ। [तालियाँ]

हमारे यहाँ फ़ौज के सबसे बड़े अफ़सर हैं, हमारे हवाई जहाज़ों के सबसे बड़े अफ़सर मौजूद हैं, वह भी देखने आये हैं मेरे साथ यहाँ, क्योंकि हमारा यह सारा देश यहाँ हिमालय से लद्दाख़ से लेके दक्षिण तक तो एक है। एक बड़ा परिवार है, एक बड़ा खानदान समझो, कहीं भी उसमें उसके जिस्म में चोट लग जाये तो सारे देश में चोट लगती है। इस तरह से हमें इसे देखना है तो फिर से आपने मुझे बहुत प्रेम और मुहब्बत से मेरा स्वागत किया इसके लिए बहुत बहुत शुक्रिया और धन्यवाद।

और ख़ासकर मुझे यहाँ के बच्चों को देख के ख़ुशी हुई। बच्चों से मुझे बहुत मुहब्बत है, प्रेम है। क्योंकि आजकल के बच्चे हैं वह कल बड़े हो के जवान होंगे, आपके देश की सेवा करेंगे। तो बच्चों की देखभाल ख़ूब अच्छी तरह से करनी चाहिए, ख़ूब सब लोग पढ़ें, लिखें, आप सब लोग। हमारे भाई यहाँ तिब्बत से आये हैं कुछ शरणार्थी, बहुत हज़ारों आये हैं, पन्द्रह, सोलह, सत्रह हज़ार आ चुके हैं हिन्दुस्तान में, यहाँ भी कुछ आए हैं। तो हमने इनका स्वागत किया। उनके लिए हम प्रबंध करते हैं कि वो यहाँ रह सकें, बेचारों ने बहुत दुःख उठाए हैं तो हम उनका, उनका यहाँ रहने का इंतज़ाम हमें करना चाहिए और यहाँ लद्दाख़ में भी। तो यह सब बड़े-बड़े काम हमारे सामने हैं, आपके सामने हैं। तो मज़बूती से उनको करना है और इसमें खुद आपको करना है। जो यहाँ अफ़सर हों उनको तो करना ही है। लेकिन अफ़सर की कामयाबी जब होती है जब वह अपने आप लोगों को काम करने दें, हुकुम चलाने से नहीं होता है। अफ़सर तो औरों का बराबर होता है। कोई हाकिम नहीं होता है कि औरों के कंधे पर बैठे। ऐसे अफ़सर ठीक होते हैं जो लोगों से मिलकर प्रेम से, भाई-भाई का चारा करें और काम करें। [तालियाँ]। तो इस ढँग का हम सारे हिन्दुस्तान को

^{175.} A medical doctor by profession.

^{176.} Parvati Devi (b. 1934); married Kunzang Namgial, former ruler of Ladakh; Congress, Lok Sabha MP from Ladakh, Jammu and Kashmir, elected in 1977; worked for the uplift of women.

बनाना चाहते हैं और आपका भी, लद्दाख़ को बनाना चाहते हैं क्योंकि यह पहाड़ हमारे तो बहुत पुराने दोस्त हैं हज़ारों बरस से, लाखों बरस से, आपके हिन्दुस्तान भर के, कश्मीर के। तो इन पहाड़ों ने हमारी हिफ़ाज़त की है हज़ारों बरस से और अब हमारा काम आया पहाड़ों की हिफ़ाज़त करना। [तालियाँ]

देखिए, मैं तो आपसे बहुत कुछ कह सकता हूँ लेकिन मुझे जल्दी जाना है। क्योंकि अगर ज़रा देर हुई तो मौसम ज़ोजीला पर ख़राब हो जायेगा, फिर हवाई जहाज़ का जाना कठिन हो जायेगा। तो फिर से आपको बहुत बहुत शुक्रिया और फिर से मैं आशा करता हूँ कि लद्दाख़ भी खूब और लद्दाख़ी लोगों की खूब तरक्की होगी, तगड़े होंगे और अपने लद्दाख़ के इलाक़े की तो सेवा करेंगे ही लेकिन सारे भारत की भी करेंगे।

जय हिन्द।

[Translation begins:

Kushakji, 177 Brothers, Sisters and Children,

I had come to Ladakh ten years ago and spent two or three days at Leh. ¹⁷⁸ I am happy to be back here once again and to meet all of you, the people of Ladakh. I am very happy to be visiting this corner of Kashmir, of India, in the mountains.

There seems to have been considerable progress in Leh in the last ten years, in schooling and other fields. Many trees have come up, irrigation channels have been built and other signs of progress are visible, Kushakji has spelt out a long list of things which need to be done. But it is not possible to do everything all at once. It will have to be done gradually. But I want you to remember that a region's progress depends on its own determination and strength. If you want Leh and Ladakh to progress, you will have to work for it. What can I do from Delhi? [Applause].

The countries where the people are tough and hard working progress and become powerful. Those who depend on others remain weak. The people of Ladakh are strong, men as well as women. Your children are beautiful. All of you must work hard to make this area strong and prosperous. We will give you all the help you need. [Applause].

As you know, the road from Srinagar to Leh via Kargil is almost ready and will be completed in a couple of months. It will make communication between Srinagar and Leh easy. There are flights already. But not everybody can travel by aeroplanes. Therefore it is an excellent thing for this region to have a proper road. It will facilitate transport of goods and troop movement for your defence and general progress.

The people of Ladakh have joined our armed forces as the militia. I hope more of them will join up and grow to be tough and strong in the defence of the

177. See fn 173 in this section.

178. See fn 174 in this section.

country. Our troops are here to serve you because it is our tradition in India that everyone should live in mutual cooperation and harmony with no section dominating the others. Our duty is to serve the masses.

When I came here ten years ago I had pointed out the same thing. I remember that many committees were constituted at that time including a women's committee; women were elected to that committee. I am happy to see here Dolma ji¹⁷⁹ who was elected at that time, and also Rani Saheb¹⁸⁰ who had come to see me in Delhi. Your women are very strong and capable of taking care of themselves. You must work hard with all your might and you should not be afraid of anybody. Those who are afraid are weak people. We shall defend our country with all our might against any external attack. But we must be in a constant state of preparedness. We must not panic in the face of dangers. New threats might arise on our borders. But we must not panic. We have made adequate preparations to meet any crisis and taken steps for the defence of our borders. [Applause].

The officers of our army and navy are with me here to assess what is happening. The whole of India, from the Himalayas and Ladakh to the south, is one large family and a wound to any part of it hurts all of us. This is how we must look at it. I thank you for your warm and affectionate welcome.

I am particularly happy to see the children. I love little children. They will grow up and serve the country tomorrow. Therefore we must look after them well and educate them. We have welcomed the Tibetan refugees in India. Nearly sixteen to seventeen thousand have come so far. We are making arrangements for their rehabilitation. They have had to bear great hardships. We must do all we can to resettle them. These are the various tasks before us. We must discharge our duties sincerely. The officials must help, of course. But their success lies in letting you do the work, not passing orders. Officers are there to serve you, not to be masters. It is only the officers who mix with the people and treat them as equals who can succeed. [Applause].

This is the kind of India we wish to build. We want Ladakh to progress because our friendship with the mountains dates back to millions of years. These mountains have stood sentinel and guarded us for thousands of years. How it is our turn to guard the mountains. [Applause].

I can say a great deal to you. But I have to leave now before the weather turns bad. That will make it difficult to fly the plane. I thank you once again and I hope that Ledakh will progress by leaps and bounds. The people here must grow strong and progress and learn to serve not only Ladakh but the whole of India.

Jai Hind.

Translation ends]

179. See fn 175 in this section. 180. See fn 176 in this section.

78. To the Armed Forces in Leh¹⁸¹

अफसरो और जवानो,

क्रीब दस बरस हुए, मैं इधर लद्दाख़ में, लेह में आया था। दो-तीन रोज़ रहा था यहाँ। 182 उस समय से यह इन पहाडों की तस्वीर मेरी आँखों के सामने है। और जो हमारे फ़ौज के लोग यहाँ आते थे, फौज के, पायनियर्स, सब लोग, मैं समझ सकता था कि उनका काम यहाँ कैसा है। और उसमें कितनी मिक्कलें हैं, कठिनाइयाँ हैं। मेरी ख्वाहिश थी फिर से आने की यहाँ, लेकिन इत्तफाक से मैं आ नहीं सका। तो आज जब मैं आया हूँ, तो मुझे खुशी है। ख़ाली यह पहाड़ों को देखने के लिए नहीं बल्कि हमारे फौज के और मिलिशिया के जो जवान हैं उनसे मिलने के लिए, क्योंकि हमारी फ़ौज का, जवानों का काम है सब में अव्वल मुल्क़ की हिफ़ाज़त करना, ख़ासकर जब कोई ख़तरा सामने आये। मुल्क की हिफाज़त, मुल्क की दूर दूर की सरहदों पर होती है। हमारा देश लम्बा चौड़ा है, यहाँ हिमालय पहाड़ से ले के नीचे दक्षिण में समुद्र के किनारे कन्याकुमारी। तो उस लम्बे देश की, लम्बे-चौड़े देश की हमें हिफाजत करनी है। पुराने खतरों से हमने की, नये खतरे भी आते हैं कभी कभी। तो उसके लिए हमें हमेशा तैयार रहना है। जो देश जुरा भी गफ़लत में पड़ जाता है, ढीला हो जाता है, फिर उसकी आजादी नहीं रहती है, हल्के हल्के फिसल जाती है। इसलिए आजादी की कीमत होती है हमेशा होशियार रहना, हमेशा तैयार रहना। यह रोज़ की कीमत है। और कोई ख़तरा आये तो उसका मुकाबला करना। तो हमें इतिमनान है कि हिन्दस्तान की हिफाज़त हमारी फ़ौज, हमारे हवाई जहाज़ के लोग, हमारी समंदरी सेना, काफी अच्छी तरह से हर वक्त करते हैं, होशियार रहते हैं।

और यहाँ इन पहाड़ों में आकर मेरा दिल तो बहुत खुश होता है। क्योंकि मैं भी थोड़ा बहुत पहाड़ी आदमी हूँ, अब इन पहाड़ों ने हज़ारों बरस से हिन्दुस्तान की हिफ़ाज़त की है और करेंगे, लेकिन आजकल का ज़माना बदलता है और पहाड़ों के ऊपर से लोग उड़ते हैं, हम भी और और भी। तो नये ढँग निकलते हैं। लेकिन जो भी नये ढँग निकलें आख़िर में आदमी पर होता है, कितनी बड़ी मशीन निकलें आख़िर में इंसान पर होता है। तगड़े इंसान, अक्लमंद इंसान, सीखे हुए इंसान। वह मुल्क की तरक्की करते हैं और मुल्क की हिफ़ाज़त करते हैं। तो ऐसे आदमियों की हमें ज़रूरत है। ऐसे आदमी हमारी फ़ौज में और हमारी हवाई सेना में आते हैं और मुझे उनसे मिलकर खुशी होती है कि हम हमेशा तैयार रहते हैं। तो बस इतना ही मुझे कहना था आपसे।

जय हिन्द।

[Translation begins:

Officers and Men,

I came to Leh and Ladakh once nearly ten years ago and stayed for two or three days. 183 I have always carried the memory of these mountains with me. I could

^{181.} Speech at Leh, 4 July 1960. AIR tapes, NMML.

^{182.} See fn 174 in this section.

^{183.} See fn 174 in this section.

understand what a difficult and arduous job our forces were doing. I have wanted to come here again long before this but could not make it till now. I am happy to be here today not only to see the mountains but to meet the officers and men of our army. It is their duty to defend and protect the motherland if an external danger threatens. The defence of the country is done at its long and lonely borders far away. India is a vast country stretching from the Himalayas to Kanya Kumari in the South.

We have faced enough dangers in the past and must be prepared for new ones which may threaten. A nation which becomes complacent and slack stands in danger of losing its freedom. The price of freedom is eternal vigilance and it has to be paid every day of our lives. We are happy that India is secure in the hands of our armed forces who discharge their duties well, with courage and vigilance.

I am always happy to be in the mountains because I belong in a sense to the mountains. These mountains have guarded India fear thousands of years and will continue to do so in the future. But times are changing and now it is possible to fly over the mountains. So we have to adopt new strategies. But no matter what they are ultimately everything depends on human beings. We need strong, intelligent, trained human beings for India's defence and progress. Our armed forces are full of such people and I am always happy to meet them. That is all that I have to say.

Jai Hind.

Translation ends]

79. To D.S. Kothari: Solar Heaters for Ladakh 184

In visiting some areas of Ladakh, it struck me that the use of solar cooking and solar heating, especially in heating water, might be useful in these places. As you know, one of the greatest difficulties is that of fuel here. Although temperatures are low, the sun is strong in the day time. Every help that can be given in the reduction of wood or coal or any other fuel would be helpful to our army authorities. I shall be grateful if you could give thought to this matter.

It also struck me that solar radios might be somewhat advantageous in these areas than the normal radios. 1 do not know much about these solar radios but the other day a firm in Faridabad (I think it is called Electronics Limited) presented

^{184.} Note, Srinagar, 4 July 1960, to D.S. Kothari, Scientific Adviser to the Ministry of Defence. File No. 17 (131)/56-66-PMS.

me with a small radio. They said that this kind of thing was very useful in remote areas. 185

I am sending a copy of this note to Dr. K.S. Krishnan¹⁸⁶ also who could give us helpful advice in the matter.

80. To National Conference Workers-I187

Indo-Tibetan Border
Adequate Steps for Protection
Nehru's Praise for Troops

Srinagar, July 5.

The Prime Minister, Mr. Nehru, on his return here after flying over the Indo-Tibetan border and a visit to the border outposts this morning, declared that adequate steps had been taken to guard the borders.

Mr. Nehru, who was addressing the National Conference workers, spoke of his meetings with Defence personnel at some of the outposts and said that they displayed confidence in themselves and in their ability.

Paying a warm tribute to the Defence services, Mr. Nehru said that during his tour of Eastern Ladakh in the morning, he had met Service personnel and what had impressed him most was that they had no complaints and no grumblings. They were happy. They displayed confidence in themselves and in their ability. Even though these were modern times and machine counted, yet there was also the important human element in regard to organising ability and the human capacity of work, the Prime Minister said.

Mr. Nehru said that the fact that the Services or civil administration officers had no complaint did not mean that there was literally no complaint. What impressed him more than all this was the trend of thought and the sense of duty while one was living in trying conditions and regions, standing sentinel over mountains of heights varying from 13,000 feet to 15,000 feet. "I saw them ready guarding the borders", he said.

^{185.} Kothari stated in his note of 8 July that "We are obtaining a couple of solar heaters from the NPL (Delhi), and sending them immediately to Ladakh for systematic 'trial'." He added that two scientists were also being sent for this work and for studying the fuel and allied problems. As regards solar batteries used with radios, Kothari noted that "their present capacity (power) is so small that these can be only of very limited application."

^{186.} Director, National Physical Laboratory (NPL), New Delhi.

^{187.} First report of speech at Srinagar, 5 July 1960. The Hindu, 7 July 1960. See also item 81 for another report of the speech.

Role of the Mountains

The Prime Minister said that during his flight today and yesterday he had seen lofty mountains. He had seen the Karakoram and Nanga Parbat ranges from a distance. He had flown over Kishtawar and the mountains in Jammu and Kashmir. For thousands of years these mountains, Mr. Nehru said, had been "our friends, our guardians and we had developed relationship with them. They protected us like troops these many thousands of years, but now we have to guard them. We have to defend them".

In Leh, which he visited yesterday, Mr. Nehru said he felt that considerable progress had been achieved. The signs of progress were evident. There were more hospitals, more people. "I cannot say if it is magic, but any way it is progress and for some time this progress has been intensive", he said.

Mr. Nehru said that during the past 12 or 13 years of independence, India's face had changed with the execution of development plans. Though considerable progress had been achieved, still much more remained to be done.

No other country, the Prime Minister went on, had tried to solve problems in a manner in which India was trying to do.

"Our future", said the Prime Minister, "will influence the future of the world. Looking back, in the last 12 years how many countries have achieved freedom? You see it in the context of political and economic bearings. Politically in how many countries does democracy still function? Economically, what progress has been achieved in these countries? Compare India with these countries, both politically and economically".

Development of Kashmir

Referring to Kashmir, Mr. Nehru said he had been told about the State's economic development in very appreciative terms by Mr. S.K. Dey, Union Minister for Community Development, who had been here recently. Mr. Nehru added that during his brief stay here he had himself seen something of this change in Kashmir.

In Srinagar, the city's face had changed. There were many signs of progress. An important indication was that the revenue had gone up. Education had been made free. All this progress had been achieved in a short time. Kashmir had set itself on the path of progress and the tempo of progress was bound to increase. But, he said, there was no room for complacency.

The Prime Minister said he had been told by engineers that the problem of floods had been solved to a large extent and if again Kashmir were hit by floods it would be possible to fight them even if they were of the 1957 intensity. Further improvement in flood control was bound to come, he said.

Mr. Nehru said that the National Conference as the ruling Party had to shoulder a great responsibility. He told the workers that they should have integrity as public

attention was focussed on their party, as was the case with the Congress. Therefore, it was not possible for them to talk in an irresponsible manner. It was their duty to make the people feel happy.

Political parties in the opposition, he said, were feeling frustrated and acting in an irresponsible manner. They were criticising most unreasonably the policies of the Government. This "dishonesty", Mr. Nehru said, was increasing.

Discrimination Charge

In Kashmir, Mr. Nehru said, he had heard complaints of Dogra Rajputs and Kashmiri pundits talking about discrimination and about want of opportunities for service in Government. "There may be some truth in them. But I consider it wrong to look at these issues from the caste, creed or regional angle", he said.

The Prime Minister said that in the matter of service selections should be left to the Public Service Commission. The pundits, he said, had progressed here in Kashmir and in other parts of the country because of their merit and ability. They were holding high positions but only by merit. Therefore, to talk about such things on the basis of region or caste or creed was untenable.

Mr. Nehru referred to panchayats and co-operatives and said strong panchayats and strong co-operatives would make the country strong. Such institutions cemented the foundations on which democracy was resting. Such institutions, he said, would not permit the individual to destroy the democratic fabric.

Mr. Nehru added, "I feel that in giving power to the panchayats and organising co-operatives we are laying the foundation of our strength".

81. To National Conference Workers-II¹⁸⁸

Condemnation by Nehru

Srinagar, July 6.

Prime Minister Nehru deprecated the strike move by Central Government employees, addressing National Conference workers here, yesterday (as already reported).

The Prime Minister said that the proposed strike was a "wrong step:" "If the strike comes about", he added, "I think people should not take part in it".

Mr. Nehru said that several lakhs of Govrnment employees were involved. There were eleven lakhs of workers in the Railways alone and six to seven lakhs in the Telegraphs. If employees in such services as the Railways were to strike

188. Second report of speech at Srinagar, 5 July 1960. The Hindu, 7 July 1960. See also item 80 for an earlier report of the speech.

how much would the country lose in production? he asked. How many factories would close down for want of coal and other raw materials?

Mr. Nehru said that the Government Treasury was not meant for paying salaries. It was meant for financing productive schemes. There were a number of important things to which attention had to be paid besides Government employees.

Government services, he said, were meant for organising enterprises. "You do not become masters of these enterprises. You cannot become masters in that sense in the modern world. Proper functioning of these enterprises is essential".

What was important in considering these issues, Mr. Nehru went on, was that if there was discomfort and hardship to-day, it was only because the country should be prosperous tomorrow. "We cannot live without to-morrow", he added. Taken in this light, the move to organise a general strike, Mr. Nehru said, was wrong. While attempts should be made to improve the conditions of low-paid employees, it did not mean that production and economic development of the country should suffer.

He said that the country's development could not be postponed and the employees paid out of the Treasury which should finance other productive schemes.

82. To Bakhshi Ghulam Mohammed: Praise for Officers and Men¹⁸⁹

I came to Kashmir on this occasion more especially to visit various parts of Ladakh and to meet our Army and Air Force units as well as the Police personnel and officials of the Civil Government who are functioning there. I travelled far and wide over the snowy ranges and the high plateaus of Ladakh and visited numerous distant and isolated outposts, some situated as high as 13,000 to 15,000 feet. Our men are working there under most arduous conditions. But wherever I went, I found cheerfulness, determination and devotion to duty. I was particularly impressed with their efficiency and high morale,

This visit has been a memorable one for me, both because I made friends again with these Himalayan peaks that I have loved for so long, and because I saw for myself our countrymen carrying out their work in difficult circumstances with calm courage which elicited my praise. I felt assured that the tasks entrusted to them would be carried out with zeal, efficiency and in keeping with the fine traditions of the Services of our country.

^{189.} Message, Srinagar, 6 July 1960. File No. 9/2/60-PMP, Prime Minister's Office.

I should like you to convey my high appreciation to all Officers, JCOs and men in the Army and the Air Force, the Police personnel and Civil officials.

(h) Kerala

83. To Pattom A. Thanu Pillai: An Oil Refinery in Kerala 190

6 June 1960

My dear Thanu Pillai, 191

Your letter of the 23rd about an oil refinery in Kerala has only just come to my notice. ¹⁹² As you know, I was away in Europe and other places. Soon after my return, I had to go to Poona. From there I came back only today.

I do not know what the position is about the erection of oil refineries. One of them inevitably has to be near the place from which oil is extracted. I am sending your letter to our Ministry of Steel, Mines & Fuel.

Yours sincerely, Jawaharlal Nehru

84. To Mukul Mukerjee: Attending the Women's Convention¹⁹³

13 June 1960

Dear Mukul, 194

Your letter of 13th June. I am not accepting any engagements for the distant future. Therefore I cannot at all promise to go to Kerala for the Women's Convention, nor can I suggest a date for it. 195 If Parliament is meeting, it will make it still more difficult for me to go.

The best course for the K.P.C.C. is to fix their dates as convenient to them and, if Indiraji is going there, as convenient to her. If by any chance it is possible for me to attend I might do so.

Yours sincerely, Jawaharlal Nehru

^{190.} Letter. File No. 17 (395)/60-71-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

^{191.} The Chief Minister of Kerala.

^{192.} See Appendix 12.

^{193.} Letter.

^{194.} Incharge, Women's Department, AICC.

^{195.} The All India Congress Women's Convention was held in Trivandrum on 4 September 1960.

(i) Madhya Pradesh

85. To K.N. Katju: End Factionalism 196

11 June 1960

My dear Kailas Nath, 197

Your letter of the 8th June reached me today. We have been busy during the last few days in looking at the drafts prepared for the Third Five Year Plan. We are still in the middle of this work. Perhaps by the end of this month this Draft Plan may be ready. It is going to be a big affair requiring a big effort. But there is no escape from it.

The international situation is of course extraordinarily complex and difficult one. Oddly enough, after the failure of the Summit and the shout and abuse that followed it, there is a slight turn for the better. Or perhaps it would be more correct to say that the realisation of imminent danger has pulled people up in all countries. For us of course the greatest need of the hour has been and is the furtherance of political and emotional unity among the people of India. This does not come about by pious appeals and exhortations. It is the resultant of various forces and developments. In the final analysis, social forces are governed by social and economic developments plus of course some other factors.

The Congress organisation can play an important part, but unfortunately it is too involved in its own inner conflicts and has not got much sense of purpose left as an organisation. What happened in Poona, though not important, was yet an indication of our weakness and stagnation.

It is true that I have heard a good deal about Madhya Pradesh. Part of it can, I suppose, be discounted. This State offers perhaps more problems, because of its great spread, than other States. This applies to the Congress organisation also there which has regional groups apart from other groupings. One has the impression that there is a constant pull in different directions and discipline is very much lacking in the Legislature Party as well as in the Congress organisation there.

These groupings also often represent, to some extent, social forces, that is, the more advanced or the more conservative. I get the impression that the conservative element in Madhya Pradesh tends rather to pull back. Thus, in the land legislation, there are so many restrictions and limitations that the full effect of what we have been trying to get is not likely to be achieved.

If Dwarka Prasad Mishra¹⁹⁸ wishes to see me, I shall of course meet him.¹⁹⁹

^{196.} Letter.

^{197.} The Chief Minister of Madhya Pradesh.

^{198.} Vice-Chancellor, Saugar University, 1956-61.

^{199.} See also item 86.

He has had a curious career. He has certain measure of competence and drive, but he has at the same time a bit too much ambition which has led him in the past to devious courses.

I do not know when the Price Stabilisation Committee is meeting here. Of course, when you come here, we shall meet. I am staying on in Delhi practically throughout this month except for 21st, 22nd and 23rd of June.

Yours affectionately, Jawaharlal Nehru

86. To D.P. Mishra: Appointment²⁰⁰

15 June 1960

My dear Dwarka Prasad,

I have your letter of June 13.²⁰¹ I shall gladly meet you when you come to Delhi. I suggest that you might see me at 10 o'clock in the morning on Saturday, 25th June, in my office in the External Affairs Ministry.

Yours sincerely, Jawaharlal Nehru

(i) Madras

87. To S. Chellaswamy: Burning Map of India Deplorable²⁰²

7 June 1960

Dear Shri Chellaswamy, 203

Thank you for your letter of the 27th May. I entirely agree with you that the agitation to burn the map of India is highly objectionable, apart from being crude

^{200.} Letter. D.P. Mishra Papers, NMML.

^{201.} See Appendix 27.

^{202.} Letter. Reproduced from S. Chellaswamy, Letters from Late Prime Minister Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru & Other Statesmen on National Issues (Madras, 1965), p. 5. [Unknown publisher].

^{203.} S. Chellaswamy (b. 1920); lawyer; founder leader, People's Progressive Party, Madras, and convener of the Union Language Convention, South India.

and vulgar. ²⁰⁴ In this matter it is the State Government that has to take the necessary measures and I am sure the Madras Government will do so.

Yours sincerely, Jawaharlal Nehru

(k) Maharashtra

88. To Sri Prakasa: Your Work is Excellent²⁰⁵

11 June 1960

My dear Prakasa,

Thank you for your letter of the 8th June. I shall not discuss what you have written. All I can say is that I appreciate what you have said in your letter very much.

One thing, however, I must contradict. You say that you have a feeling that while you did something in Assam and Madras, ²⁰⁶ you have not been able to do anything in Bombay. That, I think, is not a right feeling if you have it, and that is not the feeling of the people in Bombay who are in a position to judge of your work there, apart from the general populace who of course count and who have definite opinions on this subject.

Your letter is marked "Strictly personal and confidential", and yet it came in a single envelope which has no marking on it. The result naturally has been that it was opened in the normal course in my office. If the envelope had been marked as the letter was, it would have been delivered to me unopened. This was evidently a slip in your office.

Yours affectionately, Jawaharlal Nehru

^{204.} According to *The Times of India* of 6 June 1960, 400 persons were arrested in Madras State during the "burn-the-Indian map" agitation by the Dravida Kazhagam and the We Tamils movement for "a sovereign, independent Tamil Nad."

^{205.} Letter.

Sri Prakasa had served as the Governor of Assam, 1949-50, and as the Governor of Madras, 1952-56.

89. To Sri Prakasa: Vidarbha Goddess Spearing Maratha Youth²⁰⁷

28 June 1960

My dear Prakasa,

Thank you for your letter of June 27th. I am distressed to learn of the continuing trouble at Nagpur.²⁰⁸ Your description of the image of the Vidarbha Goddess shows to what an extent of crudity and vulgarity this kind of thing goes.

I can offer no suggestions. It will be for Chavan to decide what to do.

Yours sincerely, Jawaharlal Nehru

[WIPING VIDARBHA'S TEARS]



[On the right: Y.B. Chavan] (From Shankar's Weekly, 10 July 1960, p. 13)

207. Letter.

208. The Nag-Vidarbha Andolan Samiti had installed an idol of "Vidarbha Chandika (goddess)" in Nagpur on 25 April 1960 in protest against the inclusion of Vidarbha in Maharashtra. M.S. Aney, Independent, Lok Sabha MP from Nagpur, stated in Bombay on 14 June that the idol "had been installed as a 'counterblast' to the celebration of Shivaji's birthday, marking the inauguration of the new Maharashtra State." He denied that the "khadi-clad demon, which the deity was shown to be spearing," was the effigy of Y.B. Chavan, the Chief Minister of Maharashtra, but "It only symbolised a Maratha youth" and was "meant to show the people's resentment against the imposition of a 'Maratha raj' on Vidarbha." On 20 June, the Vidarbha Regional Congress Committee condemned "the separatist movement and appealed to the people of Vidarbha not to be misled by those who exploited the present situation for political ends." The Times of India, 12, 14 and 21 June 1960.

(l) North East

(i) Assam

90. To B.P. Chaliha²⁰⁹

Your telegram C35259 June 8th. I have consulted Home Minister, Defence Minister and Minister of Railways.²¹⁰ I understand that orders have already been issued for passenger train service to be resumed in the section you mention. Goods trains have been running even previously and they will of course continue.

- 2. Defence Minister has been authorised to embody Territorial Army battalion of railways. It is manifestly not possible to send either additional army or Central Police personnel within short period of time. Even otherwise it would be difficult. Present forces in those areas should of course give you every help in giving protection to railways and for this purpose you might discuss matter with Commanding Officers.
- 3. I hope that railway service will function adequately. It is very wrong for labour leaders or anyone else to frighten railwaymen and make impossible demands. It does little credit to them to be frightened by unfortunate incidents. I am sure that if proper approach is made to railwaymen and situation explained to them, they will get over their nervousness. It would be impossible for us to function in this country if fear gripped us at any prospect of danger. Anyhow we are doing all we can to help you.

91. To S.M. Shrinagesh²¹¹

Just received your letter of June 8th.²¹² Understand that railway services are being resumed.

- 2. Instructions being issued for embodiment of railway Territorial Army.
- 3. As regards your proposal for proper army headquarters in Assam plains, I am forwarding your letter to Defence Minister.
- 4. There are no police battalions available which can be transferred as we have greatly stretched these. To raise new battalion is lengthy process and thus cannot meet any present emergency. Every step should, of course, be taken to give protection by escorts, patrolling, etc., and element of danger thus be reduced very greatly. We must necessarily use all our available means to give this protection

^{209.} Telegram to the Chief Minister of Assam, 9 June 1960.

^{210.} Jagjivan Ram.

^{211.} Telegram to the Governor of Assam, 10 June 1960.

^{212.} See Appendix 22.

and in this, no doubt, Army will give every help it can.

5. Home Minister will, no doubt, consider proposal in your last paragraph.

92. To B.P. Chaliha²¹³

11 June 1960

My dear Chaliha,

We have exchanged some telegrams about the railway traffic on the Lumding-Mariani section of the North East Frontier Railway. 214 We have given much thought to this matter and, as you will no doubt realise, we are anxious to give our fullest help. But that help can only be to the extent that we are capable of providing. Extreme demands do not carry us anywhere.

The Chairman of the Railway Board²¹⁵ has been in Assam and so also, I think, has been the Deputy Minister of Railways.²¹⁶ I have had a report from the Chairman. In this he says that the morale of railwaymen is fairly high but "the local politicians including a Member of Parliament and labour leaders are inciting them to keep away from work unless full protection is guaranteed, promises made for family pensions and other unreasonable demands met."

This kind of agitation seems to me very improper and unpatriotic.

Another trouble apparently has arisen in the Furkating-Mariani area where the students have resorted to picketing the station premises on the basis of a demand that Assamese should be adopted as the State language. If this kind of irresponsible activity is indulged in, more especially in a moment of difficulty, what is one to do? Assam has, I believe, a very bright future with the development of oil and other industries. But all this will go to pieces if the human element does not behave well. I am really distressed at the way young people there have lost all sense of perspective and proportion. In a matter of this kind we have to adopt a straight and firm attitude which I have no doubt you will do.

I gather that the normal goods traffic in the affected area is now running. Passenger trains are also running in the area. The army has introduced intensified patrolling and escorts for passenger and goods trains.

As I have told you, we are agreeing to embody the railway operating company in the Territorial Army.

Yours sincerely, Jawaharlal Nehru

213. Letter.

214. See item 90.

215. Karnail Singh.

216. Shah Nawaz Khan.

93. To S.M. Shrinagesh²¹⁷

17 June 1960

My dear Shrinagesh,

I have two letters from you dated June 14th. One is a type-written letter about the railway situation. I am passing it on to Defence.

The other is a handwritten letter.²¹⁸ I am very sorry to learn about the tremors to which you refer. I think it would be a good thing if you took medical opinion in India before you decide on the future course. Apart from Delhi, Bombay and Calcutta are of course good centres.

I should of course like to see you when you come here. But unfortunately I shall be out of Delhi on the very days you propose to be here. I am leaving Delhi early morning 21st June for Surat in Gujarat, returning 23rd afternoon. There is a possibility of my seeing you on the 20th night soon after your arrival. You arrive at 10 p.m. If you would come straight to my house then, we could meet.

I enclose a copy of a telegram I have received. I really do not know how people go on asking us to do something which is beyond our power. We cannot supply more aircraft at the present moment. It seems to me that this whole question has not been thought of on proper lines. We had lived on hopes of aircraft doing the job. All the aircraft in India cannot do it in the way suggested. They talk of rice all the time. Certainly there should be rice. In an emergency other and more concentrated foods are sent and the rice question is reduced.

Yours sincerely, Jawaharlal Nehru

94. To Rajendra Prasad²¹⁹

17 June 1960

My dear Rajendra Babu,

I have just received a personal and confidential letter from General Shrinagesh, Governor of Assam.²²⁰ He has asked me to speak to you on the subject of his letter. The best thing is for me to send you a copy of this letter, which I am doing.

Yours sincerely, Jawaharlal Nehru

217. Letter.

218. See Appendix 31.

219. Letter. File No. 1 (5)/60, President's Secretariat.

220. See Appendix 31.

95. To G.B. Pant²²¹

18 June 1960

My dear Pantji,

I had a letter from General Shrinagesh yesterday.²²² Evidently he has not been keeping well and complains of some "tremors". I do not quite know what this is. He has been advised to consult some expert neurologists in London. He is therefore thinking of going to London for a fortnight for this purpose. He has not quite decided yet as he wishes to consult some doctors in Delhi and possibly Bombay before he finally decides.

Shrinagesh is passing through Delhi on his way to Hyderabad on the 20th/21st. I shall not be here on the 21st. I shall probably see him late in the evening on the 20th.

I have informed the President of what Shrinagesh wrote to me and the President has said that if the doctors so advise, Shrinagesh should be allowed to go to England and during his two weeks' absence the Chief Justice of Assam²²³ could be appointed to act for him.

Yours sincerely, Jawaharlal Nehru

96. To B.P. Chaliha²²⁴

25 June 1960

My dear Chaliha,

Thank you for your letter of the 22nd June.

I can understand the desire of people in Assam to further the use of the Assamese language. Indeed it is one of our national languages as laid down in the Constitution. But the way agitations are started and often supported by young school boys disturbs me for the future of Assam. There is a certain immaturity about all this and narrowness in outlook which will come very much in the way of the development of Assam. Obviously this development will not take place except through the quality of its trained personnel. That aspect is often forgotten, and quality suffers. In the past I have noticed that some times second rate persons are preferred for responsible posts, simply because they happen to be Assamese. This might not matter normally although it lowers the tone of the administration.

^{221.} Letter. At this time G.B. Pant was in Naini Tal for a short stay.

^{222.} See Appendix 31.

^{223.} P.C. Sinha.

^{224.} Letter.

But in highly technical posts, this is a very serious matter. I have no doubt that the Assamese, given the opportunity, will make good in every post, technical or other. But if an atmosphere is created which ignores quality, then the tendency will be to produce second rate persons.

I know that some political parties are constantly exploiting situations and leading agitations. I can quite realise your difficulty, and I have admired the way you have faced these agitations. Some times I have found that the Assam Congress or your own Legislature Party have shown weakness in such matters.

I had a brief talk with Governor Shrinagesh when he passed through Delhi two or three days ago. I shall be having a longer talk with him day after tomorrow.

The panicky reaction of some people in Assam to the sniping by the Nagas and killing of some railway employees was much too over-done. It is obvious that we cannot throw large armed forces wherever somebody shoots a gun. Our whole administration would collapse if we did this. At present we have very heavy commitments on all our frontiers and, apart from other dangers, the kind of life these soldiers are leading at altitudes of 15,000 feet and more fills me with admiration for them. Are we to withdraw these people from all these vital spots to guard a railway train from occasional sniping? The actual danger from the sniping is very little and almost remote. After making some simple arrangements in the engines, the engine driver is almost completely protected even from rifle firing. In addition, there is a guard accompanying the train. That is quite enough.

You have referred to the possibility of a strike in the railways. That is not an Assam matter, but an all-India matter, and we shall naturally have to take all feasible steps to meet this contingency.

As you well know, the language issue in Assam has some effect in the hill States. The path of wisdom obviously would have been not to do anything at present which disturbs the atmosphere in these hill States. I see that in the resolution of the Assam Pradesh Congress Committee, Cachar and the autonomous hill districts have been excluded.²²⁵ That is good insofar as it goes. But in spite of this, I suppose that our critics in these hill districts will find some further reason now to raise their discordant voices.

The arrival of Phizo in London and the subsequent developments relating to it are being followed by us carefully. I am not greatly worried by it, except perhaps in so far as there might be some little reaction to this in the Naga Hills. We must, however, be prepared for a spate of propaganda in London. There are many odd people there who will no doubt exploit Phizo and what he says against us.

^{225.} On 22 April 1960, the Assam Pradesh Congress Committee asked the Government to make Assamese the state language in all districts except Cachar, Khasia, and the Jaintia, Mizo, and North Cachar Hills, where it could be introduced after due preparation.

What concerns me most, however, is not Phizo, but how we should deal with the situation in the NHTA. Just before I went to Europe, I received a letter from the leaders of the Naga Convention asking me for an interview at which they wanted to place their resolutions before me. I told them then that I shall see them later. I feel I must see them before long and certainly before Parliament meets again on the 1st of August. I shall discuss the date with General Shrinagesh when I see him here on the 27th and ask him to inform the Naga Convention people of this date for an interview with me in Delhi.

I think that it is not much good our playing with words and phrases about this matter. We must be clear in our minds and in our expressions. I have always been of opinion, and have said openly, that we are prepared to give the largest possible autonomy to the NHTA. That is my view quite independently of the Naga demands. Any other attitude will not yield satisfactory results and will be contrary to what is happening in various parts of the world today, notably in Africa. New States, big and small—and some very small—are appearing on the scene every few weeks as independent States. We support them and encourage them. We cannot, therefore, oppose full autonomy for NHTA. Naturally that autonomy will be limited for the time being because of law and order conditions. It will thus be subject to that extent to the establishment of peace and order. But the principle has to be accepted, even though a number of hostiles are creating trouble still. Having accepted that principle, we shall no doubt continue to deal with the hostiles who indulge in violence. But we shall be progressively allowing the Nagas to deal with their own affairs.

My own idea has been that a reproduction of our top heavy administrative system in the Naga areas would not only be wasteful, but not quite suitable for these people. Even within their autonomy, they could develop on their own lines. But that obviously is a matter which can only be decided in consultation with the people concerned.

The one thing that has troubled me, as it has troubled you, has been the maintenance of some kind of contact of NHTA with Assam. This also because of its effect on the other hill districts in Assam. Therefore, I have a desire that some contact should be maintained. You have, of course, been anxious about it. If that can be done, in however small a degree, I shall be happy. But it seems to me that the Naga Convention people are entirely and resolutely opposed to any kind of contact. They want, almost more than anything else, to establish their separate entity apart from Assam. For all practical purposes, they are a separate entity even now. But they are not prepared to agree even to some vague and formal links. Whatever the reasons for this attitude may be and however much we might think them illogical and unjustified, the fact is that there is strong feeling among the Naga Convention people over this matter. I am convinced that they will not agree to any link and will break with us on that issue, even though we might agree to other matters. They are also very allergic to the Sixth Schedule and will

not agree to their being associated in any way with this Schedule.

What then are we to do? This is a serious matter and we have to weigh carefully the consequences of any decision we may take. Broadly, the position is that if we insist on a link with Assam, there will be a break with the Naga Convention and indeed practically all Nagas. There will be no contact left with them. This will be a triumph for the hostile Nagas and Phizo. It will create a bad impression in other parts of the world and, of course, Phizo will take the fullest advantage of this in his propaganda, etc. Our attitude will be compared with the attitude of Colonial Powers in Africa which are even giving full independence to many of the African States. Worst of all, we shall be thrown back to military measures only. Those measures may succeed in the military sense or may be dragged on for a considerable time. In any event, we shall have failed in our basic aim of making the Nagas a real part of India. In the present national and international situation, such a development will be very harmful both practically and from the point of view of our prestige. You know the troubles we have had on our long frontier also.

The alternative course to this is for us to come to some agreement with the Naga Convention people, knowing that this will not control the hostile Nagas. But I feel convinced that it will have a powerful effect on the entire situation in NHTA and will help in isolating even more the Naga hostiles. We can face then both the law and order situation with far greater confidence and have something to show to the world which we can fully justify. But the price we shall have to pay for this will, I think, have to be the acceptance of a completely separate identity of the NHTA, that is, without any link with Assam. This again will have its natural repercussions on the autonomous hill districts of Assam. And that means possibly various demands from them and some trouble for you. As a matter of fact, a break with the Naga Convention people and continuance of a major conflict in NHTA with little hope of its ending in the foreseeable future, will also necessarily have a bad effect on your hill districts.

So there it is. The choice is a difficult one. And yet I think it has to be made, and looking at this question both from the short term point of view and the long term, we have to accept this basic demand of the Naga Convention of being recognised as a separate entity without a link with Assam. That is my present view. I shall, of course, discuss this further with Governor Shrinagesh, and I want you also to discuss it with him on his return.

This is the basic question that we have to decide in our minds, and I want to be clear about it when I meet the representatives of the Naga Convention. If this decision is made, then the other matters will probably be capable of solution without much difficulty. Even if there is no link with Assam, I think there should be a common Governor and a common High Court. Perhaps we might be able to get them to agree to this. As for the internal constitution of NHTA, it seems to be a bit absurd to consider this small area with a small population as a full fledged

State of India with all its top heavy expenditure and paraphernalia. But probably some variation of this could be evolved without involving the heavy expenditure.

Even if we come to an agreement, as I should like to, this will always have to be subject to the law and order situation and our freedom to deal with it in such ways as we think fit and proper.

I have written to you fully and frankly on this subject so that you may give thought to it. For the present, I suggest that you might not discuss this with your colleagues and your Cabinet. But you should discuss it with General Shrinagesh on his return. I propose to give him a copy of this letter when he comes here.

You know that I realise fully the various problems and difficulties that you have to face and I have admired the calm and objective way in which you have always tried to deal with them.

In your letter you refer to the famine affected areas in Mizo District. I think that the attitude taken by the Mizo Union is both unfortunate and unjustifiable. Whether something more could have been done with greater foresight to face the famine there, I do not know. But I do know that you have been anxious about it during all this period and you have done your best. My personal view is that in a crisis of this kind, our approach should have been a somewhat unusual one and that we should not have relied purely on rice and rice alone. Of course, rice should have been given. But there are many other concentrated foods which could have been supplied more easily. In any event, any simple calculation could have shown that it was a physical impossibility for us to send by air the vast quantities of rice demanded. All our air resources are not enough for it, quite apart from our heavy frontier and other commitments. We have tried to do our best and shall continue to do so.

At the end of your letter you refer to the importance of the Congress organisation and more especially the press. This is of course important and, as it happens, the press is largely controlled by vested interests which are opposed to our policies. They do a great deal of harm by distorting facts and carrying on a propaganda against us. What we can do about this is a difficult matter.

Yours sincerely, Jawaharlal Nehru

97. An Appeal to Assam²²⁶

I am deeply distressed by the recent occurrences in certain parts of Assam. Anything involving human tragedy is bad and inexcusable whatever the original cause might be. For language to be made a reason for this, is particularly

226. Message, released by PIB on 9 July, and published in the newspapers on 10 July 1960.

unfortunate, for that language itself suffers most by this approach. We want development of all our national languages, but surely this is not the way to develop or encourage them. It has been the misfortune of our country to have to face disruptive tendencies whether based on communalism, province or language. And yet, we all know that the progress of India can only take place by the emotional integration of all the people who live in this great country. We have recently put forward the draft of the Third Five Year Plan for public consideration and comment. It is obvious that we can only realise these objectives by united hard work. There is no other way.

A frequent appeal to violent methods is a confession of immaturity and defeat. It strikes at the roots of democratic and peaceful progress, and creates an atmosphere which comes in the way of all national effort. Assam is potentially a rich State. But that potential can only become actual by hard and concentrated work. How can big undertakings grow up in Assam if they have to face this type of violence and narrow-mindedness. A violent approach necessarily has disruptive effects and injures most of all the State of Assam even apart from the human tragedies involved. We must always remember that the basic conditions of progress in India, as elsewhere, are peace, tolerance, unity and hard work. I would beg the people of Assam, whoever they may be, to pay heed to this and not to indulge in any behaviour which injures both the present and the future of Assam. A good deal of damage has been done. Let them now try to repair that damage as speedily as possible.

98. To Asha Devi Aryanayakam²²⁷

10 July 1960

My dear Asha Devi, 228

Thank you for your letter of July 9.

The situation in Assam has been bad. So far as the cities are concerned, it was brought under control, but then it spread to the rural areas and large crowds went about attacking or pushing out Bengalees. I think that even there there has been some improvement in the situation, though it is by no means satisfactory. As you perhaps know, the Congress President and the Defence Minister went this morning to Gauhati.

I think it is a good thing for you to go there and to help in the process of pacification. I feel very angry with some of the Assamese leaders who have incited the people there to these acts of violence.

227. Letter.

^{228.} A leading worker of the Shanti Sena Samiti (Peace Brigade Committee) of the All-India Sarva Seva Sangh.

I do not remember having signed my name in any form as a Shanti Sainik.²²⁹ I may have expressed my appreciation of the Shanti Sainiks, but I could hardly join any organisation like that.

There is little advice that I can give you except to make it clear to the Assamese how they are injuring their cause terribly. They have not only fallen out with the Bengalees there but also with the hill people.²³⁰ Also they go about agitating for "Assam for the Assamese" kind of thing and insisting that only Assamese should be employed in undertakings in Assam. Thus we have a new refinery being built there. Naturally most of the people employed there are Assamese, but many of the senior experts are from outside for the obvious reason that there are no Assamese with that training or experience. If the Assamese go on with these violent activities from time to time and insisting on the employment of Assamese only, whether they are competent or not, the result will be that we shall not be able to start any major undertaking in Assam on behalf of the Central Government. Even these recent riots have done almost irreparable harm to Assamese-Bengali relations, as well as in the hill areas. The least they can do is to try to repair the damage done.

Yours sincerely, Jawaharlal Nehru

99. To N.C. Deb²³¹

11 July 1960

Dear Shri Deb,²³²

I have received the letter of the 7th July which you and some other MPs and MLAs have sent me. What has happened in Assam has been a great tragedy, and I have been terribly distressed about it. I believe the situation is well in hand now, partly because of our Army and partly because the governmental apparatus is functioning with greater strength now. But all this grievous trouble has raised difficult problems which necessarily we shall have to consider.

^{229.} A volunteer of Shanti Sena.

^{230.} According to *The Times of India* of 10 July 1960, hill leaders of Assam at a conference called on 8 July by Williamson A. Sangma, the Minister for Tribal Affairs, "decided to oppose the Government move to make Assamese, the State language."

^{231.} Letter.

^{232.} There is no MP of this name on the Lok Sabha website. However, there is one S.C. Deb, from Cachar, who was in the first Lok Sabha, 1952-1957, and in the Rajya Sabha, 1957-1966. This seems a typing error and it should perhaps read S.C. Deb.

The most unfortunate part of these tragic happenings is how a relatively small number of important personalities have roused the worst passions of the mob.

Yours sincerely, Jawaharlal Nehru

100. To Nibaran Chandra Laskar²³³

11 July 1960

Dear Shri Laskar, 234

I have received the letter of the 7th July which you and another MP have sent me. What has happened in Assam has been a great tragedy, and I have been terribly distressed about it. I believe the situation is well in hand now, partly because of our Army and partly because the governmental apparatus is functioning with greater strength now. But all this grievous trouble has raised difficult problems which necessarily we shall have to consider.

The most unfortunate part of these tragic happenings is how a relatively small number of important personalities have roused the worst passions of the mob.

Yours sincerely, Jawaharlal Nehru

101. To Jagjivan Ram²³⁵

11 July 1960

My dear Jagjivan Ram,

I suggest that you might have a talk with Maya Devi Chettry, MP,²³⁶ about her recent experiences in Assam, notably at Amingaon. Kulkarni, the General Manager of the North-East Frontier Railway was courteous to her and all that but was exceedingly weak and helpless and he could do nothing at all. Maya Devi simply sat on him and it was by sheer force of personality that she managed to get him to start a train from Amingaon. Otherwise large crowds of refugees were lying there and Kulkarni did not dare to take any action.

^{233.} Letter.

^{234.} Congress, Lok Sabha MP from Cachar, Assam.

^{235.} Letter.

^{236.} Congress, Rajya Sabha MP from West Bengal.

I think it is a bad show when our senior officers are so weak and frightened. We should enquire into this.

Yours sincerely, Jawaharlal Nehru

102. To M.C. Chagla²³⁷

12 July 1960

My dear Chagla,

Your letter of July 7th. ²³⁸ I am writing to you at a rather odd moment—the first day of the general strike here. Naturally my mind is taken up by this unfortunate business. Also we are greatly distressed at the happenings in Assam where, on the plea of language, some of the Assamese people have gone quite mad and have attacked Bengalees. Naturally this is producing its repercussions elsewhere.

The N.B.C. proposal to which you refer might well be attractive, though I do not like the personal element in it, that is, dragging me into it. Anyhow, I have no objection to giving them fifteen minutes or even a little more time, if necessary. It should depend on when it takes place.

Yours sincerely, Jawaharlal Nehru

103. To B.P. Chaliha²³⁹

12 July 1960

My dear Chaliha,

I am writing to you with some hesitation as you are lying ill and I hate to add to your burdens at the present moment. Nevertheless I feel that I should write to you, and when you are a little better, you can give thought to my letter. I shall send a copy of this letter to your Governor also.

Recent occurrences in Assam have been of the most distressing character. It is bad enough to have this kind of mob frenzy with its tragic episodes. But what I am worrying about is the future. I suppose in the course of a few days some kind of normality will be restored in Assam, insofar as the law and order situation

^{237.} Letter. File No. 43 (153)/60-61-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

^{238.} See Appendix 66.

^{239.} Letter.

is concerned. But something has happened, or rather some feelings and passions have been disclosed, which cannot be easily set aside or forgotten. This is going to have far-reaching consequences for Assam, and we should give careful thought to these consequences so that we might be able to deal with them as soon as the time comes.

That all this violence and fury should take place on a question of language is something which is beyond my understanding and something which exhibits an intolerance, narrow-mindedness and lack of foresight which is amazing. All this will come back like a boomerang on Assam and the Assamese people and injure their progress greatly.

The feeling in Assam that non-Assamese should, as far as possible, not be employed in Assam is also thoroughly bad, and hits at the roots of our unity and Constitution. But what is worse is that it is going to come in the way of all progress in Assam. Is Assam contented to be a backward, poverty-stricken state, simply to have the pleasure of keeping out non-Assamese people or Bengalis? Chances of employment come in an economy which is expanding. They do not come by replacing one person by another. Unless, therefore, the economy of Assam expands rapidly, it will remain in a stagnant condition. The present temper of the Assamese people, or the majority of them, is so lacking in intelligence that I am quite alarmed about the future of Assam. If people in Assam are quite immature in their thinking, what are we to do about it?

I have been told that some persons in Assam have even said that they would rather not have any new industries till such time in the future as they have trained up their own people to run these industries. That, of course, is an exceedingly foolish statement to make. All these processes go together and they cannot be isolated from each other. The other day I heard of some trouble in our Refinery Plant and a Bengali officer there was, I believe, stabbed simply because he was a Bengali. Apart from the brutality and extreme folly of this kind of thing, this is going to make it very difficult for any major plant or industry to be established in Assam. Are we to be governed there by school boys or grown-up persons with the mentality of school boys?

In our Central plants and undertakings, we have not hesitated to employ even foreigners on very high salaries and, of course, people from all parts of India without distinction, insofar as the trained personnel are concerned. If you go to Bhilai or Rourkela, you will find the whole of India represented there. What then are we to do in Assam in this refinery or in the other industries or plants that may grow up there? This is a serious matter, because unless the temper of the people there changes, the tendency to put up any important plant there will progressively grow less and less.

I wrote to you in a letter some weeks ago about the quality of your administrative personnel not being always up to the mark. Behind that administrative personnel is the mob, chiefly consisting of school children and, may be, college

boys or others. All this creates a picture which I find it difficult to grapple with. In any State such a picture would be bad and injurious for that State. In Assam, which after all is very much a mixed State with hill areas of a different type of people and a large number of Bengalis living in Cachar especially and elsewhere, such narrow tendencies will inevitably split up the State and be continuing disruptive factors. And what if a situation on the borders of this border State arises requiring all our strength and wisdom? Are the mobs in Assam going to govern that situation and make all kinds of foolish demands? Assam is a border State and is said to be a problem State. Problem there are everywhere, but it seems to me that at least some of these problems in Assam have been created by the Assamese people themselves.

I am putting these broad considerations frankly before you because I have always liked Assam and the Assamese people and have looked forward to their rapid growth. But how can they grow if they continue to be infantile in their thinking? One cannot compromise with this kind of folly. As it is, they have suffered very greatly by this outburst of violence and ill-feeling and narrowness, and they will suffer for it more than any others. If this feeling continues, then there is little hope for any marked progress.

I wrote to you a little while ago about the Naga problem, ²⁴⁰ and I shall be seeing the representatives of the Naga Convention on the 26th of this month. I hope you will be well enough to come here before that and that the Governor will also come. What I wrote to you then about any association of the Naga areas with Assam has now become an even more urgent problem than it was then. How can anyone in Assam or elsewhere insist on this association after all that has happened? The real question before you is whether it is possible for the Assamese to keep the hill areas with them. By your wise policy, you had brought round the people of these hill districts to a reasonable frame of mind. But now all that has been knocked on the head by others, and the future is uncertain.

I think I saw in the Assam Tribune a proposal by someone to the effect that the Cachar and the hill areas should be separated from Assam as they come in the way of the Assamese people. This would result in Assam being confined practically to the Brahmaputra Valley, a small State with very limited resources and hardly any prospects of progress. And yet, events are pushing in that direction.

In this matter, the Opposition people in Assam have been much to blame. But it is clear that some Congress people also are guilty. It may be that their attitude is due to their ill-feeling for you or their desire to weaken you. But in doing so, they have weakened Assam very greatly.

For the present, the immediate need is to establish law and order and to put down all acts of lawlessness with severity. That, I suppose, will be done soon. I wish this had been taken in hand more effectively earlier. It may be necessary to have a proper and high-powered enquiry into these occurrences where the minority communities became helpless before the violence of the majority. You will have to consider this, as we shall have to consider it. An enquiry in such circumstances some times is harmful. But it may be that not to have it is more harmful.

The question will also arise about some measure of compensation to those who have suffered, and further whether these people who have been driven out through fear from Assam are going to be invited to come back and be rehabilitated.

As for the Assamese language, it is clear that any language cannot be imposed on large numbers of people who object to it. Assamese cannot be imposed in Cachar or in some at least of the hill areas. Already there is growing resentment in these areas at the possibility of such imposition. When you said some time ago that "the Government would prefer to wait till they got the same demand from the non-Assamese speaking population for declaring it as the State language", you made a wise statement. The subsequent decision of the Pradesh Congress Committee might perhaps, with some modifications, have been capable of adoption, but in the context in which it came, it has ceased to be of any value. Whatever you may say about the State language being Assamese will apply only to the Assamese-speaking population and practically to no others, After all that has happened, any attempt to force this issue will lead to big trouble and, what is more, will be opposed to the spirit of our Constitution. You have indicated that you will introduce a Bill in your Assembly on the lines of the Pradesh Congress Committee's resolution. I rather doubt if that will be wise in the present state of passion and prejudice. Could this not be postponed till we consider this entire question calmly and in all its aspects? I think this matter should certainly be considered by the Working Committee of the Congress and they should give a clear lead. Perhaps recent events are compelling all people in Assam to think afresh

I have indicated above how my mind is troubled and is working at present. I am by no means clear about it. But about one thing I am quite clear, that the wrong tendencies in Assam have to be checked as otherwise they will lead to infinite harm.

I would have come over to Assam immediately, but I am afraid I cannot leave Delhi in the middle of this general strike. The moment I feel I can go there, I shall come to Assam and spend two or three days. It is not enough for me to go just for consultation with a few people at Gauhati or Shillong. I should like to visit some of these areas where trouble has occurred. All this depends on this general strike.

In three days' time, I am receiving a delegation from the Mizo District. I wrote to you about it. The principal object of their coming was about the food

scarcity, but now, no doubt, they will raise other issues also.²⁴¹

Please forgive me for writing to you when you are not well. But the world marches on and problems have to be faced, and so I thought I had better write to you. If I can come to Assam, as I intend doing, before I receive the Naga delegation here, 242 then perhaps it may not be necessary for you to come here, though I would like you to come if you are well enough. So far as the Nagas are concerned, a new complication has arisen because of Phizo's presence in London. I am not very much concerned about this, although it is a complicating factor. The real thing that concerns me is the state of affairs in Assam itself.

I do hope that you are getting well.

With all good wishes,

Yours sincerely, Jawaharlal Nehru

104. To B.C. Roy²⁴³

13 July 1960

My dear Bidhan,244

I have received today your letter of the 12th July about the occurrences in Assam. Soon after you telephoned to me two days ago about the order of some District Magistrate in Assam banning the entry of some journalists, I had telephoned to the Governor of Assam and also to Fakhruddin²⁴⁵ who was touring about. I am glad that that order was withdrawn.

But I think it is true to say that newspapers, both in Assam and Calcutta, have tended to give lurid accounts of happenings and thus added to the tensions. It is true that the facts are bad enough and I have been greatly distressed by them and, even more so, by the basic tendencies they disclosed. Obviously, all that has happened in some parts of Assam is not just because of the excitement of the moment but have deeper causes.

- 241. The Times of India reported on 16 July that a deputation from the autonomous District Council of Mizo Hills met Nehru on 15 July "to lay before him, it is understood, facts about the food scarcity in the area during the last few months." The newspaper also wrote that "According to the Mizos, the magnitude of the scarcity assumed the proportions of a famine and the Assam Government failed to take adequate measures to remedy the situation."
- 242. A delegation of the Naga People's Convention met Nehru on 26 July 1960. See item 150, fn 370.
- 243. Letter.
- 244. The Chief Minister of West Bengal.
- 245. Fakhruddin Ali Ahmed.

On the one side, Bengalees in the past had a very large share of governmental or railway posts. Indeed, the Railway was largely monopolised by Bengalees. This was not the fault of the Bengalees, but this fact was an irritant. Also I think that in the past the Bengalees, broadly speaking, treated the Assamese with a great deal of condescension and sometimes even a measure of contempt. This angered them. Indeed, sometimes the references in Calcutta newspapers to the Assamese or to the Assamese language are none too friendly or courteous.

Because of this past history, the Assamese developed some kind of a complex against non-Assamese Indians as a whole and Bengalees in particular. They had large numbers of Biharis and others settled in tea gardens and they were full of apprehension that more and more people would come from outside and settle down in Assam and thus change the character of the Brahmaputra valley. Assam being very much of a mixed province in regard to the nature of its population, more especially because of the hill districts, the Assamese were basically afraid of the future and of being overwhelmed by these others. The result of all this complex was that they developed a totally unreasonable dislike of others going there to settle down and they tended to throw their weight about, where they could, to assert that they were the original people of Assam. Language came in in this way.

The policy they pursued in regard to the hill districts, before Chaliha came, was a very unwise one and rather irritating to these proud hill men. This was one of the reasons which led to the Naga revolt. I do not wish to exaggerate this and, no doubt, the Naga revolt would have taken place anyhow in the circumstances. But the fact is that the behaviour of Assamese officials in the Naga territory was deeply resented by the Nagas.

When Chaliha became the Chief Minister, he approached all these questions with much greater good sense and wisdom. He became quite popular with the hill people and brought them in, generally speaking, to the Congress fold. He was trusted by them. This led to the extreme Assamese often disliking Chaliha's policies. His position in the Party and in the State was a strong one and he could not be attacked directly. Indirectly, however, there was constant sniping against him. Among those who participated in this sniping was Debeswar Sharma. He could not get over the fact that, according to him, it was his right to be Chief Minister and not Chaliha.

In the past, we have had some trouble with the Assam Government about appointments. Normally speaking, they had preferred keeping the second-rate or even the third-rate man if he was an Assamese. We used to press them to take non-Assamese from outside in some of the key posts there. It was not an easy

matter to get them to agree to this. Thus, there was a Chief Engineer there who really was a laughing stock. But he was kept on because he was an Assamese. It was only when Chaliha came that an improvement for the better set in. But he had constantly to face this inner opposition. It was easy for his opponents to play up the fact of non- Assamese pushing out the real Assamese from important posts. Language also became a symbol of all this.

When we started the new refinery there, immediate demands came that Assamese should be employed there. We made it clear that while, inevitably, most of the people employed would be Assamese, in the higher technical posts we would only engage people of merit, whether they were Assamese or not. You will be surprised to know that some Assamese openly said that it was better not to have big plants and industries in Assam for the present as this would mean an influx of non-Assamese personnel. Let them postpone the establishment of these plants and for the present concentrate on training Assamese young men on technical subjects. When they are ready and trained, then they could start major plants and industries.

This, of course, is a ridiculous position to take up. In this way Assam would never get going and of course it is entirely opposed to the whole spirit of the Indian Constitution. But I mention this to show to what lengths some of the Assamese went in their thinking.

Repeatedly, in the past few years, there have been incidents in Assam emerging out of this background. As the problem of the educated unemployed has grown, so has this feeling of fear and bitterness. Language became a symbol of all this. When I went to Assam two or three months ago, I spoke broadly at some public meetings there on this language question as well as on the question of the employment of non-Assamese there. I told them that it would be very unwise for them to look at these problems in this narrow-minded, bigoted way as they would come in the way of the growth of Assam and would also tend to disrupt the State.²⁴⁷

You refer in your letter to an "All Assam Day" which was to be held yesterday. I had not even heard of this, although I am getting detailed information from Assam. Anyhow, we need not attach importance to it.

Because of this background to which I have referred, we need not search for any hidden causes. The dislike of non-Assamese settled in Assam took pointed shape as against the Bengalees because they were the largest element. There was always this simmering feeling there. It was not the incident of the boy who was killed by firing that led to this, though it is true that that certainly added to the

^{247.} Nehru visited Assam in April 1960. For his speeches at public meetings there, see SWJN/SS/60/items 67 to 70.

excitement.²⁴⁸ That boy, as it happens, was shot down by the police without any justification and he had absolutely nothing to do with the demonstrations. He came out of his room in his hostel for some personal reason when he got this shot in his head from the police who were firing from the road. Such an unfortunate incident always excites feeling and the Assamese, worked up as they were, became exceedingly excited. But even before this incident, trouble had begun there.

I think it is true that the Assam Government acted very weakly to begin with. Poor Chaliha was lying very ill and is still in bed. Fakhruddin is a strong enough man but, being a Muslim, he had a feeling that he should not play too leading a part in this controversy. So events took the lead and the Government followed weakly behind. The PSP leaders became the head and front of the agitation and many Congressmen also lined up. The Pradesh Congress Committee did make an attempt to control this agitation on the language issue and passed a resolution which, though not wise, was still not too bad and was meant to strike a middle path. Chaliha accepted that resolution and said that he would introduce legislation on those lines.

Poor Chaliha was in a very difficult position apart from being physically unwell. He felt that unless he took the step he did in this matter, he should resign. He was not afraid of resigning, but in those particular circumstances he realised that his resignation would make matters worse. It was because of all this that he decided to accept broadly the Pradesh Congress Committee's resolution in regard to language. Thus he weakened somewhat. Previously he had taken up a straight and brave attitude on this issue.

It is no good my writing to you in much greater length about past history. So far as the present is concerned, our troops are there and are functioning satisfactorily. The "Civil Power" is also now functioning with some effectiveness. What is more, Congressmen generally, having realised that their State was being

248. Saroj Chakrabarty in his With Dr. B.C. Roy and Other Chief Ministers (Calcutta: Benson's, 1974) has given, on pp. 451-452, excerpts from a letter from B.C. Roy to Nehru, apparently written on 12 July 1960. In this letter, referring to the incident of the boy killed in police firing, Roy had written:

"A well-thought out programme of attacking the Bengalees alone in Assam was started perhaps at the time of the sitting of the States Reorganisation Commission. The feeling which had been simmering, has come out again. The actual incident started when a boy belonging to Sibsagar district and staying in a hostel in Gauhati was killed by police firing. The Superintendent of Police is a Punjabi and not a Bengalee. Unfortunately, the Government allowed the body to be carried in a truck from Gauthati to Sibsagar, a distance of 230 miles. On the way, the body was utilised for inflaming the passions of the people and no steps were taken to stop this.

"But unfortunately the Assamese utilised this incident of the boy killed as if it was due to Bengalee hatred of Assamese and passions were thus inflamed and things started moving. No steps were taken by the Assam Government to nip the thing in the bud."

SELECTED WORKS OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

ruined by this agitation, have now come out and have gone to the rural areas to face the mobs that have been misbehaving. All this has made a big difference and I have no doubt that normal conditions will prevail in Assam soon. But the consequences of what have taken place in recent weeks will pursue us for a long time.

You feel that the "Civil Power" is powerless and therefore it might be better for President's Rule to be imposed. I do not think so. The Army people have quite enough latitude given to them and are experiencing no difficulty from the Civil Authority who are cooperating. Then there is Shrinagesh there whose presence is helpful. Fakhruddin is now doing a good job and so are other Ministers.

So far so good. But what I am worried about is the future. Obviously, the Bengalee refugees have to be looked after and brought back. Perhaps, though I am not quite sure, a proper enquiry should be held on this. That can only be thought of after the return of normality. What I am really worried about is that the whole structure of Assam has been shaken up and tends to crack up, the hill people pulling their own way. All this will require the most careful handling. I do hope that newspapers will help in this process and not hinder.

Yours affectionately, [Jawaharlal]

105. To B.P. Chaliha²⁴⁹

14 July 1960

My dear Chaliha,

I sent you a letter two days ago.²⁵⁰ I do not know if it got through as the strike has delayed letters etc.

I am just waiting for the situation here to settle down a little more and then I shall come over to Assam.

My last letter would have indicated to you how disturbed I have been at the events in Assam. It is not a riot that worries me very much, unfortunate as that is. But the organised attack on Bengalees and the attempt to drive them out of Assam is very serious. Obviously, this kind of thing cannot be tolerated. If once we accept this, then we let loose all kinds of anti-social forces not only in Assam but elsewhere.

Another very regrettable feature is the incapacity of the administration to deal with this upsurge. I have no doubt at all that a competent District Magistrate can

249. Letter. 250. See item 103. always control the situation. If he does not do so, he is either incompetent or unwilling to take any step. One gets an impression that the administration hardly functioned during this period and merely watched on or perhaps got cold feet. Even the police did not come out well of the picture.

Then there is the question as to who organised all this misbehaviour and incited people against the Bengalees. This kind of thing can only happen after deliberate attempts. When this began, why did not the Assam administration take steps immediately to arrest those who were behind these troubles? What action did the police take?

These questions arise and the first impression one gets is that the Assam administration broke down and could not discharge its very first responsibility, that is, protecting its own people.

Whatever steps may have to be taken in the near future, and there will have to be many steps, it should be made clear without any possibility of doubt that the Bengalees who have been pushed out of Assam will have to be invited there and arrangements made for them. I think they will have to be given some measure of compensation. We cannot accept new evacuee problems from one State to another. This can only lead to civil war.

The West Bengal Government have sent me figures of these evacuees from Assam who are now in West Bengal. The figure they have given is 3,774. These are the people who are actually in camps, usually in school buildings, tents, etc. There may be others who have made their own arrangements.

I think that the Assam Government and administration must wake up to all these facts and function as a Government does.

Yours sincerely, Jawaharlal Nehru

106. To S.M. Shrinagesh²⁵¹

14 July 1960

My dear Shrinagesh,

I enclose a copy of a letter I have sent to Chaliha.²⁵² I continue writing to him though I do not know how well or ill he is at present. If he is not well enough to deal with these matters at all, you might indicate my views to some of the other senior Ministers there. The whole point is that stern and swift action must be taken and there should be no quarter to evil-doers, whatever their position.

^{251.} Letter

^{252.} See item 105.

SELECTED WORKS OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

I hope that the Army has a fairly free hand to deal with the situation. Or are they restricted and limited in their work by the Assam civil authorities?

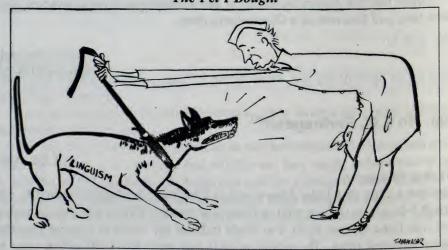
Yours sincerely, Jawaharlal Nehru

107. To B.P. Chaliha²⁵³

I intend coming to Assam for three days, 17th July to 20th, reaching Gauhati about 10 morning on 17th, returning Delhi 20th morning. During my stay I would, of course, like to have talks with you and Governor separately as well as with other Ministers. But if you are not well enough, I do not wish to trouble you much.

- 2. I should also like to meet senior officers of Assam Government and leading Congress workers.
- 3. I want to visit also areas where disturbances have taken place and from where Bengalees have been driven away, I do not mind a heavy programme. Please inform Pradesh Congress Committee President²⁵⁴ and Fakhruddin. In drawing up my programme, suggest Governor should be consulted.

[PETS ARE NOT FOR PETTING] 'The Pet I Bought'



The Prime Minister is visiting Assam to appraise the law and order situation. (From Shankar's Weekly, 17 July 1960, p. 7)

253. Telegram, 14 July 1960, copied to S.M. Shrinagesh. File No. 8/146/60-PMS. 254. Siddhinath Sarma.

108. At Gauhati: Public Meeting²⁵⁵

बिहनो और भाइयो और बच्चो, कोई दो महीने हुए मैं आपके यहाँ गोहाटी आया था, और इसी मैदान में एक बड़ी सभा हुई थी। 256 उस समय मैंने आपको कुछ देश का हाल, कुछ आसाम का हाल, बताया था, क्या क्या हमारे सामने बड़े प्रश्न हैं, देश की जनता के उद्धार के लिए, कैसा हमें पिरश्रम करना है? उसके बाद शायद आपको मालूम हो, हमारी वो योजना तीसरी पंचवर्षीय योजना, फाइव ईयर प्लान निकला है। मालूम नहीं आपके कितने लोगों ने उसको देखा है। क्योंकि उसमें आप कुछ रूप देखेंगे, हमारे काम का, और कैसे भारत बदलेगा और हमारी उन्नित होगी। जो सबसे बड़ा काम हमारे सामने है जिसमें आपको व्यक्तिगत हरेक को दिलचस्पी हो, वो तो यही है कि कैसे हमारे देश की जनता का हाल अच्छा हो, कैसे उसके दुःख तकलीफ़ दूर हों। कैसे हमारे यहाँ जो रोज़गार की कमी है, रोज़गार सभों को मिले, काम मिले। विशेषकर जो हमारे नवयुवक हैं स्कूल कॉलेज में पढ़ते हैं उनके लिए रास्ते खुलें बड़े-बड़े काम करने के लिए, जिससे उनकी भी उन्नित हो और देश की भी। मैं आपसे कहूँगा कि आप इस तीसरी पंचवर्षीय योजना को कुछ देखें। क्योंकि जो भी कुछ आपके प्रश्न हों आसाम में, और बहुत सारे हैं, उसको देखना चाहिए सारे भारत के नक्शे में। अलग अलग देखने से पूरे समझ में नहीं आते क्योंकि पहली बात जो याद रखनी है हमें वह यह कि हमारे देश की उन्नित एक साथ मिलकर हो सकती है, अलग अलग नहीं हो सकती।

हमारी पुरानी बीमारी है कि हम अलग अलग रहते थे चाहे जाति भेद से, चाहे प्रान्त के भेद से, चाहे भाषा के, चाहे धर्म के भेद से और आपस में हमारी शक्ति एक-दूसरे से लड़ने में खप जाती थी। तो बड़े काम हम नहीं कर सकते थे। और कभी कभी इतिहास में विदेश से लोगों ने आकर हमारे देश पर हमला किया और हमारे देश पर राज्य किया। बड़ी कठिनाई से हमें स्वराज्य मिला। लेकिन स्वराज्य मिलने के बाद हमारे सामने से ख़तरा तो नहीं हट जाता। जो कोई आदमी इतिहास को जानते हैं वो यह जानते हैं कि स्वराज्य तभी रहता है, जब तक देश के लोग होशियार रहें और उनमें एकता हो। जहाँ वो सो गये, जहाँ आपस के झगड़ों में पड़ गये तो देश दुर्बल हो जाता है और फिर बाहर का दुश्मन आ सकता है। सारे देश को याद रखना है यह। लेकिन विशेषकर के जो हमारे सरहद के प्रदेश हैं जैसे आसाम, जैसे अभी मैं एक कोई दस दिन हुए मैं वहाँ कश्मीर में और लहाख में बड़ी ऊँची पहाड़ियों पर जो हमारे देश की एक सीमा है उधर की, जैसे आपकी तरफ़ दूसरी सीमा है। सीमा तो एक है, दो हज़ार मील से ऊपर की सीमा है हिमालय की। तो जो लोग सीमा प्रान्तों में रहते हैं उनके लिए तो विशेष विचार करना है कि हम देश के सिपाही हैं, हमें देश की रक्षा करनी है। तो यह सब बातें याद रखनी हैं आपको।

तो मैं दो महीने हुए यहाँ आया। आज आया मैं एक दूसरे कार्य की वजह से। क्योंकि आप जानते हैं कि आसाम के कुछ हिस्सों में कुछ झगड़ा-फसाद हुआ है, मन-मुटाव हुआ है और इस

समय तक झगड़ा तो कम हो गया, बहुत कुछ बंद हो गया। अच्छा है, लेकिन अभी तक लोगों के मन में शांति नहीं है। लोगों के मन में डर है, घबराहट है। एक दूसरे के ऊपर भरोसा नहीं है, अपने पड़ोसी पर भी भरोसा नहीं है। और इस समय आपके आसाम के अंदर और कुछ बाहर, मालूम नहीं

256. See SWJN/SS/60/item 70.

^{255.} Speech at the Judges Court grounds, another name for the Gauhati Town Club grounds, 17 July 1960. AIR tapes, NMML.

कितने हज़ार दस, पन्द्रह हज़ार से ऊपर शरणार्थी हैं, पुराने शरणार्थी नहीं जो पाकिस्तान से आये थे, नये शरणार्थी जो इस समय अपने घर से निकले हैं। यह तो अजीब बात है न कि एक देश के अंदर लोगों को अपना घर डर से छोड़ना पड़े? जो भी कुछ उसके पीछे कारण हों, जिस किसी का भी अपराध हो, यह और बात है। लेकिन मोटी बात यह है कि इस समय हज़ारों पुरुष, स्त्री और छोटे बच्चे इस तरह से घर से निकल के पड़े हुए हैं camps वग़ैरह में। यह एक नयी बात हमारे देश में। शरणार्थी पाकिस्तान से आये थे दूसरे देश से वो एक बात थी। लेकिन अपने देश में ऐसा हो, यह एक नयी बात हुई। इसलिए बड़ा दु:ख हुआ, और सारे देश में इसकी फ़िकर है।

तो यह इसलिए यह है। मैं तेज़पुर आज सबेरे पहुँचा और तेज़पुर से मैं एक छोटे हवाई जहाज़ पर जिसको हेलीकॉप्टर कहते हैं, जो कि बहुत नीचे उड़ता है, उस पर मैं घूमता हुआ नौगाँव गया, वहाँ ठहरा, सभा हुई, कुछ यह शरणार्थियों के camps में गया, देखा, लोगों से मिला।257 फिर वहाँ से उसी हेलीकॉप्टर पर चलकर घूमता-घामता मैं यहाँ गोहाटी आया। सीधा नहीं आया, देखता हुआ इधर-उधर। तो हेलीकॉप्टर से उड़ने में ऊँचे नहीं उड़ता, थोड़ा पाँच सौ, छः सौ फुट, हज़ार फुट उड़ता है। तो बहुत अच्छा दृश्य देखने में आता है। और मेरे सामने यह ब्रह्मपत्र की वैली नीचे विछी हुई थी, मैंने सोचा कि कितनी सुंदर है यह, देखकर बहुत चित्त प्रसन्न होता है, कैसी है उसका सौंदर्य देखकर, कितनी अच्छी और ऊपर से कितनी शांत है। लोग काम कर रहे थे खेतों में, ग्राम थे, छोटे-छोटे नगर थे। तो बहुत शांति का चित्र था। फिर मैंने सोचा कि यहाँ से शांति का चित्र तो दिखता है लेकिन अभी थोड़े दिन हुए यहाँ आसाम की इस ब्रह्मपुत्र वैली में और इधर-उधर अशांति हुई और जैसा कि मैं नौगाँव में देखकर आया कि कितने लोग घरों से निकले हुए पड़े हैं। कितने लोगों के घर जला दिए गए हैं। ऊपर से मैंने देखा बहुत, कई सौ घरों को मैंने देखा जले पड़े थे। क्या बात हुई यह? अच्छी बात नहीं हुई। वहाँ लोगों से मिला मैं। यहाँ भी बहुतों से मिला, बहुत सारे लोगों ने हमें बड़े-बड़े कागज़ दिये, मेमोरेंडम, जिसमें पिछले एक मास की या पन्द्रह दिन की कहानी लिखी थी, क्या क्या हुआ? बहुत सारी बातें दु:खदायी हुईं, तकलीफ़देह थीं। आप ही के यहाँ गोहाटी में एक बहुत दुःख की बात हुई कि एक हमारा नवयुवक, कॉलेज का लड़का गोली से मारा गया, अपने हॉस्टल में। दुःख की बात है। यों भी दुःख की बात होती जब कोई हमारा नवयुवक इस तरह से मारा जाये, ज़ाहिर है वो बेगुनाह था। उसने बिचारे ने क्या किया। अब कैसे वो मरा? कोई पुलिसवाले के डर में आ गया, घबरा के उसने ऐसी मूर्खता की, जो भी कुछ हो। लेकिन एक दुःख की बात हुई और उससे आप लोगों को सभों को दुःख हो तो कोई आश्चर्य की बात नहीं। और ऐसी बातें इधर-उधर हुईं बहुत सारी, जिससे उत्तेजना हुई। एक तरफ उत्तेजना हुई, दूसरी तरफ़

^{257.} The Hindu of 18 July 1960 reported: "Mr. Nehru earlier told a public meeting at Nowgong that he was in full agreement that Assamese must be the State language. 'You cannot enforce it by the lathi or law', he said.

[&]quot;He said the constitution had recognized regional languages to enable the masses to understand the work done by Government.

[&]quot;Mr. Nehru said he wanted a 'peace of hearts, free from fear and suspicion, an atmosphere of security and confidence in which people can live in peace'.

[&]quot;Referring to his visit to the two refugee camps at Nowgong, he said, 'I am ashamed to see these camps. The first need is rehabilitation of these people with fullest assurances of security'."

हुई। मैंने सुना कि वहाँ शिलाँग में कुछ लोग निकले जुलूस निकालकर। उन्होंने नारे उठाये, किसी जोश में वो अच्छे नारे नहीं थे, आसामी भाषा के विरोध में उठाये। अब मालूम नहीं किस मूर्ख ने उठाये। लेकिन एक मूर्ख भी जो बात करता है तो उससे बुरा असर हो जाता है। जब वायुमण्डल बुरा हो, तब छोटी सी बात बड़ी हो जाती है। एक मूर्ख आग लगा सकता है एक दियासलाई से। लेकिन जब वायुमण्डल अच्छा होता है तब लोग बहकते नहीं।

तो लोगों ने मुझे बहुत सारी कहानी बताई कि पहले यह हुआ, फिर यह हुआ। यह इसने बुरा किया, यह इसने अपराध किया। वो तो मैंने सुनी और बहुत कुछ मुझे मालूम है। लेकिन मुझे इस बात की बहुत फिकर नहीं कि किसने अपराध किया, किसने नहीं। वो एक जाँच-पड़ताल हो तो देखा जाये। मुझे तो इस बात की फ़िकर है कि इस समय आसाम में कुछ, आसाम के शरीर को ज्वर आ गया है, बीमारी आ गयी है उसके मन में, उसके शरीर में, उसकी जनता में। और इसलिए यह सब अविश्वास, एक दूसरे से डर, एक दूसरे पर क्रोध, और वो निकलता है। असल चीज़, बीमारी तो यह है किसी एक पुलिसवाले से अपराध हुआ उसको सज़ा हो। एक आदमी ने अपराध किया, या किसी और आदमी ने किया या किसी भीड़ ने गाँव ने जाकर जला दिए कई मकान, बुरी बातें हैं इसका बुरा असर होता है। लेकिन सबसे बुरी बात तो यह कि किसी तरह से यह जो आसाम के मन में और शरीर में ज्वर आ गया है वो कैसे हटे? यह जो डर है एक दूसरे का कैसे हटे? मेरे पास लोग आयें, कहें, अच्छे तगड़े भले लोग, कि हम डरे हुए हैं, हमें भरोसा नहीं है कि हमारे ऊपर शायद कोई हमला हो, हमारी रक्षा कौन करेगा? तुम आज आये यहाँ दिल्ली से तो ठीक है, दो रोज़ बाद तुम चले जाओगे, फिर कौन रक्षा करेगा? तो यह विश्वास सही हो या गलत हो, इसमें जा सकते हैं। हम शायद बिल्कुल गलत होंगे यह अविश्वास लेकिन इसका मन में होना यह ज्वर की निशानी है, उस व्यक्ति की नहीं बल्कि आसाम में ज्वर की निशानी है। तो यह बात हुई आसाम में जिससे सारे देश में आसाम का नाम फैला, अच्छे रूप में नहीं। और आसाम कुछ बदनाम हो गया तो मुझे इससे दुःख हुआ। लोग कहते हैं मुझसे कि यह तो अख़बारों ने इसको बहुत बढ़ा चढ़ा दिया। कलकत्ते के अख़बार बहुत बढ़ा चढ़ा के लिखते हैं। तो बात सही होगी, अख़बार वाले सब जगह कुछ बढ़ा चढ़ा कर लिखा करते हैं, विशेषकर शायद कलकत्ता के करते हों। मैंने आसाम के समाचार पत्रों को भी देखा, वो भी कभी-कभी बढ़ा चढ़ा कर बातों को लिखते हैं। तो वो तो है, लेकिन यह कह देना कि समाचार पत्रों के बढ़ाने से यह सब उपद्रव हुआ यह बात तो ठीक-ठीक समझाने की नहीं है। फिर कुछ हम में दुर्बलता होगी, कमज़ोरी होगी जिससे यह बातें हो जाती हैं। अगर हम अपने को काबू में रखें, तब नहीं। विशेषकर उनसे में कहूँगा, बहुत सारे अधिकतर आप लोग मेरी आँखों में जवान हैं, नौजवान हैं, नवयुवक हैं, बच्चे हैं, लड़के हैं, लड़कियाँ हैं, स्कूल में, कॉलेज में आप पढ़ते हैं। और आपके सामने सारा जीवन फैला हुआ है तो अपने जीवन को क्या करें? कैसे अपने जीवन को लेकर हम उसको बनायें और अपने देश को बनायें। यह बड़े-बड़े काम आपके सामने हैं। तो अगर आप इस वक्त बहक जायें छोटी बातों में. छोटे झगडों में. तो फिर आप बडे काम कैसे करेंगे।

एक और जगह मैं आज था अभी थोड़ी देर हुए, और मैं वहाँ कह रहा था कि आजकल जो हमारे लड़के-लड़िकयाँ, स्कूल और कॉलेज में पढ़ते हैं, उनको अनुभव नहीं हुआ कुछ जो हमारी आज़ादी की लड़ाई थी उसका। आप में जो अधिक उम्र के होंगे, उनको तो हुआ होगा। लेकिन जो लोग इस समय बीस बरस के हैं, बाइस, तेइस, चौबीस, पच्चीस बरस तक के समझो, उनको क्या

अनुभव हुआ? क्योंकि हमारा यह पिछला आंदोलन पन्द्रह वर्ष हुए उसका अंत हुआ था। उसके पहले भी लड़ाई का समय था। वो आप जानते हैं हम लोग सब जेल में थे हजारों आदमी और उस समय जो लोग बाल-बच्चे दस बरस तक के होंगे वो अब पच्चीस बरस के होंगे तो उनको स्वयं उसका अनुभव नहीं हुआ है। जैसे वा ज़रा बड़े हुए उन्होंने स्वतंत्र भारत को देखा, और वो दिन उनके सामने नहीं थे जब सारे भारत में बड़े ज़ोरों से यह हमारी आज़ादी की लड़ाई हो रही थी। कितने बरस हुए वो, कितने लोग उसमें गुजर गये, मर गये, कितने लाखों परिवार तबाह हो गये। हमने स्वराज की बड़ी कीमत दी थी भारत के लोगों ने, तब स्वराज मिला। कोई भली चीज बगैर कीमत दिए नहीं मिलती, दाम देने पड़ते हैं। पैसे के दाम नहीं, पैसा तो अपनी चीज है, पैसा रुपया। दाम होते हैं अपने परिश्रम के, अपने त्याग के, अपनी जान तक के। तब बड़ी बातें होती हैं। तो भारत में पचास बरस, इससे भी ऊपर, हमारी स्वराज की लड़ाई चली, और बड़ी कीमत हमने दी, और कीमत देने पर भी, शांति से हमने दी। यह महात्माजी ने हमें सिखाया था। और अजीब बात थी, मुझे याद है जब हमें बड़ा क्रोध भी चढ़ता था। जब कोई बड़ी बुरी बात हो, गोली चलती थी और गोली चलने से भी अधिक बदतर बातें हुई हैं देश में हमारे। तब भी कोई अंग्रेज, और हम अंग्रेज से लड रहे थे, यानी अंग्रेज़ी राज से लड़ रहे थे, कोई अंग्रेज़ जहाँ चाहे भारत में जा सकता था, किसी बाज़ार में, किसी नगर में, किसी भीड़ में, कोई हाथ उस पर नहीं उठाता था, हालाँकि हमारे दिल में क्रोध था, दिल में दुःख था, और ख़ाली हमारी, मेरी बात नहीं आम जनता की, उसको गुस्सा था। लेकिन उसने सीखा था गांधीजी से कि हमें एक ढँग से चलना है तो हम चले थे।

तो मैं आपसे कह रहा था कि जो आप लोग हैं बीस-पच्चीस बरस की उम्र के, आपके लिए तो यह पुराना, भारत की स्वतंत्रता की लड़ाई एक कहानी है जिसको आप किताबों में पढ़ें या अपने बुजुर्गों से सुनें। आपने तो यह स्वतंत्र भारत को देखा, उसमें आप बढ़ रहे हैं। तो आप भूल गये शायद कि स्वतंत्रता लेने के लिए क्या क्या करना पड़ता है। कितना परिश्रम, कितना त्याग, कितना सबर, और कितनी जान तक देनी पड़ती है। और ख़ाली स्वतंत्रता लेने के लिए नहीं, बल्कि स्वतंत्रता को रखने के लिए भी परिश्रम करना पड़ता है। एक अमरीका के महापुरुष ने एक बात कहीं थी, "इटरनल विजिलेंस इज़ दि प्राइस ऑफ लिबर्टी" यानी स्वतंत्रता को रखना आप चाहते हैं तो हमेशा उसके लिए तैयार रहना है, उसको बचाने के लिए होशियार रहना है। जहाँ आप इस बात को भूल गये आप ढीले पड़े, स्वतंत्रता फिसल जायेगी। क्योंकि हम ऐसी दुनिया में रहते हैं जो भयानक दुनिया है, ख़तरनाक है, एटम बम की दुनिया है, हाइड्रोजन बम की दुनिया है और अगर कहीं वह एटम बम और हाइड्रोजन बम छूट पड़े दुनिया में, तो सारी दुनिया नष्ट हो सकती है। ऐसी तो दुनिया है, इसलिए हमें अपने को बचाने को भी होशियार रहना है, बह नहीं जाना है, और एकता रखनी है। एकता किस की सारे भारत की। अगर हम आपस में लड़ें तो एकता टूट जाती है।

आपमें से बहुतों ने कुछ भारत का इतिहास पढ़ा होगा। भारत में बड़े-बड़े महापुरुष हुए हैं, संत हुए हैं, बड़े-बड़े वीर पुरुष हुए हैं, विद्वान पुरुष हुए हैं, लेकिन भारत की एक बीमारी रही। और वो यह आपस में फूट की, आपस में लड़ने की। कभी अपने अलग-अलग राज्य के लिए, कभी अपने प्रदेश के लिए, कभी धर्म के नाम से, कभी जाति के नाम से, कभी भाषा के नाम से, यह सिलसिला रहा, जिसने भारत के टुकड़े-टुकड़े किए। इसकी जड़, बुनियाद मेरी राय में हमारे समाज का जो पुराना संगठन था जातिभेद का, उसने किया। क्योंकि एक-एक जाति को अलग कर दिया और उसमें एकता नहीं हो सकती। कुछ जातियों को दबा दिया, उनको हरिजन कहकर नीचे दबाया, कुछ ऊपर

बैठ गये उनकी छाती पर, इस तरह से हमारे यहाँ बहुत भेद रहा, जातिभेद । अब वो कम होता जाता है और कम होगा। और हमारे विधान में यह लक्ष्य है, यह ध्येय है, कि ऊँच-नीच निकल जाये, बराबर हों। और बराबर हों, बराबर ख़ाली समाज में तो हों बराबर, वो आर्थिक रूप से यानी बहुत अमीर-गरीब न रहें, एक तरह की बराबरी आये। सब लोग बिल्कल बराबर तो नहीं हो सकते, यह तो मैं नहीं कह सकता, क्योंकि कुछ लोगों में योग्यता अधिक होती है, और जिसमें योग्यता अधिक होती है उसको मौका मिलना चाहिए आगे बढ़ने का। नहीं तो सब लोग एक छोटे कद के हों, तो फिर कोई लम्बा आदमी न हो यह तो ठीक बात नहीं है। देश की उन्नित होती है तो सब लोग खुशहाल हों, सब लोगों को मौका मिले उन्नित का, और जो योग्य हैं. वो आगे बढें. पैसे के मामले में नहीं, आगे बढें, चाहे वो बड़े से बड़ा हमारा कोई वैज्ञानिक हो, साइंटिस्ट हो, चाहे इंजीनियर हो, चाहे फ़ौज में हो, चाहे किसी और काम में हो। क्योंकि आखिर में देश चलता है योग्य परुषों से। जहाँ ऊँचे दर्जे के महापुरुष देश के नहीं हुए वो देश दूसरे दर्जे का हो जाता है। तो भाई तम बैठ जाओ, बैठो न, खड़े क्यों हो, बैठो तो। इसलिए जब मैं कहता हूँ सभों को बराबर होना है इसके माने नहीं है कि सब बराबर के मूर्ख हों, उसके माने हैं कि बराबर का मौका मिले उन्नति का. पढने. लिखने, कामकाज का। फिर जितनी योग्यता होगी उतना देश बढ़ेगा। आख़िर में कोई देश उतना ही बढ़ता है, कितने योग्य पुरुष उसमें हों। तो रूस और अमेरिका बहुत बढ़े हुए देश हैं आजकल, बड़ी शक्ति उनकी है, सबसे बड़े देश हैं शक्ति में, बम में भी, इसलिए कि उनके यहाँ बड़े ऊँचे दर्जे के वैज्ञानिक लोग हैं, साइंटिस्ट हैं और भी लोग हैं बहुत। लेकिन विज्ञान ने उनको बढ़ाया बड़े-बड़े उनके यहाँ इंजीनियर हैं, फ़ौजें बड़ी हैं उनकी, वो तो है, इस तरह से बढ़े।

तो आपको याद हो कि नहीं जैसे हमारे यहाँ स्वराज आया हमें फ़िकर हुई कि हमारा देश जो पिछड़ा हुआ है कैसे लायें आगे? और दुनिया आगे बढ़ गयी थी। विज्ञान से बढ़ी थी, साइंस से बढ़ी थी, technology से बढ़ी थी, बड़ी मशीनों के चलाने से बढ़ी थी, उससे शक्ति आयी। और उन वैज्ञानिक पुरुषों ने प्रकृति की, नेचर की शक्तियों को पकड़ा। एक मनुष्य की शक्ति कितनी है? आपकी कितनी है? आप बड़े तगड़े हों, दो आदमी की ताकृत होगी आप में तीन की होगी, चार की होगी, और कितनी ताकृत होगी? लेकिन आपके हाथ में कोई दूसरी शक्ति आ जाये तो आपकी शक्ति सौ आदमी की हो जाती है, सौ आदमी का काम करें। जैसे एक रेलगाड़ी चलती है, इंजन चलाता है, इंजन की शक्ति क्या है? आदमी नहीं धकेलता उसे, भाप की शक्ति है। एक प्रकृति की शक्ति है। जो पानी गरम करने से भाप निकलती है उससे रेलगाडी चलती है। बिजली है, यह भी एक प्रकृति की शक्ति है, जिससे बड़े-बड़े कारखाने चलते हैं, बड़ी भारी शक्ति है। अब और कितनी नयी शक्तियाँ हैं। अब यह अणुशक्ति, एटॉमिक एनर्जी की निकली है, यह तो बहुत ही बड़ी शक्ति है। और जितनी बड़ी शक्ति होगी उससे हानि भी पहुँचती है, लाभ भी पहुँचता है। एटॉमिक एनर्जी से बड़े-बड़े काम हो सकते हैं, और देश तबाह हो सकता है, अब जैसे उसका प्रयोग हो।

इसलिए हमने स्वराज्य आने पर एक पहला काम यह किया कि हमने ध्यान दिया विज्ञान पर. बड़े-बड़े साइंटिफिक लेबॉरटरीज चलायी, बड़े-बड़े टेक्नालॉजिकल इंस्टीट्यूट खोले। क्योंकि जिस बात में और दुनिया आगे बढ़ गयी थी, उसमें हम पकड़ें उसको। यह ठीक था कि जब अंग्रेज़ यहाँ थे हम जुलूस निकालें और नारे उठायें, वो ठीक था। समय उसका था शांति से, और उनको हमने अलग किया। लेकिन अब जुलुस उठाकर और नारे उठाकर हम विज्ञान नहीं सीख सकते, न हम

बड़े-बड़े कारख़ाने बना सकते हैं, न हम ब्रह्मपुत्र पर पुल बना सकते हैं नारे उठाकर। उसमें तो बड़े इंजीनियर की ज़रूरत है, सीखे हुए आदमी की। इसलिए हमारे लिए आवश्यक हो गया कि हम इन बातों को सीखें. अपने लड़कों को, लड़कियों को सिखाएँ। क्योंकि उसमें समय लगता है, काफी समय लगता है। हम एक बड़ा लोहे का कारख़ाना बनायें, हम बना रहे हैं उधर उड़ीसा में, और मध्यप्रदेश में, और कहाँ कहाँ। लोहे का कारखाना बनाने में काफी समय लगता है, पाँच वर्ष, छः वर्ष लगते हैं। लेकिन जो आदमी लोहे के कारख़ाने को चलायेंगे, ख़ासकर जो उसके बड़े अफ़्सर हों उनको सिखाने में दस-पन्द्रह बरस लग जाते हैं, दस, बारह, पन्द्रह बरस। कोई जादू तो है नहीं, उनको सिखाना पड़ता है तब उसके काबिल होते हैं चलाने के। इसलिए हमें बड़ी-बड़ी योजनाएँ बनानी पड़ीं। ख़ाली कारख़ाने बनाना तो आसान है, असल चीज है लोगों को सिखाना। क्योंकि वही लोग तो कारख़ाना बनाते हैं। कोई जादू से तो नहीं बन जाता। तो फिर हमारी सारी शिक्षा संबधी जो बातें थी उस पर बड़ा विचार हुआ, और हल्के-हल्के हमारी शिक्षा में अब फ़रक हो रहा है, और उसमें विज्ञान टेक्नोलोजी वग़ैरह अधिक आ गयी है। अब हम पॉलिटेकनिक अधिक खोलते हैं, इंजीनियरिंग सिखाते हैं, और इस तरह की और आवश्यक चीजें। और विज्ञान तो सिखाते ही हैं इसलिए कि हम नयी दुनिया में आयें। अगर हम इस नयी दुनिया में नहीं आये, तब हम हमेशा पिछड़े रहेंगे, आगे बढ़ नहीं सकते, पड़े रहेंगे। कितने ही हम गुल मचायें, कितने ही हम नारे उठायें, हम पिछड़े रहेंगे। इस बात को समझना है। क्योंकि मालूम होता है कि हमारे नवयुवक इस बात को नहीं समझे, वो समझते हैं कि बड़े-बड़े काम गुलशोर से और नारे उठाने से हो जायेंगे। वो तो नहीं होते। अगर हमारे देश पर कोई भय हो, ख़तरा हो दूसरे देश का, तो हमारे नारों की आवाज उस देश में नहीं पहुँचेगी। हम एक-दूसरे को डरा कर क्या कर लेंगे?

तो इसीलिए यह पंचवर्षीय योजना बनी, कैसे सोच विचार के हम सारे देश की शक्ति को लगायें जिससे देश की जनता की भलाई हो और देश की शक्ति बढ़े। शक्ति हो उसकी रक्षा के लिए और शक्ति हो इस नयी दुनिया में उसके आगे बढ़ाने के लिए नया भारत बनाने के लिए, यह विचार है। ख़ैर, तब प्रथम पंचवर्षीय योजना हुई। दूसरी हुई, वो अब चल रही है, एक साल में उसका अंत होगा। और तीसरी का अभी से विचार हो रहा है, और उसी की अभी एक किताब निकली है समझाने के लिए कि सब लोग उसे पढ़ें, लिखें, उसकी टीका करें। और फिर एक छः महीने बाद, सात महीने

बाद हम सब उस पर विचार करके पक्का करेंगे उसे, और उस काम को करें।

तो यह पंचवर्षीय योजना क्या चीज़ है? यह कोई किताब नहीं है, ख़ाली एक फेहरिस्त नहीं है हम यहाँ पुल बनायेंगे, यहाँ अस्पताल बनायेंगे, यहाँ स्कूल बनायेंगे, यहाँ कारख़ाना बनायेंगे। वो सब तो हमें करना है। लेकिन असल में वो तो एक पर्दा उठाकर देखना है कि यह भारत के चालीस करोड़ पुरुष, स्त्री और बच्चे किधर जायेंगे? वो भारत की भविष्य की कहानी हो जाती है। कहाँ हम जा रहे हैं, किस तरह से हम नया भारत बना रहे हैं? और अगर इस तरह से आप देखें तब आप उसको समझेंगे। ख़ाली देखना कि कहाँ कोई लोहे का कारख़ाना बनेगा, कहाँ कोई तेल की रिफाइनरी बनेगी, उससे तो काम नहीं चलता, वो तो जहाँ बन सकेगा, बनेगा। और जैसे हम चाहते हैं कि सारे देश में हर जगह बराबर फैले और विशेषकर जो हमारे देश के हिस्से कुछ पिछड़े हैं वहाँ अधिक फैले। तो इस ढँग से आप ज़रा आजकल के भारत को देखें।

उसके भी पहले कुछ आजकल की दुनिया को और संसार को देखें, सामने रखें उसे, कैसी दुनिया है आजकल, जबकि लोग कहते हैं कि थोड़े दिन में वो चाँद, चँद्रमा, पर पहुँच जायेंगे या और हमारे

तारे हैं वहाँ तक वो पहुँच जायेंगे, किसी रॉकेट से। अजीब बात है यह कि नहीं? इतनी शक्ति आ गयी है जहाँ कि पता नहीं। इत्तफ़ाक़ से कोई बड़ी लड़ाई हो जाये तो सारी दुनिया भस्म हो जाये, या जहाँ अगर यह नयी शक्तियों को भले कामों में लगाया जाये, तो सारी दुनिया की उन्नति इतनी हो, कि कोई दुःख कहीं न रहे, अजीब दुनिया है। मैंने भी इस नयी दुनिया को बहुत बरसों से, जब में स्कूल में पढ़ता था, उस समय से देख रहा हूँ। और इस पचास-साठ वर्षों में कितना अंतर हो गया, हमारे देश में कितना हो गया, दुनिया में क्या हुआ। यह सब चीज़ें जिसके आप आदी हैं आजकल, आप के घरों में रेडियो लगा है मेरे बचपन में तो रेडियो कहीं नहीं था। रेडियो. वायरलेस, हवाई जहाज़ यह सब नयी चीज़ें हैं और हज़ार चीज़ें और जिसको आप जानते भी नहीं हैं वो नयी चीज़ें हैं। आप उसके आदी हो गये। मामूली बात है रेडियो चलाया दिल्ली की आवाज आपको आयी और लंदन की। मेरे बचपन में तो कहीं नहीं थी। यह अभी पच्चीस, तीस बरस की बात है। हवाई जहाज हैं, और कहाँ यह जो मैंने आपसे कहा, रूसी लोगों ने रॉकेट भेजा है जो चाँद में जाकर पड़ा. और कहते हैं दो बरस में हम आदमी भेजेंगे वहाँ। तो अब देखें न, दुनिया बदल गयी और बड़ी तेजी से बदलती जाती है। जब मेरे जीवन में इतनी बदली तो आप आप लोग जो आजकल नौजवान हैं, आपकी उम्र बीस. पच्चीस वर्ष की है, जब आप मेरी उम्र के होंगे सत्तर बरस के, तो समझो दुनिया कहाँ की कहाँ पहुँच गयी होगी। इसको आप विचार में रखें, कि आप और हम आजकल एक क्रान्तिकारी, इंकुलाबी दुनिया में रहते हैं। क्रान्तिकारी माने लड़ाई झगड़े के नहीं हैं। क्रान्तिकारी जिसमें समाज और दुनिया बदलती जाती है, नयी-नयी शक्तियाँ निकलती हैं, नयी-नयी बातें होती हैं। तो ऐसे मौक़े पर हमको कुछ समझना है इस दुनिया में। हम अलग-अलग पड़े रहें, फ़र्ज़ करो हमारे भाई ये तिब्बत के लोग दुनिया से अलग कटे रहे, बिल्कुल अलग कटे रहे, पड़े रहे, उनमें बहुत सारे गुण थे और गुण हैं, लेकिन दुनिया से अलग रहे, दुर्बल हो गये, कुछ कर नहीं सकते थे, और किसी का सामना नहीं कर सकते थे। क्योंकि दुर्बल आदमी के दुर्बल देश का आदर कहीं नहीं होता है। तो ख़ैर हमारा देश तो कोई ऐसा दुर्बल नहीं हे, और न अब दुनिया से इतना कटा है लेकिन फिर भी जरा भी ढील हमारी तरफ से हुई, तो हम अपने प्रश्नों को हल नहीं कर सकते। और देश आगे बढ जायेंगे।

एक दूसरे तरफ़ आप ध्यान अपना दें। पिछले वर्ष से और इस वर्ष में एक अजीब बात हो रही है अफ्रीका में। अफ्रीका के सारे हिस्से एक यूरोप के बड़े-बड़े देशों के अधीन थे और अब तक कुछ हैं और बड़ा ज़ुल्म अफ्रीका में हुआ पिछले दो, तीन सौ बरस से। वहाँ के लोग गुलाम और दास बनाकर अमेरिका गये, अंग्रेज़ों के यहाँ गये, और यह दासता फैली। तो इस अफ्रीका में जो कि बिल्कुल गिरे हुए देश थे अफ्रीका के, एकदम से वहाँ एक क्रान्तिकारी बातें हो रही हैं, और रोज़ प्रतिदिन अख़बार पढ़ें तो नये स्वतंत्र देश निकल रहे हैं। बड़ी भारी बातें हैं, ऐतिहासिक बात है। तो यह उलट पुलट सारी दुनिया में हो रहा है। और क्रान्तिकारी ज़माना है। तो ज़रा हमें अपने दिमाग को भी, मन को इससे मिलाना है और इसको समझना है। और पुरानी बातें और पुराने नारे वो नहीं चलते, इस दुनिया में, उसके माने नहीं है। और हम समझें कि हम गुलशोर मचा के कुछ कर लेंगे, ठीक नहीं है, हम पिछड़ जायेंगे। इसलिए मैं चाहता हूँ आप इस बात को समझ लें। मैं आया आपसे आसाम की बात करने। लेकिन मैं चाहता हूँ कि आप इन बड़ी बातों को समझें। अगर आप इन बड़ी बातों को नहीं समझते, तो कैसे आप आसाम की और भारत की बातें समझेंगे। पहली बात कि दुनिया एक बड़ी क्रान्तिकारी हालत में है, बदलती है रोज़, समाज बदलती जाती है, हमारा बात कि दुनिया एक बड़ी क्रान्तिकारी हालत में है, बदलती है रोज़, समाज बदलती जाती है, हमारा

समाज बदल रही है, बदलेगी।

हमारे यहाँ इस समय पिछले दस वर्ष में बहुत अधिक स्कूल-कॉलेज हो गये सारे देश में। बहुत सारे इंस्टीट्यूट हो गये टेक्निकल। करोड़ों लोग पढ़ रहे हैं इस वक़्त, और बढ़ते जाते हैं। हमारा अंदाज़ है कि छः बरस के अंदर कोई बच्चा भारत में नहीं होगा छः, सात बरस की उम्र से ग्यारह तक, जो स्कूल में न हो। एक-एक होगा और ग्यारह के बाद भी होंगे। लेकिन ग्यारह तक तो अवश्य होंगे लड़का-लड़की। अब भी आपको मालूम है कि हमारे देश में स्कूल-कॉलेज में, मेरा विचार है, कि कोई सवा चार करोड़ बच्चे पढ़ रहे हैं लड़के, लड़िकयाँ। सवा चार करोड़ एक बड़ी गिनती है और हर साल बढ़ती जाती है। अक्सर कहा जाता है कि पढ़ाई हमारे यहाँ अच्छी नहीं होती और बात ठीक भी है, उसको हमें ध्यान देना है, अच्छा करना है। लेकिन इतने सारे बच्चों का ख़ाली नगरों में नहीं, ग्रामों में भी स्कूल जाना ही एक क्रांति की बात है। नयी समाज पैदा हो रही है। ये बच्चे जो आजकल स्कूल जाते हैं वे बड़े होकर नये लोग होंगे, और नयी समाज बनेगी। तो एक तो यह बात—दुनिया में क्रांति, हमारे देश में क्रान्ति, पंचवर्षीय वग़ैरह, यह सब हो रहा है। बड़े-बड़े कारखाने बन रहे हैं, देश में नयी चीज़ें बन रही हैं यह सब बातें हैं एक तरफ़ ये।

दूसरी तरफ़ से ख़तरे, एक तो सारी दुनिया को ख़तरा जो आजकल का, जो बड़े-बड़े युद्ध की बातें होती हैं, तैयारी हैं, एटम बम हैं। दूसरे, अब आपसे छिपाना तो है नहीं, अब हमारी सीमा पर भी नये खुतरें हैं उसका हमें प्रबंध करना। सारे इन पहाड़ों में हम सड़कें बना रहे हैं और बड़ा ख़र्चा हो रहा है, इन पहाड़ी सड़कों में। कुछ हमारी फ़ौज भी इधर उधर फैली हुई है, जो पहले नहीं थी। यह सब नक्शा रखिए तो फिर देखिए कि आपका उसमें कर्तव्य क्या है। इस बड़े नक्शे में आप कहाँ आते हैं या नहीं आते? आना है आपको, हमको, हमें सभों को आना है। हम कोई अपने देश की इस कहानी से अलग तो नहीं हो सकते। विशेषकर जो हमारे नौजवान हैं उनको सोचना है क्योंकि उनके सामने पुराना डिसिप्लिन नहीं है। मेरी उम्र में बीस, पच्चीस बरस मेरी उम्र गुजरी डिसिप्लिन में, मैं फौज में तो नहीं था। लेकिन गांधी की फ़ौज में बड़ा डिसिप्लिन था, ज़बर्दस्त। आजकल डिसिप्लिन मैं नहीं देखता। याद रखें आप, कि कोई देश में लोग, कोई देश, कोई समाज बग़ैर डिसिप्लिन के चल नहीं सकता, ढीला हो जाता है। डिसिप्लिन, नियम से रहना दो तरह से होता है, एक तो ज़बर्दस्ती से कोई डिसिप्लिन कराये आपसे, एक आप स्वयं करें। लेकिन बग़ैर नियम के, बग़ैर डिसिप्लिन के समाज के टुकड़े टुकड़े हो जाते हैं, कमज़ोर होता है, उतना ही फरक है आप जानते हैं। एक भीड़ है, सौ आदमी की भीड़ है, वही सौ आदमी अगर फ़ौजी सिपाही हों, तो उनकी शक्ति हो जाती है, क्योंकि वो डिसिप्लिन्ड सिपाही हैं, वो मिलकर काम करते हैं, और भीड़ इधर उधर जाती है तोड़-फोड़ कर सकती है, कुछ बहुत कर नहीं सकती। लोग वही हैं। हमारी फ़ौज में कौन लोग हैं? हमारे किसान हैं, हमारी ज़मीन, ग्रामों के लोग हैं अधिकतर। विचारे सीधे-साधे आदमी हैं, ग्रामों के आदमी सीधे, लेकिन फौज में जाते हैं, डिसिप्लिन में आते हैं, वो एक हिन्दुस्तान के सिपाही हो जाते हैं, जिसको दुनिया जानती है कि बहुत अच्दा सिपाही होता है, शानदार सिपाही, दूसरी तरह का आदमी हो जाता है। कैसे? डिसिप्लिन से हो जाता है, सीखता भी है बातें वो। तो डिसिप्लिन के बगैर कोई समाज नहीं चल सकती। फरक है। अब डिसिप्लिन जैसे मैंने आपसे कहा दो तरह से होते हैं। एक तो अपना डिसिप्लिन जो हम खुद रखें, सेल्फ डिसिप्लिन जिसे कहते हैं। एक ज़बर्दस्ती ठूँसा हुआ डिसिप्लिन। जब कोई एक देश अधीन होता है एक दूसरे देशों के तो उसके ऊपर एक तरह का डिसिप्लिन ठूँसा जाता है, जो उस पर राज्य करता है वो ठूँसता है डिसिप्लिन, वो अच्छा नहीं होता, उससे कोई देश बढ़ता नहीं है ज़बर्दस्ती। इसलिए स्वतंत्रता की ज़रूरत होती है। स्वतंत्रता जभी ठीक चल सकती है जब सेल्फ डिसिप्लिन हो। बाहर का डिसिप्लिन निकला, तो अपना डिसिप्लिन भी हो। अपना डिसिप्लिन भी न हो और कोई नियम नहीं हो, डिसिप्लिन, तो समाज ढीली हो जाती है, टुकड़े हो जाते हैं।

तो हम लोगों ने उस ज़माने में अंग्रेज़ी राज्य से जब हमारी लड़ाई होती थी, तो गांधीजी ने ज़बर्दस्त यह सेल्फ डिसिप्लिन हमें सिखाया। बहुत सख़्त था वो, अंग्रेज़ी राज्य के डिसिप्लिन से बहुत अधिक था वो, मैं आपसे कहता हूँ। लेकिन हमारा स्वीकार किया हुआ था कोई ज़बर्दस्ती तो थी नहीं, हमने स्वीकार किया, किया, मानते थे, हम अपने ढँग के सिपाही हुए। और इस सारे ज़माने में दस, बीस, तीस वर्ष में हल्के-हल्के हम लोग ढले, मोल्ड हुए, जैसे आप किसी चीज़ को बनाते हैं न, मोल्ड करते हैं, नरम चीज़ को आप उसको शक्ल देते हैं अपने हाथ से दबाकर। हम मोल्ड हुए। बने, ढले इस बीस, तीस, चालीस बरस के अभ्यास से, उसमें जेल जाना, उसमें लाठी खाना, उसमें परिवार का टूट जाना, उसमें हज़ारों बातें हुई, जो कि बड़ी कठिन होती हैं। गोली खा लेना फिर भी एक हिम्मत का काम है, मर गये, लेकिन प्रतिदिन एक काम करना, प्रतिदिन, प्रति सप्ताह, प्रति साल करते जाना, ज़्यादा कठिन बात है। हर समय आप इस नियम से उस काम को करते जाते हैं। कभी-कभी उदासीनता आये, कभी-कभी घबराहट आये, कभी-कभी दिल टूटे, कभी-कभी थोड़ा सा अविश्वास भी आये। लेकिन फिर भी जिस रास्ते को निश्चय किया है उसपे चलना है। इस तरह से कृमें मज़बूत होती हैं।

इस तरह से गांधीजों ने भारत की जनता को ढाला, ख़ाली कुछ पढ़े-लिखे लोग नहीं, भारत के किसान को, कृषक को इस तरह से उन्होंने ढालकर उसको मज़बूत बनाया और इस तरह से स्वराज हम लोगों ने लिया। क्योंकि उन्होंने, देखिये आप, जो भारत की कमज़ोर बातें थीं उसी को पकड़ा। उन्होंने देखा भारत की एक कमज़ोरी है यह एकता का न होना, उस पर उन्होंने ज़ोर दिया। भारत की कमज़ोरी है डिसिप्लिन नहीं होना, उन्होंने उस पर ज़ोर दिया। भारत की कमज़ोरी है यह अस्पृश्यता, हरिजन वग़ैरह ऊँच-नीच यह, उन्होंने हरिजन का प्रश्न उठाया। आप देखें किस तरह से उन्होंने जो जो हमें दुर्बल करती थी बातें, उसको उन्होंने पकड़ा और एक हमें मज़बूत डिसिप्लिन्ड क़ौम बनाया। यह मैं आपको याद दिलाता हूँ क्योंकि जो लोग गांधीजी के ज़माने के थे, वो अब बुढ्ढे हो गये हैं और होते जाते हैं और थोड़े दिन के इस दुनिया में मेहमान हैं, तो ज़िम्मेदारी औरों पर आ रही है। आप लोग जो आजकल के नौजवान हैं उन पर यह बड़ी ज़िम्मेदारियाँ आ रही हैं। और अगर आपने अपने को नहीं ढाला उसी डिसिप्लिन में नहीं रखा, नहीं बनाया सेल्फ डिसिप्लिन में, तो फिर कैसे आप भारत का बोझा उठायेंगे? यह आप विचार करें। ये सवाल हैं।

जब मैं दो महीने पहले आया था, तो मैंने आपको बताया था कि आसाम में क्या क्या बातें हैं जो आसाम को बढ़ायेंगी। कई बातें हो रही थीं, ब्रह्मपुत्र पर पुल बना, बड़ा भारी पुल। इधर यहाँ तेल की नहीं बल्कि बहुत सारे उद्योग धंधे, कारख़ाने खुले, ख़ाली रिफाइनरी नहीं। लेकिन जहाँ तेल निकलता है वहाँ पचासों और नये काम निकलते हैं, वो जगह जाग उठती है। और भी बहुत सारी बातें यहाँ हों। तो मैंने अब बताया कि आसाम जो कि अंग्रेज़ी ज़माने में किसी कदर एक सीमा का प्रान्त था जिसकी तरफ़ अंग्रेज़ी राज्य का ध्यान नहीं जाता था। क्योंकि उनको एक सीमा की फ़िकर नहीं थी। लेकिन अब दुनिया बदल गयी है। एक तो स्वतंत्र भारत हुआ, तो हमें अपने सब प्रदेशों की फ़िकर है और दूसरे यह सीमा भी हमारी ज़बर्दस्त सीमा हो गयी हम इससे कोई आँख

बंद नहीं कर सकते, ख़ास प्रबंध हो रहा है, इसकी रक्षा करने का। और आपको समझना चाहिए हमारी फ़ौजें हैं, सड़कें बन रही हैं, क्या क्या पुल बन रहे हैं। हमने आसाम के आगे वो है नेफा, फ्रन्टियर एजेन्सी, उसको भी जगा दिया है, उठ रही है वो। इन सब बातों ने आसाम की जगह भारत में बदल दी है और भारत का एक विशेष अंग हो गया है, ख़ाली एक कोना नहीं रहा, विशेष अंग हो गया है, जिसकी मबूज़ती में, जिसकी उन्नित में और तरक्की से सारे भारत के लोगों की दिलचस्पी है। क्योंकि भारत का एक बड़ा दरवाज़ा हो गया। तो आप विचार करें, एक तरफ़ से तो वह और दूसरे तरफ़ से तेल इत्यादि जो निकला है इसने एक नया रास्ता खोला है आसाम की उन्नित का, लेकिन इन सब बातों से उन्नित होती है सीखे हुए आदिमयों से, अपने आपसे नहीं होती। सीखे हुए, क्योंकि आजकल के काम जो हैं उसमें ट्रेंड परसन की ज़रूरत है। जो भी काम हो, चाहे वो बढ़ई का काम हो, चाहे इंजीनियर का हो, अच्छा बढ़ई सीख हुआ हो तो होता है ख़ाली एक हथौड़ी लेकर या आरी लेकर बढ़ई नहीं हो जाता। वह सीखता है काम बरसों, तब अच्छा बढ़ई होता है, या लोहार होता है या कुछ हो। तो हमें सीखे हुए आदिमी वैज्ञानिक लोग, टेक्नीशियन्स, एक्सपर्ट्स चाहिए, यही हम सिखा रहे हैं। और यहाँ आसाम में विशेषतौर से ध्यान होना चाहिए।

आप लोगों को शिकायत है मैंने सुना है कि बाहर से लोग आकर यहाँ नौकर रख लिए जाते हैं अफ़सर बनते हैं। अब सवाल यह है कि अगर कोई हमें यहाँ काम करना है, जिसमें विशेषतौर से सीखना पड़ता है, तब आप चाहते हैं कि वो काम अच्छा हो, या बुरा हो या न हो। अब फ़र्ज़ करों यह ब्रह्मपुत्र का पुल बन रहा है। बड़ा किठन काम है, इसमें हमने भारत के जो ऊँचे दर्जे के इंजीनियर थे उनको भेजा। हमने यह तो नहीं देखा कि जो इंजीनियर यहाँ आये हैं, वो पंजाब के हैं या उत्तर प्रदेश के, कि मद्रास के, कहाँ के, हमने तो नहीं देखा कि आसाम के हैं, कहीं के हों। वो काम इतना किठन है कि अच्छे से अच्छे भारत के इंजीनियर आयें तो बने। अच्छा हो कि उसमें आसाम के इंजीनियर भी अधिक हों, वहाँ हों। आसाम के इंजीनियर जा के उत्तर प्रदेश में काम करें, जो भी कुछ हों, हों। लेकिन बात देखने की यह है कि अच्छे से अच्छा इंजीनियर हो, नहीं तो पुल नहीं बनेगा, या पुल कमज़ोर बने, ख़राबी हो जाये। भयानक बात है न? हम बदनाम हो जायें, हानि हो इस तरह से।

एक यह नयी बात आप के यहाँ हो रही है, यह रिफायनरी बन रही है, काफी कठिन बात है। मैंने सुना कि नाराज़गी हुई कि वहाँ जो रिफायनरी का जनरल मैनेजर है, वो आसामी नहीं है। अब आप ज़रा सोचें कि इस ढँग से अगर आप इन बातों को देखें तो फिर आपके यहाँ प्रदेश में काम कैसे बढ़ेगा? मैं तो चाहता हूँ और आपका चाहना भी ठीक है, कि अधिक से अधिक आसामी लोग तैयार हों, ट्रेण्ड किये जायें, सीख जायें, काम उनको ज़िम्मेदारी के मिलें। ठीक है, लेकिन यह कोई मुझसे कहे कि एक बड़े काम में ऐसे आदमी रखे जायें जो आसामी हों और चाहे वो इसके लायक हो या न हों, यह बात तो मैं स्वीकार करने को नहीं तैयार हूँ। क्योंकि उससे काम नहीं होता। हाँ, हम नहीं चाहते कि अमेरिका और रूस से इंजीनियर को लायें यहाँ। लेकिन जब आवश्यकता होती है—इस समय हमारे यहाँ, मैं नहीं जानता, लेकिन मेरा विचार है कई हज़ार अमरीका, जर्मनी और रूस के इंजीनियर हमारे यहाँ काम कर रहे हैं। बुलाये। क्यों बुलाया? उनसे बहुत प्रेम नहीं था। इसलिए कि हमें अच्छा काम कराना था, हम उनसे सीखना चाहते हैं, और सीखकर हल्के हल्के हमारे लोग अधिकतर करेंगे जैसे कर रहे हैं। इसलिए कि इस काम से हमारा काम बढ़ता जाता है। एक काम में हम उन्हें लगाते हैं उसके बाद दस काम और होते हैं। उसमें हमारे इंजीनियर होते

हैं। तो इस निगाह से आपको देखना है कि हर काम में कोई आसाम के बाहर वाला न हो आदमी इससे तो आप आसाम का बढ़ना रोक देंगे। अलावा इसके मैं आसाम की तरक्की चाहता हूँ ज़ाहिर है। और ज़ाहिर है इसलिए कि मैं हर, हमारे देश के हर भाग की चाहता हूँ, क्योंकि कोई भाग पिछड़ जाता है तो देश पीछे खींच लेता है, ठीक नहीं। तो मैं तो चाहता हूँ। लेकिन यह विचार भी बड़ा गलत है बहुत ज्यादा है कि हरेक सोचे और अपने को भारत से अलग समझे। तो यह ख़तरनाक भयानक विचार है। फिर जो भारत महाशक्ति है उसकी, उससे आप लाभ नहीं उठाते, उसकी विद्या से, उसकी ट्रेनिंग से, वो नहीं आपको कम से कम मिलने लगती है। क्योंकि अगर आप दीवारें खड़ी करें, तो दीवार में आप कैदी हो जाते हैं। भारत तो बड़ा देश है, भारत तो कैदी नहीं होता, लेकिन आप अपनी बनाई हुई दीवार में कैद पड़ जाते हैं, और आपकी उन्नति में किठनाई हो जाती है। इसलिए मुझे दुःख हुआ और आश्चर्य हुआ कि जब मैंने सुना कि वो हमारे रिफायनरी के जनरल मैनेजर बने हैं, उनको जाकर लोगों ने मारा पीटा इसलिए कि वो आसामी नहीं है। और कोई बात होती मैं समझ सकता हूँ मारपीट करना। तो ख़ैर मैं कभी भी नहीं समझता, बुरी बात है। लेकिन यह बात क्योंकि इसके माने आप देखें कि फिर कोई बड़ा प्लांट, बड़ी मशीनरी यहाँ लगाना कठिन हो जाता है। क्योंकि वो कहते हैं कि साहब हम लगायें कैसे? वहाँ उसको चलाने वाले हमें नहीं मिलेंगे और कोई नहीं आ सकेंगे चलाने के लिए, और वहाँ झगड़ा-फसाद हो, तो हम कैसे लगायें जाकर? आप देखते नहीं कि आप कुछ बदनाम हो जाते हैं देश भर में, और लोग ज़रा झिझकने लगते हैं। चाहे वो प्राइवेट इंडस्ट्री हो, चाहे वह पब्लिक सेक्टर हो, झिझकने लगते हैं। यहाँ बड़ा काम करने के लिए कहें, साहब वहाँ झगडा-फसाद हो, क्यों हम जाकर फँसे उसमें? यह तो हानिकारक बात हो जाती है न?

लोग कहते हैं कि आपको यह डर है कि बाहर से बहुत लोग आयेंगे, तो छा जायेंगे यहाँ बाहर वाले आकर, और आपके बढ़ने में रुकावटें होंगी। और कुछ यह भी विचार करते हैं कि इतनी गिनती में आयें कि कुछ यहाँ की जनता की मर्दुमशुमारी गिनती में फरक हो जाये, यह तो गलत बात है। कोई सौ-पचास या दो सौ, चार सौ आदमी आकर दसै, बीसै, पचास लाख की गिनती में फरक नहीं होता और यह काम जो है, कोई काम हो, मैंने आपसे रिफाइनरी का काम का कहा, रिफाइनरी का काम ठीक चलने लगता है, तो इसके बाद यहाँ पचासों और रास्ते निकलते हैं काम के, उद्योग-धंधों के, कारख़ानों के, जहाँ कि बहुत ज़्यादा लोग यहाँ के, रोज़गार मिले, और रिफायनरी में। रिफाइनरी में सौ में नब्बे से ऊपर बयानवे आदमी आसामी लोग हैं। मैं इस बात को पसंद नहीं करता कि इस तरह से नाप तोल हो कितने आसामी कितने और लोग। हाँ, मैं चाहता हूँ नाप तोल एक हो कि हिन्दुस्तानी हो, जहाँ तक हो सके भारत के बाहर का न हो। आप नाप तोल करें भी यह ढँग जो है आपका उससे आप अपनी तरक्की पर कुल्हाड़ी मारते हैं। न ही आप तरक्की कर सकते। हमारे दुर्भाग्य से अंग्रेज़ी ज़माने से लेकर कुछ आसाम की उन्नति की तरफ़ ध्यान काफी नहीं दिया गया। काफी आपके यहाँ साइंस के टेक्निकल इंस्टीट्यूट वग़ैरह नहीं बने, बन रहे हैं, बढ़ रहे हैं। वो ठीक है, इधर ध्यान देना। लेकिन यह कहना कि यहाँ खाली आसामी हो सकते हैं, कोई बाहर का नहीं, आप जैसे मैंने कहा आप एक दीवार खड़ी करते हैं, जो हमारे विधान कांस्टीट्यूशन ऑफ इण्डिया के विरोध में है और जो कि आपको हानि पहुँचायेगी।

मैंने इसका आपसे इसलिए कहा कि भाषा के प्रश्न हैं और भाषा के प्रश्न मुझे जो ज़्यादा गम्भीर मालूम होता है वह यही है इम्पलायमेंट का, नौकरी-चाकरी का। वो ज़्यादा गम्भीर मालूम होता है। नौकरी-चाकरी सारे भारत में इस तरह से बहुत नहीं बढ़ेगी कि दो-चार आदिमयों को निकालकर हमने दो-चार नये रख लिए। वो बढ़ेगी जब हमारा देश ज़ोरों से इण्डस्ट्रलाइज़ हो, इंडस्ट्री फैलेगी, लाखों कारख़ाने बनें, एक-दो नहीं लाखों, छोटे, बड़े मध्यम, हर तरह के। इसलिए हमें इसकी बुनियाद डालनी है लोहे के कारखाने बना के, क्योंकि लोहे के कारखाने बनते हैं-हमने तीन नये बड़े कारखाने बनाये, हम और बना रहे हैं और बहुत रुपया उन में लगता है। सौ करोड़ से ऊपर लगते हैं, बड़ा बोझा बढ जाता है, लेकिन बनाते हैं। उसके बगैर चल नहीं सकते। और उसमें जैसे मैंने आपसे कहा जर्मन, अमरीकन, अंग्रेज़ सबको रखेंगे, हज़ारों रखे हुए हैं, और बड़ी तनख़्वाहों पर। और बड़ा दिल दुखता है इतनी लम्बी तनख़्वाहें दे के। लेकिन हमें काम सीखना है, क्या करें रखे हैं और हमारे लोग सीखते जाते हैं। लेकिन अब नये कारखाने बना रहे हैं लोहे के, उसको नये ढँग से अब बना रहे हैं, उसमें बाहर वाले नहीं हैं या बहुत कम होंगे। एक-एक कृदम बढ़ते जाते हैं न, बहुत बड़ा कारखाना हम बनायेंगे बोकारों में, लोहे का, उसमें हमारे ही लोग उसको बनायेंगे, अब जर्मनी और अमरीकन आकर नहीं बनायेंगे या रूसी लोग। हाँ उनसे कोई हम बात सीखने की कोशिश करें और बात है, एकाध आदमी को बुला लें। इस तरह से हमारी उन्नित होती है और उस लोहे के कारख़ाने से फिर जो लोहा निकलता है, और हमारे लोग और काम सीखते हैं, तो हज़ारों, लाखों छोटे मोटे कारखाने बनते हैं। उसमें फिर करोडों आदिमयों को जगह मिलती है। इसी तरह से भारत का मैंने आपसे कहा, आसाम का, कि हमें आपको हर चीज को पकड़ना चाहिए जो यहाँ चलती है। ख़ासकर ऐसी बड़ी चीज़ जैसे तेल का मामला है जिससे औलाद बहुत होगी, और चीज़ें होंगी। उसको पकड़ना है, क्योंकि उससे फिर और होंगी। अगर उसके बढ़ने में आप रुकावटें डालें, इस बात पर कि कौन नौकर हो, कौन न हो employed, तो न आप उसको बढ़ने देंगे, न आप बढ़ेंगे, न कोई और काम बढेगा यहाँ। यह आपको सोचना है।

आप लोग नौजवान हैं, बीस, बाइस, पच्चीस बरस की आपकी उम्र है और वो उम्र अच्छी होती है, उत्साह होता है, जोश होता है, सारा आपका जीवन सामने पड़ा है। और आपने, मैं आशा करता हूँ कि आप लोग सोचते हैं कि आप बड़े काम करेंगे, ऊँचे पहाड़ उठायेंगे क्या क्या, ख़ाली आप छोटी बातों में नहीं पड़ जायेंगे कि हम भी एक डिप्टी कलेक्टर हो गये और तहसीलदार हो गये। होते हैं लोग, बड़े भले आदमी होते हैं। डिप्टी कलेक्टर के ख़िलाफ़ मैं कुछ नहीं कहना चाहता। लेकिन मैं चाहता हूँ नौजवान की हिम्मत हो एक पहाड़ उठाने की, दुनिया में बड़ा आदमी होने की, न कि यह फुटकर एक दफ्तर में मेज़ पर कान में कलम रखकर बैठ गये। तो ऐसी बड़ी आपकी उम्मीदें हों, आशायें हों, एम्बीशन्स हों। तो अच्छा है एम्बीशन होना। हो तो बड़ी बातों का एम्बीशन हो, छोटी बातों की तो नहीं। तो उसके लिए बुनियाद डालनी है, बुनियाद डालनी है अपने को ट्रेण्ड करने, कुछ काम के लिए। क्योंकि ख़ाली ट्रेण्ड आदमी, सीखे हुए आदमी बड़े काम कर सकते हैं। इन बातों को आप आप समझ लें। यह हो सकता है स्कूल की आपकी स्कूल की डिबेटिंग सोसाइटी में कोई आदमी व्याख्यान, तक़रीर अच्छी दे सकते हैं, वो उसमें प्रसिद्ध हो गया। लेकिन दुनिया में डिबेटिंग सोसाइटी से ज़्यादा अधिक काम करने पड़ते हैं, ज़्यादा किन काम हैं। तो उसको सीखना है। अगर आप में दम है तो बढ़ेंगे, नहीं दम है तो नहीं बढ़ेंगे। कोई जादू से नहीं कोई कौम बढ़ती है। परिश्रम से और लियाकृत से बढ़ती है, काबिलयत से। तो यह हुआ।

अब मैं भाषा के सवाल का कहूँ। आप जानते हैं कि हमारे विधान में कॉन्स्टीट्यूशन ऑफ इण्डिया में एक भाषाओं की फेहरिस्त है, जो सब राष्ट्रीय भाषाएँ मानी गयी हैं। सब देश की भाषाएँ हैं, उसमें आसामी भाषा भी है ही। वो सब हमारे देश की राष्ट्रीय भाषाएँ हैं। हाँ, हाँ, हिन्दी के निस्वत यह कहा गया है कि हिन्दी को हम अंग्रेज़ी की जगह हल्के-हल्के सारे देश के काम के लिए भाषा बनानी है। यानी अपना-अपना प्रदेश तो ख़ैर अपनी भाषा में काम करें, लेकिन जो अंतर्प्रान्तीय भाषा हो, वहाँ हिन्दी चले। उसमें भी हमने बहुत तेजी नहीं की। हमने अंग्रेज़ी को भी जगह दे दी कि अंग्रेज़ी रहे, क्योंकि हमारे सामने प्रथम हम इसको आवश्यक समझते हैं भाषाओं की तरक्की। लेकिन उससे ज़्यादा आवेश्यक हम समझते हैं कि भारत रूक नहीं जाये इस वक्त कहीं, जब दुनिया बढ़ रही है। भारत की हमारी पढ़ाई-लिखाई में रुकावट नहीं हो जाये। हमारे साइंस के सीखने में रुकावट न हो, इसलिए हमने अंग्रेज़ी रखी, हालाँकि हमारी इच्छा है कि हमारी प्रादेशिक भाषाएँ ज़ोरों से तरक्की करें। हम पूरी कोशिश करेंगे सब भाषाओं की।

मैं जो हमारे देश की हमारी सब भाषाओं का एक एकाडेमी है, उसका नाम है साहित्य एकाडेमी—उसका मैं अध्यक्ष हूँ। मुझे यह इज़्ज़त दी गयी—और उसमें सब भाषाएँ हैं, जितनी हमारे देश की और ज़ाहिर है आसामी भाषा। तो मेरे सामने बातें आती हैं। कहते हैं सब भाषाएँ बढ़ें, आसामी भाषा बढ़े वग़ैरह, सब बातें आती रहती हैं। और मैं देखता हूँ कि कैसे भाषाएँ बढ़ रही हैं, और अच्छी तरक्की कर रही हैं सब भाषाएँ। और मुझे विश्वास है कि दस-वीस वर्ष के अंदर ये सब भाषाएँ जितनी हमारी देश की हैं बड़े ऊँचे दर्जे की हो जायेंगी, आसामी भाषा। लेकिन एक बात से भाषा बढ़ती नहीं, लाठी के ज़ोर से भाषा नहीं बढ़ती, न कोई कानून से बढ़ती है। कानून से सहायता उसे मिलती है, माना मैंने। भाषाएँ होती हैं जो कि बहुत एक नाज़ुक पौधा जिसको आप अपने बाग में लगायें, उस पौधे को फूल के, वो लगायें, अब उसकी आप सेवा करें, उसको आप पानी दें, या आपका जी चाहे दूध दें उसे, वो बढ़ता है। हल्के हल्के बढ़ता है, फलै, फूल उसमें निकलते हैं। भाषाएँ ऐसे बढ़ती हैं। अब भाषा को बढ़ाने की कोशिश में, उस पौधे को पकड़कर घसीटिये कि जल्दी बढ़े, उसकी जड़ उखड़ आयेगी। वो ख़राब हो जाये, इसलिए कि नाज़ुक चीज़ है। और यह ऊपर के गुलशोर से भाषा नहीं बढ़ती। मैं देखता हूँ यह समझा जाता है कि भाषा बस गुलशोर मचाने से और इधर उधर हाथ पैर फेंकने से, लाठी चलाने से भाषा बढ़ जाती है।

मेरे ही प्रदेश में, उत्तर प्रदेश में, बड़ी एक पच्चीस, तीस बरस तक बिल्क क़रीब चालीस बरस तक बहुत हानि हुई, इसलिए कि वहाँ बहस हो गयी, उर्दू और हिन्दी में, बड़ी लड़ाई। यह अंग्रेज़ी ज़माने में थी बड़ी लड़ाई। अब हिन्दी अपनी उन्नित करे, बड़ी ख़ुशी की बात है। उर्दू अपनी करे बड़ी ख़ुशी की बात है। लड़ाई की कौन बात है मेरी समझ में नहीं आता। लेकिन बजाय अपनी उन्नित करने के वो एक दूसरे को गिराने की कोशिश, एक दूसरे से लड़ें और दोनों की उसमें बहुत काफी हानि हो गयी। यह तरीका नहीं है। मैं चाहता हूँ, मैं समझता हूँ उर्दू भाषा एक हमारी वो भी राष्ट्र भाषा है, और वो भी आवश्यक है, जान देती है। देश में हिन्दी है और उर्दू में दोनों की उन्नित हो। तो इस ढँग से आप इस प्रश्न को देखें यहाँ की आसामी भाषा के। मैं आपसे बिल्कुल सहमत हूँ, दो-तीन बातों में। एक तो आसामी भाषा की पूरी उन्नित होनी चाहिए, मज़बूती से। दूसरे, आसामी भाषा, जैसे कि और भाषाएँ, हमारे पढ़ाई-लिखाई का मीडियम होनी चाहिए। मैं नहीं जानता कब कहाँ हो, यह तो हमारे जो एजूकेशनिस्ट हैं वो निश्चय करें। लेकिन लक्ष्य यह है कि अपनी भाषा में पढ़ाई-लिखाई हो, उसकी होना चाहिए और हल्के हल्के हमारे और काम भी इस भाषा में हों, अपनी भाषा में। उसकी वजह क्या? उसकी असल वजह यह है कि हम चाहते हैं कि आम जनता जो है वो समझ सके हमारे सब काम को। हम अंग्रेज़ी में करते हैं, हम सब आदी हो गये अंग्रेज़ी

में करने के, मैं भी आदी हूँ। लेकिन अंग्रेज़ी में करने से एक दीवार हो जाती है हममें और आम जनता में, हमारे में, वो नहीं हो।

अब हमारे यहाँ लोक सभा में हमारे सामने एक बड़ी कठिनाई है। कठिनाई यह है कि लोक सभा में अधिकतर लोग तो हिन्दी समझते हैं, लेकिन कुछ लोग हिन्दी नहीं समझते हैं। दिक्खन के हैं अधिकतर नहीं समझते हैं। अब मैं अगर जबर्दस्ती करूँ कि हिन्दी राष्ट्रभाषा है, हिन्दी में बोलूँगा, बोल सकता हूँ, कभी कभी बोलता हूँ मैं। लेकिन मैं वो जो हमारे दिक्खन के भाई वहाँ बैठे हैं, उनके कान तक मेरी आवाज़ नहीं पहुँचती, वो समझते ही नहीं मैंने क्या कहा? और वो कुछ क्रोधित हो जाते हैं कि हमारी फिकर नहीं है इनको। तो मुझे उनका ध्यान देना है। क्योंकि मुझे उनको अपनी तरफ खेंचना है। उनके यहाँ इस समय आप मद्रास में जाइए, तो बड़े ज़ोरों से हिन्दी सिखायी जा रही है सब स्कूल में, हर जगह और मद्रास के लोग बड़े चतुर होते हैं, बड़े तेज दिमाग होते हैं। और मैं आपसे कहता हूँ दस बरस में वो हमसे अच्छी हिन्दी बोलेंगे। इसमें कोई संदेह नहीं है। तो मैं हमारे कुछ हिन्दी भाषा वाले झगड़ा किया करते-ओह यह करो ज़बर्दस्ती करो, हिन्दी राष्ट्रभाषा है, यह है और वो है। मैं उनको हमेशा समझाता हूँ कि आप हिन्दी की सेवा नहीं कर रहे हैं इस तरह से। आप हिन्दी में और रुकावट डाल रहे हैं। मैं नहीं चाहता हूँ कि हिन्दी ज़बर्दस्ती किसी को सिखायी जाये। हाँ मैं चाहता हूँ कि कम्पलसरी सब्जेक्ट जहाँ जहाँ उचित समझें लोग करें। लेकिन मैं नहीं चाहता। फर्ज कीजिए कि मद्रास में मैं जबर्दस्ती करूँ। मैं चाहता हूँ कि उसकी मनाकर खुश करके करूँ। जब वो गाड़ी ठीक चलेगी। जहाँ मैंने ज़बर्दस्ती की वो रूठ जाते हैं ऐंठ जाते हैं। और आजकल भी कुछ लोग हैं वहाँ जो आप जानते हैं एक हिन्दी का बड़ा विरोध करते हैं। और अजीब-अजीब बातें करते हैं।

तो इस ढँग से हम भाषा के मामले में सारे भारत में चल रहे हैं। सारी हमारी कोशिश है कि प्रादेशिक भाषाएँ बढ़ें, हर तरह से हम उनकी तरक्की करें, और आपके प्रदेश की गवर्नमेंट का तो काम है ही करना, करें। लेकिन इस ढँग से करें कि उनकी शक्ति ताकृत बढ़े और इस ढँग से कि वो समझौते से बढ़ें, लड़ाई की जड़ न हो जायें। क्योंकि जहाँ एक भाषा एक लड़ाई की जड़ हो जाती है इससे उसको हानि होती है। जैसे मैंने आपसे कहा भाषा तो एक बहुत नाज़ुक फूल है, जिसको बढ़ना चाहिए, जैसे कमल खुलता है। तब वो भाषा होती है। भाषा उससे कहीं ज़्यादा ऊँची चीज़ है। इस तरह से हमको भाषा को बढ़ाना है। और जहाँ उसमें भाषा को हमने किसी लड़ाई से जोड़ दिया या किसी ज़बर्दस्ती से जोड़ा, तो भाषा का बढ़ना रूकने लगता है, उसका सौन्दर्य निकलने लगता है। इसलिए जो आपके सामने सवाल है वह इसी ढँग का सवाल है जैसे हमारे सामने हिन्दी का सवाल है सारे भारत के लिए। यानी आप चाहते हैं कि यह आसामी भाषा बढ़े, तरक्की हो, स्वीकार हो सभों में पक़्क़े तौर से, आपके राज्य की, स्टेट की भाषा हो, बड़ी खुशी की बात है। लेकिन जहाँ आपने लाठी के ज़ोर से उसको करने की कोशिश की, तब एक उसमें कमी हो गयी और जो लोग खुशी से उसको स्वीकार करते, वो ऐंठने लगें, आप हमसे ज़बर्दस्ती किया चाहते हैं, हम नहीं करेंगे। यह बात जहाँ आई तो आप भाषा को हानि पहुँचाने लगते हैं। और भाषा को ख़ाली नहीं, बल्कि आपका जो सामाजिक और राजनीतिक संगठन है उसमें चोट लगने लगती है।

आपका क्या यहाँ का संगठन है? यह ब्रह्मपुत्र की वैली है, पहाड़ी इलाक़े हैं जहाँ कि बहुत सारे हमारे ट्राइबल भाई-बहिन रहते हैं, कचार है जहाँ कि अधिकतर बंगाली बोलने वाले रहते हैं, और भी इलाक़े हैं जिसमें सब मिलकर यह सुंदर प्रान्त आसाम की होती है। अब आप देखें हल्के हल्के

जो पहाड़ी इलाके हैं इसमें आसामी भाषा फैलती जाती है, मैंने देखा, क्योंकि उनकी अलग-अलग भाषाएँ हैं, कोई एक नहीं थी। तो आसामी भाषा पहाडी इलाके में फैल रही थी एक तरह से जिसको कहते हैं वो होती जाती थी। अच्छी बात थी। लेकिन जहाँ पहाडी इलाको से कहा गया कि तुम्हें अवश्व सीखना है यह हमारी भाषा, उन्होंने झगड़ा करना शुरु किया, कि जुबर्दस्ती करोगे? फौरन जो चीज हो रही थी, वो रास्ते में रुक गयी। इससे मालूम होता है कि तरीका करने का कितना आवश्यक है। एक और तरह से आप इसे देखें गांधीजी दिया करते थे "एंड्स और मीन्स" पर समझें आप कि कोई लक्ष्य रखना ठीक बात है। लेकिन उससे उतनी ही आवश्यक बात है, उस लक्ष्य पर, उस ध्येय पर, उस जगह पर किस रास्ते से जायें। गलत रास्ते से आप अच्छी जगह जाना चाहते हैं तो वहाँ पहुँचेंगे नहीं, कहीं और पहुँच जायेंगे। किस तरह से जायेंगे, मीन्स क्या है? शुद्ध मीन्स हैं, अच्छे मीन्स हैं, लोगों को लुभाने के मीन्स हैं कि लोगों को भड़काने के और लड़ाने के मीन्स हैं। उससे फौरन आपके काम को खराब कर देते हैं। इस बात पर आप विचार करें, क्योंकि इस समय भाषा का सवाल आपके सामने है। ठीक है, लेकिन उससे बडे सवाल हैं और इस समय आपके सामने सारे आसाम के भविष्य का सवाल है। वडी भारी चीज है, और आप भविष्य को बिगाड़ दें भूल में, यह तो आप अच्छी बात अपने प्रदेश के लिए नहीं करेंगे। इन बातों को विचार करना है। आख़िर में आप नौजवान जोशीले हैं। ठीक है होना चाहिए आपको, जोश होना चाहिए। लेकिन यह भी याद रखिए कि नवयुवक को जोश होता है। लेकिन अभ्यास और तजुर्बा बहुत नहीं होता है दुनिया का। एक प्रश्न को देखेगा तो कहेंगे ठीक है, और ठीक होगी बात। लेकिन इस बात को विचार नहीं करेगा कि उसका नतीजा दूसरे, तीसरे, चौथे, पाँचवे और छठे प्रश्न पर क्या होगा। जिसको अभ्यास और एक्सपीरियंस है वो सोचेगा कि और प्रश्नों पर क्या हो, पेचीदा सवाल है। हर सवाल पर हमें विचार करना है। बहुत सारी बात हम चाहते हैं करना, नहीं करते। क्योंकि उसका समय नहीं आया या उसका नतीजा किसी और पर क्या हो? यह बातें होती हैं।

मैंने देखा कि अब ये कहाँ तक लोग बहक गये हैं कि, अखबार में देखा, ये ही आसाम के समाचारपत्रों में, किसी ने कहा कि अच्छी बात है जाओ, कचार चला जाये, चला जाये, अलग हो जाये आसाम से, यह पहाड़ी ट्राइबल प्रदेश अलग हो जायें, हम अपने अलग रहेंगे। यह बात तो गुस्से से कहने की है, यह अक्ल की नहीं है कि आप उसमें न आप अपनी भाषा की सेवा करते हैं, न अपने प्रदेश की। यह तो महज़ एक गुस्से में आकर बात कह देनी होती है और यही बात मुझे इस वक्त एक परेशान करती है। इस समय यहाँ आसाम की हवा बिगड़ी हुई है। आसाम की तो कम हो गयी और रुक जायेगी मुझे आशा है। लेकिन मुझे तो शांति आपके दिलों में चाहिए, ख़ाली ईंट-पत्थर फेंकने न फेंकने की शांति नहीं, दिलों की शांति। और बात यह है कि दिलों में डर है, दिलों में एक-दूसरे पर भरोसा नहीं है, एक-दूसरे पर क्रोध, इनसिक्योरिटी, कितने लोग मेरे पास आये, कहते हैं कि हमें डर है, हमें सिक्योरिटी दीजिए। यह तो अच्छी बात नहीं है ऐसी बात होना। एक प्रान्त के देश भर के लोगों को पहला काम जो देश में होना चाहिए, वो एक वायुमण्डल ऐसा पैदा किया जाये, जिसमें सब लोग किसी के दिल में डर न हो। हमारे पुराने ग्रंथों में, शास्त्रों में लिखा है कि राजा का पहला धर्म होता है कि लोगों को अभय कर दे। यह पहला धर्म आजकल के मालूम नहीं राजा कैसे होते हैं? लेकिन ये प्राचीन समय कि हरेक प्रजा के दिल में अभय का होना, यह एक इम्तहान है, एक जनता के बढ़ने का। और इसके बड़े-बड़े दूर तक माने हैं। एक मैं कहूँ कि जिस देश में ऐसा राज्य हो जो कि बहुत ज़बर्दस्ती काम करता है, जहाँ की जनता को अधिकार नहीं हैं, वहाँ अभय नहीं हो सकता। ज़ाहिर है, जहाँ कि कहा जाये आपसे, authoritarian हुकूमत है, तो उसमें बड़े लाभ हो सकते हैं। लेकिन भय उसके साथ बँधा रहता है। तो यह बात अच्छी नहीं है कि लोगों के दिल में भय हो। और यह उस भय की निशानी है कि पड़े हुए हैं आपके रिफ्यूजी camps में। मैं तो लिजित हो जाता हूँ उनको देखकर कि मेरे देश में रिफ्यूजी camps हैं जो लोग डर से निकले हैं।

तो पहली बात तो यह है आपके लिए, और कोई प्रश्न कितना ही आवश्यक हो, वो दूसरा है। पहली बात यह है कि यहाँ आसाम के शरीर से, इस ज्वर को आप निकालें। आप यह जो पढ़े हुए हैं बंउचे वग़ैरह में, लोगों को उनको आप लायें, उनकी आप मदद करें, उनको आप फिर से उनके घरों में पहुँचायें, उनको सहायता दें, उनके दिलों से डर निकालें, पहली बात । और जोरों से काम हो। गवर्नमेंट तो इसको करेगी ही, और उनका काफी पैसा भी उसका खर्च होगा लेकिन आप करें, जनता करे, उनके पड़ोसी करें। जिन लोगों ने, जिन लोगों ने उनके खिलाफ हाथ उठाया या उनके घर जलाये वो लोग प्रायश्चित करें कि उन्होंने पाप किया, प्रायश्चित उसका होना चाहिए। तब और प्रश्न आते हैं क्या करें, क्या न करें। उसके पहले नहीं, नहीं तो जितने आप प्रश्न उठायेंगे वो फँस जायेंगे इस ज्वर में, इस बुख़ार में, फँस जायेंगे इस दलदल में जिससे कि आप निकल नहीं सकेंगे। जहाँ तक यह प्रश्न है भाषा का, मैंने आपसे कहा कि आप के लक्ष्य को मैं स्वीकार करता हूँ। लेकिन आप लक्ष्य को ख़राब न करें गलत रास्ते पर चलकर, झगड़े के रास्ते पर, और जो काम करें उसमें आप, वो समझौते से, समझा के करें। कोई उसमें ज़बर्दस्ती नहीं हो सकती। ज़बर्दस्ती आपने की, तो फिर उसके ख़िलाफ आंदोलन उठते हैं जो आपके रास्ते में आते हैं और जो आप यहाँ गोहाटी में बैठें आप पर न असर हो उसका। लेकिन और हिस्सों में आसाम प्रदेश के असर होता है। इसीलिए मेरी आपको सलाह यह है कि पहले अपने सामने आप इस बात को उठायें कि आसाम में पूरी शांति हो पक्की, और शांति के माने यही है, यह नहीं कि पुलिस और फ़ौज की शांति। असल में भरोसे की शांति, एक-दूसरे पर भरोसा। फेहरिस्तें आप बनायें, आप बनायें, हमारे बंगाली भाई बनायें, या और लोग बनायें, इसने यह अपराध किया, उसने यह किया। बंगालियों ने कह दिया कि आसामी भाषा बुरी भाषा है और आसामियों ने कुछ कहा, यह तो फेहरिस्तें बन सकती है, और बनें जिनको बनाना है। लेकिन हमारे सामने सबसे बड़ी बात यह है कि देश में हमें मिलजुल कर रहना है, सारे भारत में। आसाम में आपको मिलजुल कर रहना है, कहीं आप अधिक हों, कहीं बंगाली हों, कहीं कुछ लोग हों, ट्राइबल लोग हों, वो और बात है। मिल जुलकर रहना है, नहीं तो टुकड़े-टुकड़े हो जाते हैं और उसका भविष्य ख़राब हो जाता है। और मैं यह समझता हूँ कि मिलजुल कर रहने से जो आपके लक्ष्य हैं वो आपको पूरे मिलेंगे। यह नहीं कि कोई उनको रोक सकता है, वो मिलेंगे आपको, और इस बात में आप नहीं पड़ें इस धोखे में कि कोई और आ जायेगा, इस बीस, पचास, सौ, दो सौ, हज़ार आदमी, तो गिनती बढ़ जाती है। यह गिनती की बात थोड़े ही है। आसामी भाषा हमारे देश की राष्ट्रीय भाषा है। उसकी रक्षा करना है, उसको बढ़ाना है, उसमें काम करना है जैसे और भाषा है, करना ही है। लेकिन गलत रास्ते पर आप चलें, तो उसमें रुकावटें पड़ जावेंगी यह कठिनाई है। समझौते से कीजिए, मिलकर कीजिए चाहे कुछ देर हो जाये। बड़े काम के करने में कुछ देर हो जाने में बुराई नहीं है लेकिन गलत रास्ते पर चलने से तो देर बहुत अधिक हो जाती है।

इस तरह से आप इस प्रश्न को उठायें और उसके पहले आप याद रखें कि पहला काम आपका यही है कि जैसा मैंने आपसे कहा, कि एक हवा बदल दें आप आसाम की, तेजी से बदल दें, शांति की हो, भरोसे की हो और आप लोग खुद मदद करें। जो लोग हमारे पीड़ित हों, चाहे आसामी हों, चाहे बंगाली हों, उनकी सहायता करने में, उनको घर बसाने में फिर उनको लाने में जहाँ थे। क्योंकि इसमें कोई संदेह नहीं कि जो लोग यहाँ से डर के निकलें यहाँ से, उनको वापस लाना है। यह हमारा कर्तव्य होना चाहिए। यह बात बिल्कुल गलत है कि एक गलती हो गयी कि डर से भागे, लेनिक वो भाग कर बाहर रहें, यह तो हमेशा के लिए एक काला टीका हो जायेगा हमारे माथे पर। उनको वापस लाना है, यह हमारे आसाम प्रदेश की सरकार का कर्तव्य है। लेकिन यह कर्तव्य आप सभों का है, क्योंकि आसाम प्रदेश की सरकार उसको कर नहीं सकती बग़ैर आपके सहानुभूति के, समझ के देखकर कि हमसे बहुत कुछ गलतियाँ हो गईं, माना कि आप समझते हैं कि दूसरे ने बड़ी गलती की थी, यह किया था। वो हो गयी बात, लेकिन हमें तो आख़िर अपना देखना है। भविष्य आसाम का, ख़ाली अपने तराजू पर, एक फेहरिस्त तराजू पर लिखना कि एक तरफ उसकी गलती, एक तरफ हमारी गलती, किधर ज़्यादा तराजू झुकता है। तो इस ढँग से आप इसको देखें।

अब आप देखें एक और इसका पहलू इस काम के करने में। यह जो शरणार्थी आये इनको वापस लाने में मालूम नहीं कितना रुपया खर्च होगा, आपकी आसाम गवर्नमेंट का, लाखों-करोड़ों रुपया। सोचो तो वो करोड़ों रुपये उसमें खर्च हों, उसमें कितने कॉलेज आपके बन जाते, इंस्टीट्यूट बनते, क्या क्या होता, वो उसमें चला गया। जाया हो गया न रुपया? एक तो बदनामी हुई और रुपया जिससे आसाम की उन्नित होती है वो दूसरे कामों में खर्चना पड़ा। इन सब बातों पर आप विचार करें, क्योंकि दुनिया के सवाल पेचीदा हैं। ऐसी बात साफ नहीं है, सीधे नहीं है कि एक नारे से हो जायें। और अगर इस तरह से आपने अपने को ट्रेण्ड न किया इस समय नौजवानों ने, तो कल आप भारत के और दुनिया के पेचीदा सवालों को कैसे समझेंगे? और कैसे उनका हल करेंगे? इन बातों को आप देखें।

आपने बड़ी शांति से मुझे सुना, और मैं चाहता था कि आपके सामने जो मेरे दिल में है, मन में है, रखूँ कि आप उस पर विचार करें। मैं आपको ज़बर्दस्ती कोई नहीं कर सकता, न आप मेरे पर कर सकते हैं। लेकिन हमारा और आपका नाता और रिश्ता कोई ज़बर्दस्ती का नहीं है। बिल्क एक साथी का है जो कि शांति से बैठकर एक-दूसरे की बातें समझें, विचार करें। और विचार करके उनको स्वीकार करें, या न करें स्वीकार आप। नहीं करते तो मैं क्या करुँ, मुझे दुःख होगा, इस तरह से।

आपको मालूम है कि हमारी प्राचीन कितावें हैं, उपनिषद, बहुत ऊँचे दर्जे की हमारी है। और उपनिषद, यह शब्द, उपनिषद के माने क्या? उपनिषद के माने हैं पास बैठना। कौन पास बैठे? उसमें तो माने हैं कि गुरु और शिष्य का पास बैठना और एक-दूसरे से प्रश्न करना, बातचीत करना, एक सवाल को समझना। यानी उसी वक्त से यह कोशिश कि समझ के काम करें। मैं किसी बात को मानने को नहीं तैयार हूँ बग़ैर समझे। इसलिए मैं अपने को यहाँ तक कहता हूँ कि आप बुरा न मानियेगा कि मैं अपने को धार्मिक आदमी नहीं समझता हूँ। धार्मिक के माने अगर यही हैं कि मैं आँख बंद करके किसी धर्म को मानूँ तो मैं नहीं मानने को तैयार हूँ चाहे कोई धर्म हो। हाँ, मैं मानने को तैयार हूँ जो चीज़ मेरी समझ में आती है। नहीं समझ में आती, हो सकता है मेरी गलती हो लेकिन आँख बंद करके अंधा मैं नहीं किसी रास्ते पर चलने को तैयार हूँ। न मैं चाहता हूँ आप चलें। लेकिन यह डेमोक्रेसी और प्रजातंत्रवाद इन सबके माने क्या हैं? इन सबके माने यही हैं कि शांति से अलग-अलग विचार हों वो रखे जायें, चाहे पार्लियामेंट में, चाहे असेम्बली में, चाहे कहीं

और, बहस हो, हर विचार का हर पहलू देखा जाये। और कोई बात निश्चय हो, उस पर चलें, और चाहे हमारे मन के विरोध, निश्चय जो हुआ हमारे विरोध में भी हो, हम उसको स्वीकार करते हैं इस समय। हरेक लड़ाई लड़े तो वो बात हो ही नहीं सकती। तो यह एक माने में एक हमारा पुराना दस्तूर रहा और इसी ढँग से हमें चलना है।

मैंने तो आपका बहुत समय लिया, लेकिन मुझे यहाँ आसाम आकर एक प्रसन्नता होती है। एक तो बड़ा सुंदर देश है, और और भी मेरे मन में यह रहता है जब से यह नये प्रश्न उठे हैं आपकी सीमा के और मेरा विचार रहा है और है कि इसमें तरक्की की बहुत गुंजाइश है, बहुत बढ़ सकता है। यहाँ की ज़मीन में, यहाँ ज़मीन के नीचे जो चीज़ें हैं। लेकिन आख़िर में जो उन्नित होती है आदमी करता है। जैसे इस समय आपके स्कूल और कॉलेज में पढ़ने वाले सीख रहे हैं, अपने को तैयार कर रहे हैं। चाहे यहाँ या कहीं और जाके, उन पर है उसका बढ़ाना। यह बढ़ाना कोई हमारी पंचवर्षीय योजना नहीं कर देगी, वो तो रास्ता दिखायेगी। तो आपने बहुत शांति से इतनी देर तक मुझे सुना और मेरा जो प्रोग्राम भाइयों ने बनाया था, वो सब पिछड़ गया। मुझे इस समय शिलाँग के रास्ते में होना था लेकिन मैं चाहता था कि अच्छी तरह से आपसे बातचीत हो और उसका मुझे मौक़ा मिला। उसके लिए मैं आपका बहुत आपका धन्यवाद देता हूँ।

जय हिन्द । मेरे साथ जय हिन्द तो कहिए आप तीन बार । जय हिन्द । जय हिन्द । जय हिन्द ।

[Translation begins:

Sisters, Brothers and Children,

I had come to Gauhati a couple of months ago and a big meeting was held in these very grounds.²⁵⁸ I had spoken about the condition of Assam and the problems which confronted us and what we had to do for the uplift of the people. As you know, the Third Five Year Plan has been finalized since then. I do not know how many of you have seen the document, because you will find in it the plans for our future progress. The most urgent task before us, in which all of you should be personally interested, is the betterment of the people and how to alleviate their sufferings. We have to ensure employment to everyone, particularly our young boys and girls who are reading in schools and colleges today. They must have opportunities for employment so that they can become better off and contribute to the country's progress.

I would like to advise you to look at the Third Five Year Plan, because the problems of Assam must be judged in the context of the whole of India. The entire picture does not emerge by looking at them separately because the first thing that must be remembered is that India can progress as a whole, not in parts.

One of our oldest ills is disunity and the habit of living in separate compartments. We are kept apart by caste, state, language, religion, and what not, and fritter away our energies in fighting among ourselves. We could not take on great tasks because of this vice and we were often attacked and conquered by

258. See fn 256 in this section.

outsiders. We got freedom with great difficulty. But that has not removed the danger of disunity from the country. Those who have read history will know that to maintain freedom requires great vigilance and unity. The moment there is any slackening, or fissiparous tendencies raise their heads, the country becomes weak and vulnerable to attack from outside. The whole country must remember this, particularly our border states like Assam. About ten days ago, [I visited] Kashmir and Ladakh. One frontier of our country is in the high mountain range there, just as the other frontier lies on your side. The border, in fact, is only one; it stretches over two thousand miles in the Himalayas. The people living in the border states must realize that they are the sentinels who must guard the freedom of the country. You must bear all this in mind.

Anyhow, I have come here once again after two months. This time I have come on a slightly different errand. As you know, there have been disturbances in some parts of Assam and there has been great bitterness and tension. The situation has calmed down now, which is a good thing. But even now there is no peace in people's hearts. There is fear and tension, and a lack of trust. Now there are more than ten to fifteen thousand refugees in and outside Assam; not the old refugees from Pakistan, but new refugees who have been rendered homeless. Is it not strange that people within the country should have to leave their homes out of fear or some other reason? The question is not who is to blame. But the broad fact is that at the moment thousands of men, women and children are lying in camps, etc. This is a new thing in our country. The refugees who poured in from Pakistan were different. But it is sad that such a thing should happen within the country. Everyone is perturbed about it.

I reached Tezpur this morning and from there took a helicopter to Nowgong to visit some refugee camps, spoke at a public meeting²⁵⁹ and met people. From there I came by the same helicopter to Gauhati, flying at a height of five hundred to six hundred feet. The view was breathtaking because below was the beautiful Brahmaputra Valley. Everything seemed so peaceful from above. People were working in the fields, and we flew over small villages and towns. It was a very peaceful picture. Then I thought of the events which had shattered this peace only recently, rendering thousands homeless. I saw that hundreds of houses have been gutted. Why did all this happen? It was not nice. I met many people both in Nowgong and here in Gauhati and was presented with long memoranda describing the events of the last few weeks. It is a sad story. In Gauhati, a college youth was shot dead in his hostel. It is always sad for a young man to be killed in this fashion, particularly as he was obviously innocent. How was he killed? He may have panicked and done something foolish. But whatever it was, it was extremely sad and it is not surprising if all of you were grieved by it. Such incidents have occurred elsewhere too and passions have mounted. I heard that processions

^{259.} See fn 257 in this section.

SELECTED WORKS OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

were taken out in Shillong and slogans raised against Assamese language. I do not know which idiot did this but it created a bad effect, and when the atmosphere is vitiated, even a small incident is blown out of proportion; one fool can light a conflagration with one matchstick. But when the atmosphere is good, people do not get carried away.

So people came to me with all kinds of tales and I heard them out. But I am not bothered about who is guilty and who is not. That can be established through an investigation. What I am bothered about is that a fever seems to have gripped the mind and body of Assam, leading to great distrust, fear, anger and bitterness. If an individual or a policeman is guilty, he can be punished; if a crowd burns up houses, it is, no doubt, bad. But much worse than this is the fever that seems to have gripped Assam. How is this fear and mutual suspicion and distrust that are gripping the state to be removed? People fear for their lives. They ask who will protect them in the future against such incidents. It is a different matter whether such fears are right or wrong. But the fact of such distrust being in the minds of the people is a sign of a fever which grips Assam. Today Assam is being talked about all over the country. It has become notorious, which is regrettable. People come and tell me that the press has blown the whole thing out of all proportion, especially the Bengali newspapers everywhere which tend to exaggerate. I have seen the newspapers from Assam also doing this. But it is not right to say that the riots took place because of exaggerated newspaper reports. It is some fundamental weakness, a lack of self-control in us, which leads to such things. I would like to point this out particularly to the youth who are sitting here. All of you who are studying in schools and colleges have your entire life before you. You must prepare yourselves to do something useful with your life. There are great tasks before you. If you get carried away by petty things, how can you accomplish these great tasks in the future?

I was addressing another meeting a short while ago and said that the boys and girls who are in schools and colleges today have had no experience of the freedom movement. The older generation has gone through it, but those who are between the ages of twenty and twenty-five today cannot have known about it firsthand. Our freedom movement came to an end about fifteen years ago. Before that, we were fighting a war and thousands of us were in jails. Those who are twenty-five today would have been children of ten then and could not have had any experience of the freedom movement. As they grew up, they saw free India, and cannot visualize the days when the freedom movement was at its peak. The struggle went on for years, thousands of people lost their lives and millions of families were ruined. We, the people of India, paid a big price for freedom. Nothing good can be achieved without paying the price for it. The price has to be paid, not in money but in hard work and sacrifice and even with one's life.

So the struggle for freedom lasted for more than fifty years and we paid a big price for it, but peacefully. This was the lesson taught by Mahatma Gandhi and the strange thing is that though we used to get very angry whenever there was a firing or worse, as often happened in the country in those days, even then not a finger was ever lifted against an Englishman anywhere. They were free to go anywhere, in crowds, bazaars or cities. Nobody would lift a finger though there was grief and anguish and anger in our hearts. The people had learnt to follow the path shown by Mahatma Gandhi.

path shown by Mahatma Gandhi.

As I was saying, to those of you who are under twenty-five the freedom struggle must seem like a story which you read in books or hear from your elders. You have seen only a free India in which you are growing up. Therefore, you may perhaps forget that sacrifices and effort and patience is necessary to win freedom. This applies not only to winning freedom but also to guard it. A great American once said that eternal vigilance is the price of liberty. If you wish to maintain your freedom, you will have to be always prepared to defend and protect it. The moment you forget this, freedom will slip away because we are living in a terrible world of atom and hydrogen bombs. If, by some chance, there is a nuclear war, the whole world can be destroyed. In such a world, it is necessary to be vigilant and maintain unity in the country. If we fight among ourselves, the unity is broken.

Many of you would have read Indian history. There have been great men, saints and heroes and scholars in India. But there has always been one weakness in us, and that is disunity. Sometimes we fight in the name of one's state or religion, or language or caste. All these factors have been responsible for dividing India. In my opinion, it is the ancient Indian social structure of the caste system that has been responsible for this. It is the caste system which has kept people in compartments in the past and prevented them from being united. The so-called lower castes were suppressed by the upper castes and so on. It is gradually disappearing. The Constitution has laid down that there should be no disparity on the basis of caste or anything else. We want complete equality, socially as well as economically, so that there are no glaring differences between the rich and the poor. It is obvious that everyone cannot be exactly equal, because some are more capable and they should be given the opportunity to progress, otherwise everyone will remain stunted. A country's progress depends on everybody being well off and getting the opportunity for progress, to become scientists, engineers, or to join the army or do something else. Ultimately, a country progresses because of its capable human beings. A country which has no great men becomes a second-rate one... Please sit down. Why are you standing? When I say everybody should be equal, I do not mean that everyone should be equally stupid. Equality means equal opportunities for education and employment. Then the people will progress as far as they are able to. Ultimately, a country can grow only so far as the number of capable people there are in it. The Soviet Union and the United States are great powers today, with great military might. That is because there are scientists of high calibre and engineers, etc., and they have large armies. So they have

become powerful.

I do not know if you remember that when we got freedom, we were deeply perturbed about how a backward country like ours was to progress. The world had progressed and had advanced in science and technology and by the use of big machines had acquired great strength. Their scientists had controlled the forces of nature. What is the strength of an individual? The strongest of men may possess the strength of two, three or four people. But with other sources of power, man's strength increases a hundred-fold. For instance, the railway engine is propelled by steam which is a natural source of energy. Similarly, electricity is also a natural source of energy and is an enormous power, which is being used to run big industries. Now atomic energy has been discovered which can be used for good as well as evil purposes. Atomic energy can be used to great advantage; it can as well lead to the destruction of the whole world. It depends on the use it is put to.

The first task we did after we became free was to pay attention to science, and opened huge national science laboratories and technological institutes because we wanted to catch up with the rest of the world in these fields. It is true that we took out processions and shouted slogans when the British were here and removed them by peaceful methods. But we can neither learn science nor set up big industries or build a bridge on the Brahmaputra merely by shouting slogans. We need engineers and other trained human beings for that. Therefore, it becomes essential for us to learn all these things and to train our young boys and girls in these fields. It takes a great deal of time. We are setting up steel plants in Orissa, Madhya Pradesh and elsewhere, and it takes years to complete them. But it takes ten to fifteen years to train the men, particularly the officers, who will run these plants. There is no magic in all this. They have to be trained properly. We had to plan for all this. It is easy to put up plants. The real thing is to train people because everything depends on the trained human beings. It cannot be done by magic. Therefore, we gave a great deal of thought to our educational programmes, etc., and gradually we are changing the whole pattern and making it more oriented towards science and technology. We are opening a number of polytechnic institutes to teach engineering and other essential subjects. Science is of course being taught. We are now living in a new era and unless we keep pace with the changing times, we will remain backward. No matter what slogans we shout or make a noise, we will continue to remain backward. We must realize this because it seems that our youth have not yet grasped this properly. They seem to think that they can achieve results by shouting slogans and making a noise. When the country is being threatened by danger from outside, slogans cannot protect us. What is the use of such things?

We have drawn up the Five Year Plans to utilize the country's resources in the best possible way, in order to raise the standard of living of the people and make India a strong and powerful nation, and to lay the foundations of a new India so that she can take her rightful place in the new world. Well, the First Plan is over, the Second is going on and will come to an end within a year. We have started drawing up the Third Plan and a draft has appeared to explain its outline to the people who can then make suggestions and criticisms. After six to seven months of deliberations, it will be finalized.

What is the Five Year Plan all about? It is not merely a document or a list of things and projects that we intend taking up. That has to be done. But it is in fact a peep into the future to see where the forty crores of men, women and children are going. It is the story of India's future, where we are going and how we are trying to build a new India. This is how you must look at it. It should not be seen merely as a list of places where steel plants or oil refineries will come up. We want that these things should be evenly spread out all over the country, particularly in the areas which are backward. So, I want you to look at India like this.

It is also essential that you should have an idea of what today's world is like. Isn't it strange that man is trying to reach the Moon and other planets? He has acquired such tremendous power that if, by some misfortune, there is a war, the whole world can be destroyed. On the other hand, if these forces are used wisely, they can transform the whole world and there will be no hardship left in the world. I have been observing this world of ours since my school days and, even in the last fifty to sixty years, a tremendous difference has come about in the world as well as in India. All modern inventions like radio, wireless, aeroplane and a thousand of these things which people have got so used to nowadays were unknown when I was a child. You have become used to it now. It has become quite common to hear the news from Delhi or London instantly. Such a thing was unknown in my childhood. Until just twenty-five to thirty years ago, aeroplanes were not common. Now, as I said, man is trying to reach the Moon. The Soviet Union has launched a rocket which has landed on the Moon.

So, you can see how the world has changed and continues to do so rapidly. I do not know where the world would have reached by the time those of you who are young today reach my age and become seventy years old. Please remember that we are living in a revolutionary world. A revolution does not mean violence. It means the various ways in which a society changes with the appearance of new forces and inventions. It is essential to understand what this world is all about. We cannot live in isolation. For instance, the people of Tibet isolated themselves and became weak as a result and were unable to protect themselves. No one respects a weak man or a weak nation. Anyhow, India is neither weak nor are we isolated from the world. But if there is the slightest slackness on one side, we will become backward. Other countries will go ahead and we will not be able to solve any of our problems.

Now, I want you to turn your attention to one more thing. A strange development is taking place in Africa for the last one year or two. Africa has been under the domination of the big European powers and has been brutally suppressed

during the last few centuries. The people of Africa were sold as slaves to America and other countries. Now the oppressed people of Africa have awakened at last and revolutionary events are taking place. We read every day in the newspapers of more countries becoming free. This is a great and historic development. Such upheavals are taking place all over the world. Therefore, our thinking has to keep pace with all this. The old slogans will no longer do. They have no meaning now and if we think that we can achieve anything by shouting, we will become backward. I want you to understand this. I came here to talk about Assam, but I want you to understand these larger issues, because if you fail to do so, you will not be able to understand the problems of Assam and India.

It is crucial to realize that the world is going through a revolutionary phase and society is changing day by day. In India, in the last ten years, thousands of schools and colleges and technical institutes have been opened up and millions of children are being educated. We have calculated that within the next six years, there will not be a single child in India between the ages of six or seven and eleven who does not go to school. They will be able to read even after that. But up to the age of eleven, every single boy and girl will be educated. As you know, even at the moment there are nearly 425 lakhs of boys and girls who are studying in schools and colleges. It is an enormous number and every year it is going up. It is often felt that the standard of education in the country is not very good, and that is certainly true. We must pay attention to that and improve the standard. But the fact that so many children are going to school, not only in the cities but in the villages too, is a revolutionary thing. We are building a new society. These children who are studying in schools today will grow up to be the members of the new society. In this way, there is a revolution in the world as well as in India, with the Five Year Plan and new industries, etc.

All these things are happening on one side. On the other hand, an enormous danger threatens the whole world with the constant preparations of war and the atom bomb and whatnot. Secondly, new dangers threaten on our borders that we have to face. We are building new roads in the mountains which require a great deal of money. Our troops are stationed on the borders now, which was not so earlier. If you keep all this in mind, you will realize where your duty lies and where you fit in in this larger scheme of things. All of us have to fit into it. We cannot isolate ourselves from our nation's history. Our youth, especially, must be made to realize this because the old sense of discipline is now lacking in them. I was never in the army, but I have spent a life time in Gandhiji's army which observed very strict discipline. I do not find that today. Please remember that no country, people or society can function without discipline. It becomes slack without it. Discipline can be of two kinds: One is that which is enforced and the other is self-discipline. But without discipline the society breaks up into pieces and becomes weak. The difference is the same as between a crowd of one hundred people and an army unit of one hundred soldiers. A group of soldiers with their disciplined

strength can achieve what a crowd cannot do. But the people are the same. It is our farmers and villagers who have to become part of the army. They are simple, straightforward people, but once they are organized and become disciplined they will become India's soldiers. Discipline changes the quality of a human being. No society can function without it. As I said, there are two kinds of disciplines. One is self-discipline and the other is something that is enforced from above. When a country is under the domination of another, the discipline that prevails is of the enforced variety which is not good. It does not contribute to a nation's progress. Freedom can be effective only when there is self-discipline. Even when there is no one to enforce discipline, there should be self-discipline, because without that the society become slack and starts breaking up.

So, during the days of the freedom struggle Gandhi had taught us tremendous self-discipline. It was more rigorous than the British rule. But we accepted it willingly because there was no compulsion behind it, and became soldiers in the cause of freedom. During that entire period of twenty to thirty years, we were moulded by Gandhiji and by the experiences of those years of jail going, lathi charges, breaking up of families and a thousand other things which were very difficult. It takes courage to face the enemy's bullet without flinching. But it is even more difficult to go on doing one's scheduled task day after day, week after week, year after year, because that requires discipline. There were feelings of frustration, disappointment and panic, even slight disillusionment. And yet we had to keep going on the chosen path. This is the way nations become strong. So, Gandhiji moulded the people of India, not only the educated people but the illiterate peasants too, in this manner and infused strength into them. This is how we won freedom. Gandhiji was able to lay his hands on the weaknesses of the Indian people—disunity and lack of discipline—and tried to teach them the lesson of unity and discipline. He raised the question of the uplift of the Harijans because that was another weak point in our society. So you see how he grasped the weaknesses in the nation, and by trying to remove them he made us a stronger nation. I am reminding you of this because the people of Gandhiji's generation are now old and will be here only for a short while. So the responsibility will descend on other, younger shoulders. If you, who are young today, do not cultivate self-discipline and mould yourselves properly, how will you be able to shoulder the burden of India? Please think about it.

Now, when I came here two months ago, I had told you about various things which were happening in Assam and would lead to its progress. A huge bridge has been built on the Brahmaputra and oil has been found here. Oil symbolizes industrial development, and not just oil refineries but scores of other things develop wherever oil is found. That place gets a new life. As I was telling you just now, the Assam border which used to be comparatively peaceful during the days of the British has now become active. The British did not bother very much about this border. Now the times have changed. For one thing, India has become free and

now we care equally about all our states. Secondly, this border has become extremely important and we cannot close our eyes and ignore it. Therefore, we are making special arrangements for its defence, as you can guess from the fact that our forces are stationed here, and new roads and bridges are being built. In the NEFA area, which is beyond Assam, there is activity too. All these things have changed the position of Assam in the national scheme of things. Now it is no longer a corner of India but an important part of the country in whose strength and progress everyone in India is extremely interested because it has become a gateway to India. This is one thing. On the other hand, oil has been discovered which has thrown open new avenues of progress in Assam. But progress ultimately depends on trained human beings. We need trained personnel to handle the tasks of the modern age. Whatever the task may be, whether it is carpentry, engineering, etc., a trained human being is better than an untrained one. So, we are training people to be scientists, technicians and experts whom the country needs. Special attention should be paid to this aspect in Assam.

I have heard that you have a complaint that outsiders are posted here as officers. Now, the question is: suppose we have to do a job here which requires special training, then you would like good quality work to be done or bad quality work, or no work at all. Take, for instance, this bridge which is being built on the Brahmaputra. It is a very difficult task and so we have sent the best engineers in the country to do it. We did not consider whether those engineers came from the Punjab, Uttar Pradesh, Madras or Assam. The important thing was to send the best available engineers in the country. It would be a good thing if there are good engineers in Assam also. They can be sent to Uttar Pradesh or elsewhere. But, as I said, what you must realize is that unless you have the best engineers on the job, the bridge would not get made, or even if it does, it will be a weak one. Isn't it a terrible thing? Then it is we who will stand to lose and earn a bad name also.

This is a new trend that I see in Assam these days. Now, there is an oil refinery coming up here, which is a difficult task. I have heard that there is anger over the fact that the general manager of the refinery is not an Assamese. Now, how can the state progress if your way of thinking continues along these lines? I want and you also want, that more and more Assamese should be trained so that they can hold responsible posts. Well, that is quite all right. But if anyone tells me that a responsible position should be given to someone irrespective of whether he is qualified for it or not, I am not prepared to accept it because the work will suffer. We do not want to bring engineers from the Soviet Union and the United States; but we have done so when it became necessary. I think at present—I do not know exactly—there are many thousand American, German and Russian engineers who are working in India. We invited them. Why? It is not because we love them but because we want good results, and also to learn from them. Gradually our men will be able to do more and more work as they are doing even now. Therefore, to look at everything from the point of view of whether a man is

an Assamese or not will retard the progress of Assam. Apart from this, it is obvious that I want Assam to progress just as I want every part of India to progress, because if one part is backward, it can drag India behind. But for each state to think of itself as apart from India is an extremely dangerous and terrible thing. You will then fail to take advantage of the enormous strength of the country, its knowledge and training, etc. If you put up barriers, you will find yourselves imprisoned behind those same barriers. India is a great country and cannot be confined by any barriers. But it is you who will find yourselves imprisoned by the barriers put up by you, and your progress will become difficult.

Therefore, I was rather upset and amazed when I heard that the general manager of the refinery was beaten up because he is not an Assamese. I could have understood if it had been something else. In any case, beating up and violence is always bad. But this shows that it will be extremely difficult to put up a big plant or machinery in Assam. How can we do so when there is no trained personnel available in Assam and no outsider will find it safe to go there? You do not seem to realize that you earn a bad name for yourselves in the country, and people in the public as well as the private sector are hesitant to come here because there is likelihood of disturbances and other problems. Isn't this a harmful thing?

I believe that you are afraid of outsiders coming and occupying all the posts here which will leave no scope for you to advance. Perhaps there is also some fear that the population of outsiders in the state will increase considerably and affect the census figures. That is wrong, for a hundreds of people cannot make an appreciable difference to a population of lakhs of people. Once the refinery is set up, hundreds of other avenues of employment, industries and other businesses will open up and more and more people can get employment. In the refinery itself, more than 92 per cent of the people employed are Assamese. I do not like this way of judging things. I want that the only consideration should be that an individual is an Indian, as far as possible, and not a foreigner. I feel that by your way of thinking you will only retard the progress of the state. It is unfortunate that right from the time of British rule, enough attention was not paid to the progress of Assam and there are not many scientific or technical institutes here. They are coming up now. But to say that only the Assamese can work here creates, as I said, unnecessary barriers which are against the letter of our Constitution and will harm you.

I have mentioned this because now the question of language is rearing its head. I think the more serious question is that of employment. The employment opportunities in the country cannot increase by throwing out a few and replacing them with a few others. It will increase only when India becomes industrialized. We need lakhs of industries, small, medium and large, of every kind. We have to lay the foundation for this by putting up steel plants. We have put up three new steel plants and more will be put up. They require a great deal of expenditure, more than a hundred crores each, which imposes a great burden on us. But we

are putting them up because there is no other way. As I said, we have thousands of German, American, British and Russian engineers on enormous salaries, which hurts. But there is no other way if we want to train our people. Now we are putting up other steel plants in which there will be no foreigners or very few of them. We are moving forward step by step. We are putting up a huge steel plant in Bokaro, which will be an entirely Indian venture; we may call one or two experts. But, as I said, we are learning gradually. The steel which is produced in these plants will help in running lakhs of other small and big industries. We have to make good use of all our resources, particularly a big thing like oil which will prove a great help. All these resources must be tapped to the utmost. If you create obstacles in the way of progress by questioning who should be employed and who should not, Assam cannot go ahead.

You are young, about twenty to twenty-five years of age. It is a good age to be in for one is full of life and enthusiasm. Your whole life is before you. I hope that you will take up great tasks and move mountains and not have petty ambitions like becoming a deputy collector or a tehsildar. They are good people and I have nothing against them. But I want that the youth should be full of a spirit of adventure and the courage to move mountains and to achieve great things in the world instead of aspiring to a petty white-collared job. You should have large hopes and ambitions, not petty ones. You have to lay the foundation for it by training yourselves for something useful, because it is only the trained and skilled human beings who can achieve great things. It is possible that an individual may be able to give very good speeches in a debating society and earn a name for themselves, but life requires a little more work than a debating society does. It is more difficult and requires training. If you have the ability, you will go far; if not, then you cannot, for these things cannot be achieved by magic. A nation progresses by hard work and ability.

Now, should I say about the question of language? As you know, in our Constitution fourteen Indian languages have been adopted as national languages and Assamese is one of them. Hindi has a special status in that it will gradually replace English in all our official dealings. The work of each state will be done in its own regional language, but inter-state matters will be dealt with in Hindi. Even in that we have not been very rash. We have allowed English also to continue because we think that there is an urgent necessity to promote all the languages. But an even greater priority is India's progress. We do not want any obstacle in the spread of education and training. So, we have kept English also so that there may be no break in the scientific education, though we want to promote the regional languages. We will make every effort to do so. I am the President of the academy of all our languages known as the Sahitya Akademi. I have been given this great honour. All our languages are being promoted by the Akademi which obviously includes Assamese.

So, all these things are there. I find that all the languages are making good

progress and I am convinced that within the next ten or twenty years they will attain great heights of excellence. But it is not possible to make a language grow by force or by passing laws, though I agree that laws may help them a little. A language is like a delicate plant, which has to be nurtured and looked after carefully. It then grows slowly and blooms. This is how languages grow. If, in your hurry for results, you try to push it into growing, the entire plant will be uprooted. A language is a delicate thing and it cannot grow by your slogan shouting. I see that the general belief is that a language can grow by force or thrashing one's hands and feet about. In my own state, Uttar Pradesh, considerable damage was done in the last 25 to 40 years because of the debate about Hindi versus Urdu. This was during the British rule. I could never understand what the quarrel was about. Instead of both of them making progress, they used to try to drag each other down which harmed both of them. This is not the way at all. I think Urdu is also one of our national languages and it gives life to Hindi. So both Hindi and Urdu must progress equally well.

So, I want you to look at the question of Assamese from this angle. I agree entirely with you that Assamese should progress and, secondly, that it should become the medium of instruction in the state. I cannot tell you when it will happen; that will have to be decided by the educationists. But that is the goal, so that gradually other work may also be done in the regional language. What is the reason behind that? The real reason is that we want the masses to understand what is being done in the country. We have got used to conducting all the work in English. But that creates a barrier between the people and us, which is not right.

There is a great difficulty before us in the Lok Sabha, which is that, though the majority of the people understand Hindi, many members do not, particularly the ones from the South. Now, we cannot force them to conduct the work in Hindi. I do speak in Hindi sometimes, but the members from the South do not understand what is being said and naturally they get annoyed that nobody bothers about them. I have to take their feelings into consideration because I want to draw them towards us. You will find that Hindi is being taught all over Madras, in schools and elsewhere. The people of that state are extremely intelligent and quick, and I can tell you that within ten years, they will be speaking Hindi better than us. There is no doubt about it. The Hindi-speaking people often feel that Hindi should be made compulsory and whatnot. I try to explain to them that they are not serving the cause of Hindi in this way but, instead, creating obstacles. I do not want Hindi to be forced down anybody's throats. Hindi can be made a compulsory subject wherever people think it is proper. But I do not want to force the people of Madras or anyone else. I want to persuade them gently into accepting it. Only then will it work. Once force is used, they will get annoyed and then nothing will be possible. Even now, as you know, there are many people who are opposing Hindi.

So, you will find that the language issue is agitating everyone in the country.

We are trying to see to it that regional languages flourish and progress. But it should be done in such a way that they become strong instead of becoming the cause of more disputes. The moment a language becomes the cause of a dispute, it will definitely suffer. As I told you, a language is like a very delicate flower which should bloom gradually. If we try to link the question of language with a dispute, the language will stop growing and its beauty will be gone. Therefore, the issues which Assam is facing are similar to what we are facing all over the country with regard to Hindi. You want Assamese to progress and become the state language; everyone would welcome that. But the moment you try to use force, even the people who were willing to accept earlier, would become recalcitrant. In the process, infinite damage is caused to the language and not only to the language but also to our social and political organization.

What is the organization in the state like? You have the Brahmaputra Valley and mountainous region where the tribal population lives. Then there is Cachar where the majority of the population speaks Bengali. All these areas together constitute this beautiful province of Assam. You find that gradually Assamese is spreading in the mountain areas where different dialects are spoken. This is a good thing. But the moment there was an attempt to force the tribals to learn Assamese, they rebelled against it and the whole thing stopped in mid-stream. This shows how important the method is. Gandhiji often used to talk about ends and means. Though the ends are extremely important, the means, the method used to achieve them, are equally important. If the means adopted are wrong, the result will be quite different from what is intended. So, it is important to see whether the means are of the right kind, and persuade the people instead of creating conflict. The wrong method will immediately ruin the whole thing. You must remember this. The question of language is agitating you now. But there are bigger issues before Assam at the moment. The very future of Assam is at stake. If you forget that, you will be doing great harm to your province. You are young and full of passion, but you must also remember that youth lacks the experience of the world. It can look at things only from one angle and not consider the likely consequences for other problems. It is only the experienced human being who can consider all aspects of a problem. The problems are complex and we must take everything into consideration. We want to do many things but are unable to do either because the time is not ripe or its other consequences may be bad.

I have seen to what extent the people have been misled. The Assamese newspapers have been saying that Cachar or the tribal areas can be separated from Assam. This is said in anger, and the cause neither of the language nor the state is served by it. This is what perturbs me constantly. The entire atmosphere of Assam has been vitiated. The situation has calmed down a little, but I want that there should be peace in your hearts and not this constant tendency towards verbal brick batting. The fact of the matter is that there is fear, distrust, anger and insecurity in people's hearts. Innumerable people have come to me saying that

they are afraid and want security. This is not a good thing. It is the duty of the people all over the country to create an atmosphere in which there is no fear. Our old shastras talk about the most important duty of a king as giving fearlessness to the people. I do not know what is happening today. In the olden days, fearlessness in the people was a test of their progress. It has far-reaching significance. I would say that when the state is too powerful and the people have no rights, there can be no fearlessness. There may be great advantages in an authoritarian regime but it is based on fear, which is not a good thing. The refugee camps in Assam are a sign of that fear which makes me feel thoroughly ashamed that such things should happen in my country.

So, the most urgent task before you is to get rid of this fever which has gripped Assam. Everything else, however important it may be, is secondary. You must persuade the people who are living in camps to return to their homes and remove the fear from their hearts. The Government will, of course, help and a great deal of money will have to be spent in rehabilitating them. But it is up to the people who have been guilty of driving them away from their homes or burning down houses to atone for it. If you try to raise other issues, you will remain in this morass of fear and unrest. As far as the question of language is concerned, as I said, I am prepared to accept the goal, but you should not try to achieve it by wrong means, by resorting to violence. It should be done by mutual agreement. There is no question of force because once you try to use force it will lead to riots and agitation which will become obstacles in your path. Even if you in Gauhati remain untouched, the rest of the province is bound to be affected. Therefore, it is my advice to you to give the issue of establishing complete peace in Assam the first priority. Real peace does not mean the kind of peace which is maintained through the police or the army, but of mutual trust and friendship. Blame can be assigned on both sides, but the most important thing is to maintain the unity of the country and of Assam. People must learn to live in amity whether they are Bengalis, Assamese, tribals or of some other community; otherwise the entire future of the country will be jeopardized. I think this is the only way in which you can achieve your objective. Nobody can stop you from achieving it. Please do not be misled by the fact that a few thousands can make a big difference. Assamese is one of the national languages and it should be nurtured and allowed to grow. But if you adopt wrong methods to do so, there will be obstacles in your path. Please try to achieve your objective by mutual agreement even if it takes time. There is nothing wrong in a little delay in doing big things. But wrong methods will lead you astray.

You must look at this problem from this angle and, before that, remember that our first task is, as I said, to change the atmosphere of Assam rapidly so that there is peace and trust. You must help your afflicted brethren and neighbours, whether they are Bengalis or Assamese, in rehabilitating them once again. There is no doubt about it that the people who have run away from here in fear must be

brought back. It is our duty because the whole thing is a great stigma for us that people should have to run away from their own houses. It is the duty of the Government of Assam and all of you too to show your sympathy and realize that mistakes have been made on both sides. After all, we have to look to our future instead of bickering about who is to blame.

Another aspect of this problem is that the Government of Assam will have to spend millions of rupees in rehabilitating the refugees. Just imagine what a waste it is. That money could have been used to set up colleges and institutes and whatnot. So, you are left with a bad name as well as unnecessary expenditure on rehabilitation which could have been utilized for other development work. You must realize that the problems of the world are extremely complex. It is not a simple, straightforward thing that can be solved by shouting slogans. If the youth today do not prepare themselves for the future, how can they understand and solve the complex national and international problems of tomorrow?

You have heard me very patiently. I have placed some of my thoughts before you and want you to think about them. I cannot force you to do anything. But then the relationship between you and me is not one of force but of comrades. So we must try to understand one another and accept what you feel is right. If you do not accept what I say, I will feel bad. But I cannot do anything about it.

You must have heard about our ancient Sanskrit texts called the Upanishads. Do you know what the word "Upanishad" means? It means to sit—a teacher and his disciples—near one another, and conversing, and trying to understand by the process of questions and answers. I am not prepared to accept what anyone says without understanding. I am saying this because I do not consider myself particularly religious. I am not prepared to accept anything blindly. But I am ready to be convinced, to try to understand. If I cannot understand something, it is possible that my understanding is faulty. But I am not prepared to follow any path blindly, nor do I want you to do so. The meaning of democracy is that there should be peaceful consideration of issues, in Parliament, in assemblies and elsewhere, and they should be thrashed out from every angle. Then a decision is reached by a consensus and even if it is not to one's liking, it has to be accepted. It is not possible that decisions can please everyone. This has been, in a sense, our tradition from ancient times and we should follow it.

I have taken up a great deal of your time. But I am happy to be here in Assam because it is a beautiful province. It is constantly in my thoughts ever since the border problem has come up. I have always felt that there is great scope for progress in this state. There is a great wealth of minerals and other national resources under the ground here. But ultimately progress depends on human beings. You need trained and well-educated people in Assam. The Five Year Plan cannot make Assam progress; that merely shows the way.

You have listened to me very patiently. I am already behind schedule. I should have been on my way to Shillong. But I wanted to speak to you at length and I

thank you for giving me the opportunity to do so.

Jai Hind. Please say Jai Hind with me thrice. Jai Hind. Jai Hind. Jai Hind.

Translation ends]

109. At Gauhati: To Congress Workers²⁶⁰

PM Dismisses Partymen's Meet at Gauhati
Charge of Inaction During Disturbances, Group Rivalries
in Assam Criticised
Workers Disagree, Threaten to Resign "En Bloc"
"The Times of India" News Service

Gauhati, July 17.

An angry Mr. Nehru had to dismiss a meeting of Congress Workers here today in an atmosphere of utter confusion.

The entire body of Congress workers stood up in protest when Mr. Nehru accused them of inaction during the present communal disturbances.

Over the confusion created by vehement protests, Mr. Nehru was heard shouting that he had conclusive evidence that unhealthy rivalry existed within the Assam Congress and Congressmen were working against the organisation and the Government.

This led to a minor revolt and senior office-bearers of the party got up and challenged his entire analysis of the present disturbances. Some of them said the agitation reflected the frustration of the Assamese people who were disappointed because their legitimate aspirations had remained unfulfilled.

The principal of a prominent college got up and said it was unfair to blame the students for the present state of affairs. Until the police opened fire on them, they had behaved in a most orderly and commendable manner.

Officials Blamed

Congressmen said that they had been caught unawares by the sudden outbreak of violence. They tried to explain that Government officials were primarily responsible for infuriating the people and driving them to a state in which they lost their equanimity.

260. Report of speech, 17 July 1960. The Times of India, 18 July 1960. For a report on the Assam situation, see the Memorandum by Siddhinath Sarma to Nehru, 17 July 1960, in File No. 3 (1960-61), Assam Pradesh Congress Committee Papers, NMML.

SELECTED WORKS OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

The Prime Minister said he was a much older Congressman than those present and the weaknesses of the organisation were more evident to him. Saying this he dismissed the meeting.

Members going out of the meeting were heard angrily shouting that Mr. Nehru was most unsympathetic to Assam and that they would one day resign from the organisation "en bloc".²⁶¹

110. At Shillong: Public Meeting²⁶²

I remember a meeting here. When I addressed, it appeared [there were] no human beings at all, only a thousand or more umbrellas.

Well, I propose to speak to you in English and later somewhat in Hindi.

I have been here two days in Assam and during these two days, I have wandered about a good deal by helicopter and by car and I have met large numbers of people and everyone who has met me has given me a long memorandum. I have got a very large collection of memoranda now—each person or each group telling me exactly what has been happening here and what we should do about it. And I have talked to them also and they have often repeated the same stories and I have felt rather as if I was present at a dramatic performance and scene after scene was disclosed to me and actors came and went back, each with his story. The story was often moving and tragic and sometimes rather comic. And I listened to them and saw them. I was interested to know the facts, of course, but more than those innumerable details of facts I am interested to find out the feel of the

261. According to *The Hindu* of 19 July 1960, Nehru told Congressmen at a closed door meeting at the Congress Bhawan in Gauhati on 17 July "that they had failed to do their duty to the Congress organisation by not checking the language disturbances in the State effectively and bringing about peace and confidence speedily.... He asked the Congress workers to go to every nook and corner of the State and help restore peace and harmony." He was also "reported to have said that due to lack of proper leadership, the youth in the State was following a wrong path."

During a conversation with newsmen at Delhi airport on his return from Assam on 20 July, Nehru was asked whether the reports of his speech at a Congress Party meeting in Gauhati were correct; Nehru replied, "Of course wherever I go I try to induce people to work harder, more particularly Congressmen, because I think it is my duty to do so." The

Hindu, 21 July 1960.

According to *The Times of India* of 18 July 1960, speaking to Congress workers at Nowgong on 17 July, "the Prime Minister asked them to find out for themselves what influence they had on the people. Why had they gone into hiding when the disturbances broke out, he asked. He said he did not want any cowards in the organization. If they could not face the people, they should better join other parties, Mr. Nehru told them."

262. Speech at Garrison Grounds, 18 July 1960. AIR tapes, NMML.

people, the feel of the problem—what lies behind in the minds of our people? What troubles them? Many bad things have happened here in the last two or three weeks—here meaning, in Assam. And I saw evidence of that yesterday especially. I visited many places and saw large refugee camps and a refugee camp is always a very unhappy sight. Unhappy because people there are unhappy—they have been driven from their homes and unhappy because it becomes a symbol of some sickness in the body of the state of the country. I flew about in a helicopter, long distances, flying low and I saw the lovely valley of Assam and it looked particularly beautiful after these rains. But, also in that lovely valley I saw black patches—many of them, scores of them. Those black patches were places where small houses or huts had been burnt down by crowds and mobs whoever they were. And they seemed blotches in that green valley like spots of a disease coming out on a healthy body.

So, I have all these pictures in my mind and all the many people who have told me. I am not particularly interested in apportioning blame, in condemning this person or this group or that group, although blame should be apportioned where bad things have been done, and where people have done mischief. The mischief makers deserve punishment, not so much the common folk who are led away in excitement but rather those who instigate this mischief—they certainly deserve some punishment if they can be spotted. But I am not so much interested in punishment or in praise. I am interested in bigger things. I am interested in my country having a healthy body and a healthy mind—I consider the whole of India. I am interested in Assam having a healthy body and a healthy mind. And this is not attained merely by apportioning blame or by cursing people but going deeper down into things, into the roots of any illness or disease that we might suffer from and trying to uproot them, to take them out.

Now, what do we aim at in India or in Assam? Some of you may get excited, as some of you are, over the language issue. Some of you may get excited about the question of unemployment and all that. They are important questions and people should think about them, but these are the basic questions which we have to face in India.

What is the kind of the world we live in? It is a tumultuous world, a world in cauldron. What is the kind of country we live in? Also, a country in a kind of a cauldron. And, so in Assam, which is part of our country. Do you realize that young men and young women who talk loudly and shout loudly—do you know where we are? What the world is? And what our country is aiming at? Or have you no conception of that, living like a frog in a little well and thinking that that is the world? And shouting your slogans? I want you to realize that. What kind of people are we? Are we a nation aiming at greatness, working for greatness, working for prosperity? Or are we petty folk engaged in petty intrigues and petty violence and petty outbursts and petty slogans? And I am particularly interested in this matter because what has grieved me during this visit here is to find that young

people, young students have taken a prominent part in these disturbances. I am not blaming them, the young people, and I do not mind if the young man gets excited, I do not mind if a young man even goes wrong. It is the right of youth even to go wrong. But I do mind when that young man becomes vulgar, because vulgarity degrades a human being, violence degrades a human being. And violence and group violence degrades one most of all. Because one [...] comes down from the pedestal to the lowest depths. And what has worried me most here is how young people, young students have got excited and have thrown their weight about? And most of all have themselves indulged in this violence.

The stories of this violence, which have appeared in some newspapers, are probably exaggerated. I know they are exaggerated in some particulars but quite apart from that exaggeration, the facts are bad enough. There is no doubt about it. It is a major fact that today—whatever the number may be—twenty thousand, thirty thousand refugees are living in camps, camps within Assam, some camps outside the borders of Assam. Is that not a shameful thing for all of us that our own people should become so afraid or should be induced to become so afraid by occurrences, should have no sense of security, no sense of living their normal lives and have to run away somewhere else leaving their homes and fields. It is a shameful thing for a community. And for those who have done this; what a deed? Do they think they have done a great deed? I am very sorry if they think so because they shamed Assam and they have shamed India. And I do not know, I cannot remember of a single instance in India, apart from the great partition that took place thirteen years ago-that of course resulted in great migrations. But that was a separate kind of thing. Within a country when the people have to run away from their homes and to go to refugee camps, is an astonishing thing. And I do not know that this has happened in any other part of our country ever since we became independent. Think on these matters.

People come to me and say, talk about the language issue. I love language, I love the beauty of language, the grace of language, and I think language is a most essential and important thing in man's life or in a community's life. But language is nothing to me if human dignity is not respected. First thing is human dignity and if you cannot respect human dignity and give security to your neighbor, your brother, what is the good of any language then, I say. What is the good of any other question? Therefore, we have to think of first things first; other things can come later. And the first thing to remember is that every person has certain rights in a country, in a civilized community—the right of security, the right of living his or her life within the laws of the country. And if that right is taken away then the primary right of an individual is taken away and the other things are trivial in comparison with it.

Now, therefore, I should like you to think of this basic fact. Now, I know that behind this lie many things. It is no good for a person telling me that all this happened because that happened. Oh! That attacks were made in the valley and

houses were burnt because people got excited, because the police had fired and a student had got shot in a hostel. Well, it is very sad that a student was shot. It is very sad that a policeman lost his head in the brick-bat. Blame the policeman if you like, punish him if you like. But it is barbarous for the people because of that to go and burn other people's houses. I have no words strong enough to describe that and people who cannot restrain themselves, who get excited and wreck vengeance on innocent people, cannot be respected in any community. And if young people do [this] in their youth what will they do when they grow up. How will they grow up? Here in this world of ours today which lives on the verge of wars, on atom bombs, hydrogen bombs and all that. Are you trained enough to face these tremendous problems of India? Please think of it, because we are engaged in great adventures, tremendous adventures we are engaged in India, and all the whole world is passing through this mighty phase, and no man knows what the next month or the next year might bring to this world. If it brings war, big war, that may annihilate all this world and all your problems will go [worse]. It may survive on the edge of a precipice and it may survive and become greater and greater, the world. And we in India. How do we face these problems by being petty, small-minded people, frog in the well kind of people, shouting out each one his own cry and forgetting that there is no strength? There is no greatness in separateness and in this petty togging ways of approaching life's problems. I beg of you to think of this.

What have we been working for? What have I been working for? Well, we worked for generations for the independence of India, and we worked with energy and vigour in large measure of unity, and during those two generations, the men and women of India and even the children of India paid heavily. Paid heavily not in coin which means nothing, but in labour and sacrifice and even by giving their lives for it. And when we had paid adequately and we had paid the price of freedom, we got freedom. But you remember, and many of you young men cannot remember it, that even at the height of our agitation, when passions were roused, every Englishman could pass through a crowd of angry Indians without being touched. That was the discipline we went under. We were angry and we were fighting the British, and we were fighting the British Empire, a great empire. We were fighting it under our great leader Gandhiji, but we were fighting peacefully. But we were fighting nevertheless. And we were human beings and even we saw our people being shot down; we were angry. But such was the discipline we had learnt from our leader that not a man would lift his finger, lift his hand against even his enemy, who passed by. And an Englishman could pass through a bazaar or a crowd without anybody touching him. It was a remarkable example, unknown the world. I say nowhere in the world could that happen except in India, in Gandhi's India. And now we raise our hands against our brother and try to push him out and get angry. Because somebody else behaved badly, somewhere else we go and hit the innocent. Is this not very extraordinary? Does this raise ourselves in other people's eyes or in our own eyes?

So, we gained independence and immediately we began our other great journey—we had no time to waste. Having gained independence we had to strengthen that independence and we had to raise India in the economic and social level and, above all, we had to work for the proper integration of India. Politically it was integrated, of course, geographically it was integrated. But we had to work for the emotional integration of India, so that people may attach more importance to this conception of India than to their petty provinces and petty languages and petty caste and petty everything, because India had always been troubled by these divisions—caste divisions, religious divisions, provincial divisions, linguistic divisions and all that.

Now, India is a great country, a great variety. It is the charm of India to have this variety. I like this variety; I want to preserve this variety. I do not want to make India something quite uniform, regimented. It is a beauty of Assam to be Assam, it is a beauty of Bengal to be Bengal, it is a beauty of Bombay or Madras to be Bombay or Madras and so on, with their beautiful languages, with their ways of life and other things. But that variety is only good when it is united, when it lives in unity. Otherwise, it is a disruptive force; it breaks things up and leaves us helpless in this troubled world. So unity is important. This spirit of integration, this thinking that the cause of the country is bigger than the cause of smaller things, any state or anything else. And oddly enough, if you want to serve the cause of a state you can only do that through serving the cause of the country, because we are tied up inextricably. If our country falls, we all fall. If we gained freedom, it is for the whole country—not for this or that state, or this province or that province. If a country falls, what can you [do] in Assam, or me in Delhi or somebody in Bombay or somebody in Madras? It all falls.

So we have to think in these terms. So we worked for the integration of India. That is a spiritual phenomenon, it cannot be brought about by decrees, by laws; one has to grow into it by education. It can help in other ways too. And so as we work for the integration of India, so also in different parts of India; so also in Assam, we and you have to work for the emotional integration of the people of Assam. Remember that this does not mean uniformity; it does not mean forcing people to do this or that; it does not mean forcing people to speak or write this language or that.

Compulsion does not come in a language. Language is a flower that grows. The moment you put it in chains it does not grow at all. So, this is what we have been working for, and we are working for that not only because it is a right ideal for us but because that is a only way we can survive. For we in India, as in many other parts of the world, are fighting for our survival, fighting against mighty physical forces, against mighty economic forces and all that. And we can only survive if we can work together in unity and work hard and make our country strong and prosperous. And all these our Five Year Plans and the like are meant to

achieve that end.

We build factories, we build great river valley schemes and all that which are necessary. But above all we have to build human beings, men and women and children. Because a nation after all is made up of human beings. If human beings are good, are advanced, are in a right mould, then it is well for the country. If we are not, then it does not matter how many factories we may have, we are no good. So, please keep this in mind for we are after great things, and if we are after great things, we are not going to allow small things to come in our way. Do you think we have laboured in the last fifty years or more to achieve independence in order to lose it because of our folly of young or old, because of the narrowness of mind of some people who think that the whole world is dependent on reciting some slogans? Surely, that is not going to happen. You are not going to allow it. You should not allow it. Are we going to lose everything that one has gained simply because of the folly of some people or the excitement of some people? That should not be done. Therefore, we have to think calmly. We have not to get excited and we have to keep our ideals in view and try to work for it.

It is a big task; it is a tremendous task, not a small thing, where our 400 million people are concerned, to raise their level and bring prosperity. So think of that, think of the problem of Assam. But think of the problems of Assam in larger context. And remember this thing that something has happened during the last few weeks in Assam which is a very bad thing. And it does not matter who is guilty and who is not guilty. It does matter in a different context. But in the ultimate analysis I am not concerned with the individual, with this man or that man—that is a policeman's job. I hope the police would do that job well. Those who are guilty ought to be punished for the guilt because the guilt is not an individual guilt. An individual who commits a crime should suffer; but what about the individual who commits a crime against society? That is a much bigger thing. But as I said, I am not for the moment interested in that. I am interested in bigger things. And I am interested in trying to find out how it can be avoided—that fact, as I said, that something should happen here; whatever the reasons for that, they are bad. It is bad thing for 35,000 refugees to stay saddled up in the refugee camps. It is bad thing for the mobs to go about killing people. It is bad thing for the police to kill a person without adequate cause. Or it is a worse thing for a mob to kill him. We get excited about one thing and take for granted the other things. I do not understand this. Violence is bad whosoever commits it in this way.

So all this is happening and it is bad in itself and undoubtedly it has left memories which will linger and we have to fight this and to restore normalcy. Because the alternative to this is disruption, break-up, falling down, degradation. That is the only alternative. The people should realize that. Therefore, we have to think calmly, we have to keep in view what I reminded you of India. But take Assam first, think of Assam—where does the future of Assam lie? In progress, in united progress. You cut up Assam into little bits, take it from me there will be no

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progress. If you live in little shells here and there and gradually you go down in posterity.

You must keep in view this ideal of a strong integrated Assam. How is that to be done? Not by compulsion—that is not the way to bring about emotional integration. But by understanding each other's viewpoints, by tolerance, by trying to have good neighbourly relation with each other so that each one of you may feel the security, even though you may differ from each other. That is a democratic method, that is the only method for survival, otherwise we could just go to pieces fighting each other, knocking each other's head and the man with the strongest lathi survives and another man with a longer lathi comes and knocks him down. That is not civilized existence and we shall go that way if we are not careful, if our young people do not quite realize which is the right way and which is the wrong way. Now, that is the basic thing to realize. If that is the basic thing then our whole approach to these problems has to change.

Take this problem of language. Now, it is patent that Assam, as it is, has various linguistic groups. Remember also what are the various groups? There is, of course, the Assamese group, the biggest and the dominant group, with a fine language—Assamese language—a language recognized as a national language of India in our Constitution; there is the Bengali group—smaller in numbers—but still adequate with a language which is not only recognized but famous all over India and outside India. These are the languages which are the pride of India whether they are Bengali or Assamese or our other languages, we cherish them. Languages do not grow by fighting each other; they are cultural things and they grow by service, they grow by serving them in other ways. So, then there are the linguistic groups of our friends in these Hill areas. Now, how are we to deal with the problems. Both Bengali and Assamese are recognized among the national languages of India. To speak about the Assamese language, that it be made the official language of Assam—there is something more than that—it is one of our national languages in India, that is much more important than being made—for a particular corner of the country. But it is true that this particularly applies to Assam and parts of Assam and it is right that it should be respected and honoured there and used. And that is completely right whether it is for educational purposes, whether it is for official purpose only, whether it is for any purposes for which normally a language is used and it should certainly be used. But, and there is a very big but, it does not follow that it should be imposed on people, or others whose language is not Assamese; it does not follow at all. In fact, it is against the spirit of our Constitution—an imposition of a language on others.

You know that we have made Hindi a constitutional language for official purposes, a language for all India official purposes. Hindi does not displace any of our languages, whether it is Assamese, or Bengali, or Gujarati or Marathi, Tamil or Telugu or any other language of India. Nothing doing, Hindi does not come in conflict with it. It is our additional language for all India purposes. And

we want to encourage all these provincial and state languages. And I am also, among other things, the President of Sahitya Akademi whose objective is to encourage all those twelve or thirteen national languages of India, including Assamese. But we have one rule—we encourage all languages but we do not want to impose a language on the other. For various reasons, a language does not grow by imposition, a language grows through other means. Where it is tried to be imposed, it is opposed, and you get into controversies about it. Some force to begin and a language suffers from such controversies; it does not grow. Therefore here is Assamese, a good fine language making progress. Let us introduce it where we can, let us cherish it, let it grow but do not impose it on others. And if you want to find—there is no difficulty and there are no particular difficulties in schools, colleges or universities. Difficulties may arise on the official use. Because the state of Assam being a composite state—linguistically composite, in other ways, therefore inevitably, it is a question for people to consider and find out ways so that this is arrived at by mutual agreement. The moment you try to find out any other way it is bad and it injures the Assamese language.

Again, remember one thing—a language is often the passport to a career, to employment and the like. And I think, naturally, that is one of the basic difficulties. Any step taken which comes in the way of fair opportunities for everyone is a wrong step. As I said, Hindi mainly is a language for all-India official purposes. We would like every person employed in the all-India Services to know Hindi. We are not forcing it down immediately, we want the process to grow. But even so we have made it clear, that we do not want the lack of the knowledge of Hindi to come in the way of recruitment to all-India Services because if we said otherwise it will be unfair to people of non-Hindi speaking provinces. It will be unfair more especially for the people in South, in Madras or elsewhere. If we wanted for recruitment a high standard of Hindi knowledge, obviously the Hindi-knowing man will get away with it, also a non-Hindi man would suffer, although he may be clever or he may be more brilliant. That is not right. We want equal opportunities for all people in India to enter the all-India Services; and yes, after that we shall ask them to pass an examination in Hindi language. As a matter of fact, not only in Hindi but if we send a man, if we station a man, a north Indian man, if we station him in Madras, we would ask him to learn Tamil or Telugu. Because he has to function there. That is a different matter. So you see how the whole approach is not to put unfair burden on anyone because of language.

We want languages to grow and I am quite sure that after a few years, people in South will know Hindi better than I do, just as they are wonderful at English. They are very clever. They can learn it; if they want to, they will. But it is for them to do that, not for me to do, force them to do. So think of this language question not as one of imposition. The moment you think so you injure the language, you harm it and you create disrupting tendencies, you encourage disruption which will break down the state of Assam and injuring all of us. Now, are all these

considerations present in the minds of young people who go about in the processions shouting slogans? Obviously not. I have put it before you, and I want you to think about it. And I want you also to realize that there are questions which certainly should be decided by the people of Assam, decided by agreements between them for there can be no imposition. But these are also the questions where there is such a thing as the Constitution of India, there is such a thing like the Central Government in India and its broad policies. And surely you do not expect the Constitution of India to be flouted in Assam or anywhere else. And the Constitution lays down certain rules about languages and there is going to be no imposition, so far as the Constitution is concerned, on anybody in Assam or elsewhere. I hope you will all consider this matter for the good of Assam, for the good of the different parts of Assam, and try to consider [...] by an agreement which are in keeping with the spirit of progress, with the service to the language concerned and at the same time promote an atmosphere of brotherliness and cooperation. I have said this about the language.

Take the question of employment. We want every single person in India to have opportunities of work and employment. That is true. We also want merit to prevail. We do not want to be a third-rate nation. The moment merit does not prevail the country becomes second-rate. If we started, let us say in the army, appointing senior officers on some basis of province or state, or on some religious or caste basis, what would our army be like? It would be a dud, with probably the third-rate fools as head of it. Is that the way to build up a strong army? We have to appoint our senior officers by merit, and those who have shown themselves, of course, in the junior ranks, that is important; but there is a general level which we see. The moment we go about certain junior ranks we go strictly by merit and there are very strict tests and the boards to examine it. And so we try to get the best men. We may fail, but we try to, because an army is meant for serious purposes. An army is meant to protect the country in times of danger and aggression. Are we to risk that, risk the future of the country by putting the people by caste and community or province, in quotas there? There will be no army left. So in all important types of work that we do we have to go, proceed in this way. At the same time, as I have said, we have to find employment for everybody and, what is more important, we have to give opportunities of high class training to everybody, so that they may take the advantages fully.

The main thing is the training. I shall never agree to high appointments other than based on merit because that means that we are ruining our country. We are entering an age of science and high technology. How am I to do a job of science unless I have got a good scientist? How am I to build a bridge on Brahmaputra unless I have a good engineer to build it? Obviously, I do not care who the good engineer is; whether he comes from Madras, whether he comes from Scotland or America? I want the first class engineer to do it. If I have got it in India I will use him. If I have not got him in India I will get him from Japan or Russia or

anywhere. Because I want the job done. It is not merely a job providing [...], but something to be done. If I have to make a bridge on Brahmaputra it has got to be built. If I have got to build a refinery in your Gauhati, I have got to get that work done by competent men. It is no good your telling me that so and so should be appointed because he is a Bengali or because he is an Assamese person or somebody else. No good. I want a man who knows the job. And if I have not got him in India he will have to come from abroad.

We have got three big steel plants in India—new ones—Bhilai, Rourkela and Durgapur. We are employing there thousands—not hundreds—thousands of German, Russian and the British people. Do you think we like it? Not we, but we want the job done. In the next steel plant we are making, there would not be a thousand of foreigners, there may be handful, perhaps none at all. Because we know the job now. But we want the job done. These are not questions of finding, just getting jobs for people for having certain salaries, but we have got to get a job done. And only the person who can do it will ought to be put there.

So look at this way. You may be completely right in saying that the training for the jobs should be provided and opportunities for getting those jobs should be given. But you will be always wrong if you say that a second-rate man should be preferred to a first-rate man. Because that means a second-rate nation. That we must not do.

So I have ventured to place these considerations before you, but all these considerations take a second place. The first place is this, that nothing can be done unless you have a civilized atmosphere of security in state, that a person is not afraid of his neighbour, a person lives, can live with this sense of security. And therefore, the very first thing today in Assam is to bring back those people who are in these camps, whether the camps are in some parts of Assam or even have gone outside. They must come back to the homes and be rehabilitated and if their huts or small houses have been burnt, they have to be rebuilt and they have to be helped in rebuilding them, and they have to be given security. This is the first thing to be done.

And I think that today [...] for the Government of Assam whether in those particular areas, where a good deal of mischief had been done in the shape of burning, whether some punitive tax should not be imposed on the people there so as to make them realize that it is not good to behave in this way.²⁶³ That is a matter for consideration. It is not for me to decide, but I certainly think that it is for consideration, because people cannot profit, should not be made to profit, by their misdeeds.

^{263.} Nehru's words have been partially lost in the recording; but the National Herald of 20 July 1960 reports his thoughts on this point as follows: "Pandit Nehru said that it was not for him to suggest, but the Assam Government could consider imposition of some punitive tax in areas where homes had been destroyed."

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Now, I see I have spoken for a long time and I promised to speak in Hindi, so I should now proceed to say a few words in Hindi.

भाइयो और बहिनो,

कल ही मैं यहाँ आया और इधर-उधर घूम रहा हूँ। एक और, कल भी रहूँगा, परसों मुझे दिल्ली जाना है। अक्सर आना होता है यहाँ आसाम और मुझे यहाँ आना अच्छा लगता है क्योंकि सुंदर जगह है और यहाँ के लोग भी अच्छे हैं, चाहे वो वैली के हों, ब्रह्मपुत्र वैली के, चाहे पहाड़ों के। अच्छे लोग हैं तो मुझे आना अच्छा लगता है। और यहाँ के जो प्रश्न हैं वो भी दिलचस्प हैं, कठिन भी हैं और दिलचस्प भी।

अबकी दफ़े मैं आया तो देखा, बहुत कुछ कहानियाँ मैंने सुनी, यहाँ के आने के पहले भी सुनी थीं, आकर सुनी बहुत कुछ। हरेक आदमी लम्बी कहानी लेकर दिखाने के लिए किसी और का कसूर है, उसका कसूर नहीं है। हरेक आदमी दूसरे पर ज़िम्मेदारी डाले। बंगाली भाई आये, कहें कि देखें आसामियों ने क्या क्या किया, आसामी आये कहें कि देखो बंगाली क्या किया करते हैं। हमारे पहाडी भाई आये वो कहें कि यह आसामी या बंगाली हमें अगर दबाना चाहेंगे तो हमें मंजूर नहीं है। तो गरज़ कि हर एक अपने-अपने नुकते से इस बात को उठायें। ठीक था, और मेरे सामने एक तमाशा सा हो गया, जैसे स्टेज पर तमाशा होता है। तमाशा करने वाले आते हें और जाते हैं अपनी-अपनी कहानी कह के। मैं सुनता रहा, देखता रहा और बहुत सारी बातें छोटी-मोटी सुनी मैंने। मुझे उसमें दिलचस्पी नहीं थी। क्योंकि मुझे तो इस बात में दिलचस्पी है कि आसाम जा कहाँ रहा है? मुझे इसमें नहीं दिलचस्पी है कि इसने यहाँ क्या किया, उसने वहाँ क्या किया? हालाँकि वो बात है कि आसाम कहाँ जा रहा है, किधर जाना चाहता है? और इस बात में विशेषकर दिलचस्पी मुझे कि हमारे नवयुवक जो हैं, वो आज स्कूल-कॉलेज में पढते हैं कल यहाँ से निकल के उनको बड़े काम करने हैं, जि़म्मेदारी के काम करने हैं, वो कैसे अपने को तैयार कर रहे हैं उस ज़िम्मेदारी को ओढ़ने को। यह तो कोई तैयार करने का तरीका नहीं है कि अपनी बहाद्री दिखाएँ भीड़ में जाकर और मकान जला दें किसी का, यह तो कोई खास नौजवानों की तैयारी की बात नहीं है, बड़े काम करने की। हाँ, मैंने माना कि बहक कर जोश में कर देते हैं, और मैं उनको माफ करने को तैयार हूँ, क्योंकि जवानी के जोश में बहुत बातें गलत हो जाती हैं, माफ कर देनी चाहिए। इसकी मुझे फ़िक्र नहीं है लेकिन एक बात मैं माफ़ करने को तैयार नहीं हूँ कि उससे वो अपने देश को हानि पहुँचायें। अपने को हानि पहुँचायें, वो भी बुरा है। अपने को हानि इस माने में कि उनका यह मौका है जो फिर नहीं हाथ आयेगा। क्योंकि आख़िर में जवानी एक ही दफे आती है। सीखने का, अपने को ट्रेंड करने का मौका, एक ही दफ़े आता है। अगर वो हाथ से उनके निकल गया यह ज़माना तो फिर कब सीखेंगे? फिर कब ट्रेंड होंगे? बाद में जब इधर-उधर मारे मारे फिरेंगे।

हिन्दुस्तान इस वक्त एक देश है जिसमें एक तरफ आप देखें कि रोज़गार मिलने में किठनाई होती है अक्सर लोगों को। दूसरी तरफ आप देखेंगे कि हमारे पास बेइन्तहा ज़रूरत है ट्रेंड आदिमियों की। कोई ट्रेंड आदमी लाइए, कोई उसको दिक्कृत — रोज़गार छोड़िए, उसकी तलाश है, ढूँढ है। क्योंकि यह किठनाई ऐसे सब देशों में होती है मौके पर, क्योंकि हम बदल रहे हैं न। पुरानी दुनिया से नयी दुनिया में आ रहे हैं। हमारी शिक्षा भी कुछ पुरानी है, बदलती जाती है। नयी दुनिया है, नयी दुनिया, नया भारत बन रहा है। जो लोग उसमें खपते हैं उनको कोई किठनाई नहीं है रोज़गार

मिलने की। सारे भारत में हम ढूँढते हैं। फुर्ज़ कीजिए मैं एक छोटी-सी मिसाल दूँ सारे हिन्दुस्तान में हमने ढूँढा वैल्डर्स, जो लोहे को जमाते हैं ख़ास तरीक़े से, सारे हिन्दुस्तान में तलाश किया है, हज़ारों चाहिए वो दस-बीस हज़ार। लोहे के जो कारख़ाने बनें उसमें। बड़ी मुश्किल से कुछ गुजरात में ढूँढा, कुछ मद्रास से दूँढा, कुछ कहीं दूँढा। कोई नौकरी देने की ख़्वाहिश तो नहीं थी। हमें एक काम कराना था जो आदमी उस काम को कर सके वो हमारे लिए बेशकीमती था। तो इसलिए काम की कमी हिन्दुस्तान में नहीं होने वाली है, याद रखिए आप। हाँ, यह हो सकता है कि इस दो-चार-पाँच-सात बरस में इधर-से-उधर जाने में कठिनाइयाँ हों, होंगी। बड़ा मुल्क है। उसको उठाना, हाथी को उठाना ही मुश्किल हो जाता है, तो यह सब बातें। तो किस तरह से, मुझे फ़िकर है, किस तरह से नौजवान अपने को ट्रेंड करते हैं। यह उनके स्कूल और कॉलेज का ज़माना बेशकीमती है, फिर दोबारा किसी को आता नहीं है। अगर इस वक्त उसको ज़ाया उन्होंने कर दिया, तो फिर एक अफसोस की बात है उनके लिए, हम सभों के लिए, क्योंकि आख़िर में एक मुल्क की दौलत, एक मुल्क का धन उसके लोग होते हैं और ख़ासकर उसके नौजवान होते हैं। वही मुल्क को उठाते हैं, और कौन उठाता है? एक तरफ बूढ़े हैं एक तरफ़ बच्चे। हाँ, बच्चे धन हैं क्योंकि बच्चे बढ़ेंगे, बढ़कर नौजवान हो जायेंगे इसलिए मुझे बच्चों की फ़िकर है सबसे ज़्यादा। लेकिन आख़िर में जो लोग आजकल स्कूल-कॉलेज में हैं वो कल का हिन्दुस्तान हैं। कल के हिन्दुस्तान की बागडोर उनके हाथ में जायेगी। अगर उन्होंने सीखा इस हिन्दुस्तान की गाड़ी को चलाना तो भला है। नहीं तो न जाने कहाँ खाई खंदक में पहुँच जायेंगे उनको लेकर। इसलिए यह उनके लिए कीमती ज़माना है और उनको बह नहीं जाना चाहिए। हाँ, मैं चाहता हूँ उनमें जान हो, उनमें आग हो, ठीक है। मुर्दा आदमी मैं नहीं चाहता, मुझे पसंद नहीं और कभी आग की झलक से ज़्यादा गर्मी हो जाये तो मुझे कोई उसमें एतराज़ नहीं है। लेकिन फिर भी रोकथाम हो और अपने को सम्भालकर चलना, क्योंकि उन्हें मुल्क को चलाना है, और इस समय अपना वक्त ज़ाया करने से वो सारा अपने भविष्य को ज़ाया कर दे सकते हैं। इसलिए मुझे बड़ी फ़िकर हुई कि यहाँ जो कुछ झगड़ा-फसाद हुआ उसमें एक हिस्सा हमारे नौजवानों ने कुछ ज़रूरत से ज़्यादा लिया, वो अच्छी बात नहीं हुई है।

तो यह बातें हुईं और इन बातों के होने से बहुत हानि हुई। क्योंकि जैसे मैंने अभी कहा यह पहली बार भारत में हुआ है, स्वतंत्र भारत में कि लोग डर के मारे घर छोड़कर जाकर कैम्प में रहें। उस वक़्त भारत जब आजाद हुआ था, पाकिस्तान बना था जब, तो आप जानते हैं बड़े पैमाने पर हुआ, वो दूसरा सवाल था, एक दूसरे देश से आए थे। लेकिन हमारे देश के अंदर एक प्रान्त से दूसरे प्रान्त में क्या घर छोड़कर कहीं और जायें? यह एक नयी चीज़ है और लज्जाजनक चीज़ है। और शिर्मेदा होने की बात है, कि हम अपने पड़ोसी पर भरोसा नहीं कर सकते, और एक-दूसरे से डरते हैं और घबराते हैं।

इसलिए सबसे पहला सवाल हमारे लिए है कि इस बुरी हवा को हटायें, भरोसा पैदा करें, उन लोगों को लायें वापस। जो शिविर में, कैम्प में, बैठे हैं उनको घरों में बसाएँ, पैसा खर्चें उसके ऊपर। बहुत पैसा खर्च होगा इसमें। जितना पैसा ख़र्च होगा उनके बसाने में, उतने में कई कॉलेज स्कूल क्या-क्या बन सकते थे। वो तो बने नहीं। ख़ैर यह आवश्यक बात है, इसको करें, इसको करना आवश्यक है। क्योंकि हम यह नहीं करते, इस धब्बे को मिटाने की कोशिश नहीं करते तो यह आसाम के लिए हमेशा के लिए बुरा होगा। इसलिए उनको जो मैं कहता हूँ उनको लाकर फिर से उनकी स्थापना करनी है उनके घरों में, रिहैबिलिटेट करना है। वो तो ठीक है और मुझे यकीन है कि यहाँ की सरकार करेंगी। लेकिन इसको मैं काफी नहीं समझता। मेरी राय में यह काम खाली सरकारी नहीं है, बल्कि जनता का है। और जहाँ-जहाँ ऐसी बातें हुई हैं वहाँ जनता को स्वयं उनको बुलाना है और उनको सहायता देनी है, मदद करनी है बसने में। यह बहुत आवश्यक बात है, नहीं तो आख़िर में एक-दूसरे में लड़ाई रही तो बसेंगे कैसे? क्या हर वक्त यहाँ पुलिस वाले और फ़ौज खड़ी रहेगी एक-दूसरे को बचाने को। इसलिए यह कर्तव्य हो गया उन लोगों का, उस इलाक़े के लोगों का कि वो उनको लायें, बुलायें, मदद दें घर बनाने में और बाद में मिलकर रहें। और मुझे ख़ुशी है इस बात की, कि कई जगह मैंने सुना ऐसा हो रहा है कि वहाँ के लोग ख़ुद मदद दे रहे हैं उनको इस तरह से फिर से बसाने में। यह पहली बात है और मुझे आश्चर्य होता है कि यह सब झगड़े-फसाद के बाद कोई सवाल उठे, यह क्या होगा और वो होगा और आसामी भाषा कब आयेगी? आसामी भाषा से मुझे बहुत प्रेम है, आये, मुबारक हो। लेकिन आसामी भाषा लोगों की लाशों के ऊपर से तो नहीं आयेगी, यह आप समझ लीजिए, न जले हुए घरों में बसेगी आसामी भाषा। इस तरह से नहीं आती है। आसामी भाषा या कोई भाषा एक शानदार चीज़ है, शान से आती है, मारपीट करके नहीं आती है। वो भाषा को भी बदनाम आप किया चाहते हैं कि उसके नाम को बाँध दें झगड़े-फसाद से, यह तो बात ठीक नहीं है। इसलिए उस काम को करना है। और सवालों को, भाषा वग़ैरह के सवालों को, आवश्यक सवाल हैं, उठाइये, जरूर उठाइये मिलकर तय कीजिये। यह तरीका नहीं है, चाहे वो आसाम की असेम्बली में हो, चाहे कहीं हो, कि ज़ोर से और जोश से औरों के विरोध पर उसको हम करेंगे, हम लादेंगे तुम्हारे ऊपर। भाषा आज तक दुनिया के इतिहास में कभी लदी नहीं है किसी के ऊपर, यह आप समझिए।

रूसी लोगों ने, सैकड़ों बरस पुराने रूस ने सैकड़ों बरस पोलेण्ड पर हुकूमत की, और उन्होंने कानून से पोलिश भाषा को कानून के ख़िलाफ़ कर दिया था, रूसी भाषा को, यह उन्होंने किया था। लेकिन सारे रूसी साम्राज्य की ताकत से पोलिश भाषा नहीं दबी। और अब शान की भाषा है, अब तो पोलैंड एक स्वतन्त्र देश है। यह भाषा के मामले में चलती नहीं हैं बातें। भाषा प्रेम से बढ़ती है, सेवा से और-और लोगों को खेंचती है इसी तरह से अपनी तरफ। आसामी भाषा एक सुंदर भाषा है, तरक्की कर रही है, करेगी। सेवा करें उसकी, और मुझे विश्वास है कि आसामी भाषा फैलेगी और भी। लेकिन जहाँ यह प्रश्न आया ज़बर्दस्ती का, तो दीवार खड़ी हो जाती है, फिर विरोध हो जाता है, तब चलती नहीं। तो इस प्रश्न को. तो इस तरह से नहीं हो सकता यह। यह इसी तरह से हो सकता है कि जिस में कोई जबर्दस्ती और जब्र न हो, जो कि समझौते से तय हो और अगर समझौते से पूरे आसाम की नहीं कोई बात निश्चय होती, आसाम की, तो ठीक है आसामी भाषा बड़े ज़ोर से सरकारी भाषा हो, ख़ास इलाक़ों में, और इलाक़ों में सरकारी नहीं होगी। इन बातों पर विचार करना है। लेकिन मैं आपको सिद्धान्त की बात बता रहा हूँ कि सिद्धान्त से यह बातें होती हैं और किस सिद्धान्त से भाषाएँ और साहित्य चलता है। मेरा भी कोई सम्बन्ध साहित्य से हैं, मुझे प्रेम है साहित्य से, मुझे प्रेम है भाषाओं से, मुझे प्रेम है शब्दों से। अज़ीब एक जादू की चीज़ शब्द होता है, हालाँकि आमतौर से लोग उसको जादू को नहीं देखते, उसको एक चमकती हुई चीज़ से एक खोटा बना देते हैं। तो मैं प्रेम से कहता हूँ मैं चाहता हूँ आसामी भाषा बढ़े। क्योंकि सुंदर भाषा है और मैं चाहता हूँ कि आप सही रास्ते से उसे बढ़ायें और चलाएँ।

एक बात हाँ मैंने सुनी कि अजीब यहाँ डर है, आसामी भाईयों को कि बाहर से बहुत लोग आ जायें तो उनकी गिनती कहीं कम न हो जाये। कहीं यों आ गये शरणार्थी आ गये पाकिस्तान

से वो नम्बर बढ़ गया उधर ही। अच्छा फिर और आएँ, अब आते हैं जितने यहाँ। एक साहब ने कहा साहब आप कहते हैं कारख़ाने हम तो चाहते हैं यहाँ कारख़ाने बनायेंगे बड़े-बड़े। लेकिन कारख़ाने बनाने के माने हुए कि और हिन्दुस्तान के लोग आके भरती होते जायें तो कारखाने अपने ही यहाँ रखिए। अब यह तो एक बिल्कुल गलत सी बात थी। कारखाने यहाँ आएँगे तभी तरक्की होगी। अब हम तो चाहते हैं उसमें जितने ज्यादा से ज्यादा आसामी लोग आयें, आयें। लेकिन जाहिर है बाहर से भी लोग आएँगे उसमें। आप वहाँ जाइए राउरकेला जाइए या भिलाई जाइए, वहाँ के लोहे के कारखानों में आपको सारे हिन्दुस्तान के प्रांतों के लोग मिलेंगे, कोई बचा नहीं है, और मद्रास, आंध्र प्रदेश और पंजाब और बम्बई और बंगाल और आसाम सब के लोग वहाँ काम करते हैं। वहाँ कोई देखता है कि वहाँ भिलाई, वहाँ मध्यप्रदेश में खाली मध्यप्रदेश के लोग हैं? ऐसे हम कोई कारखाना चला सकते हैं? इस डर से हम अपना बढ़ना रोक देंगे? तो यह डर कि कहीं बाहर वाले लोग अधिक आ जायेंगे, अव्वल तो अधिक कहाँ आयेंगे? सौ-पचास आ गए हज़ार-दो हजार आए तो यहाँ आबादी तो नहीं बदल जाती, और फ़र्ज़ करो कि कुछ अधिक आ भी गए, तो उनको अधिकार नहीं होता कि वहाँ दख़ल दें यहाँ की भाषा में, जो कि हमारे कांस्टीट्यूशन में लिखी हुई है। वो कोई गिनती से चलती है कि साठ फीसदी है कि पचपन फीसदी कि बावन फीसदी? उससे होता है कुछ? आसामी एक हमारे राष्ट्र की भाषा है। हमारे कांस्टीट्यूशन में लिखी है, जैसे और भाषाएँ लिखी हैं। तो इस गिनती से आप न डरें, न घबराएँ। और लेकिन मोटी बात यह है कि आसाम का भविष्य बँधा हुआ है भारत के भविष्य से, हिन्दुस्तान के भविष्य से, अलग नहीं है। और जहाँ, यहाँ के लोग भूल जायें इस बात को, तो इससे बढ़ते हुए भारत से वो फायदा नहीं उठाते। वो पिछड़ जायेंगे और यह बात अच्छी नहीं होगी। तो इन बातों को आप सोचें।

पहले यह कि दो-चार बातें आपको दोहरा देता हूँ। पहली बात यह कि आजकल की यह क्रान्तिकारी बदलती हुई लड़खड़ाती दुनिया को सामने रखें आप। दूसरे यह कि आजकल के भारत को सामने रखें। जहाँ बड़े-बड़े कार्य और परिश्रम हो रहे हैं इसको एक पुराने ग़रीबी के दलदल से निकालने के लिए, काफी क्रान्तिकारी बातें भारत में हो रही हैं उसमें आप एक भाग ले रहे हैं, हिस्सेदार हैं। तीसरे यह कि आसाम एक भारत का भाग है। जहाँ आसाम ने भारत को अपने से अलग, अलग से मेरा मतलब राजनीतिक अलग नहीं, लेकिन मानसिक तौर से आप भारत के सवाल को भूल गये तो आप आसाम को हानि पहुँचाते हैं और आसाम नहीं बढ़ेगा। हम एक दूसरे की मदद से बढ़ सकते हैं। यह हम समझें कि दूसरे आदमी को हम अलग कर दें तो हमें कुछ मिल जायेगा, मिलेगा नहीं, हम कमज़ोर हो जाते हैं। हमारा बढ़ना कठिन हो जाता है। तीन बातें याद रखें। और चौथी बात यह कि इस समय यहाँ जो आसाम में बातें हुईं, वह उपद्रव हुआ, जो झगड़ा-फसाद हुआ उसने बहुत बदनाम कर दिया हमारे देश को विदेशों में भी। यह बुरा हुआ और सबसे ज़्यादा हानि इससे, नुकसान पड़ा, किस बात को? यहाँ की भाषा के आंदोलन को। क्योंकि लोगों ने इन दोनों को मिला दिया। गुलत बात थी। क्या बात? इन बातों से उससे हानि पड़ी और एक आपने आसामी भाषा को नुकसान पहुँचाया इनको जोड़कर। आप लोगों ने नहीं, मगर जिन्होंने किया।

तो पहला काम यहाँ है शांति। शांति तो हो जायेगी, लेकिन मुझे फ़ौज की और पुलिस की शांति नहीं चाहिए, मुझे जनता के दिलों की शांति, एक-दूसरे से मिलकर रहना अच्छे पड़ोसियों की तरह। और जो लोग निकले हैं, camps में रहते हैं, उनको लाना जल्दी से जल्दी, उनको बसाना, प्रेम से

SELECTED WORKS OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

बसाना और उनके पड़ोसियों को कहना कि हम मिलकर रहेंगे, यह बात करनी। और यह बात जब हो जाये, तब शांति से बैठकर जो प्रश्न हैं भाषा वग़ैरह के, हम सब मिलकर उनको निश्चय करें, जिससे आसामी भाषा की उन्नति हो, तरक्की हो, अवश्य होना चाहिए। लेकिन कोई ज़बर्दस्ती थोपने की उसको न हो किसी और पर। यह बातें आप याद रखें तो हल्के-हल्के जो नयी कठिनाइयाँ उठी हैं वो भी हल हो जायेंगी और हम सब मिलकर आगे बढ़ेंगे।

जय हिन्द।

[Translation begins:

Brothers and Sisters.

I arrived here yesterday and have been touring here and there. I will be here for another day and will return to Delhi the day after tomorrow. I get the opportunity of coming to Assam very often and I like to come here because it is a very beautiful state, set in the Brahmaputra Valley with mountains all around. I like the people too. So I like to come here. The problems of Assam are difficult and at the same time interesting too.

I have been hearing all kinds of stories, both before coming here and since then too. Each person has a tale, to absolve himself of all blame and to shift the responsibility to someone else. The Bengalis blame the Assamese and the other way round. The Hill people say that they cannot accept the domination of the Bengalis or Assamese. In short, each community looks at it from his own point of view. It was a strange spectacle and I kept listening to everyone. I was not interested in the petty details because my main interest lies in where Assam is going. I am not interested in what this, that or some other community or individual has done. What I see is whither Assam is bound and where it wants to go. I am particularly interested in our youth who are reading in schools and colleges today. They have great responsibilities to shoulder in the future. So, I am interested in how they are preparing themselves for the future. There is no great bravery in going and burning houses or other public property. This is not the way to prepare themselves for the future. I agree that they get carried away by a momentary passion and am prepared to excuse them. One is bound to make many mistakes in the passion of youth. But what I am not prepared to forgive is the damage done to the nation. They are causing damage to themselves, to their future, because this is an opportunity which will not come again. They can get only one opportunity, when they are young, to train themselves and if that is lost, how can they learn anything or get training? They will become good for nothing.

On the one hand, you will find that it is difficult for people to get employment in India. On the other hand, there is a great need for trained people in the country. This is a problem faced by any country which is changing and moving from the old to a new world. We are engaged in building a new nation, and those who change with the times will have no difficulty in finding employment. We are

looking for trained people all over the country. Let me give you a small example. We have been searching all over India for welders, for we need thousands of them in the new steel plants that are being put up. We searched in Gujarat, Madras and elsewhere. We needed people to do a job and the individual who was trained to do the task was invaluable for us. Therefore, please remember that there will be no dearth of employment in India. It is possible that we will have to face hardships in our march towards progress, particularly in the next five years, because uplifting a vast country like ours is not an easy task.

Therefore, I am always bothered about the way our youth prepare themselves. The time that they spend in school and college is a valuable one for them which will not come again. If they fritter it away now, it will be regrettable because ultimately the people, particularly the youth of a nation, are its wealth. It is they who contribute to the country's progress. The children of today are the future of the country and so I am concerned about them. But the youth who are in schools and colleges today will have to hold the reins of the country tomorrow. If they equip themselves well for the task, it will be a good thing for all of us. Otherwise no one knows where they will lead the country. Therefore, they must not fritter away this invaluable time. I would certainly want them to have fire and life in them. I do not want lifeless people around me. I have no objection if sometimes sparks fly because of excess heat. But at the same time, they should learn self-control too because they have to run the country. If they fritter away their time today, they can waste their entire future. So I was rather worried by the events that occurred here and the part played by the youth, which is not commendable. The recent events in Assam have done a great deal of damage because, as I

The recent events in Assam have done a great deal of damage because, as I said just now, for the first time in independent India, people have had to leave their homes and go and live in camps out of fear. As you know, this had happened on a very large scale when India became free and Pakistan was created. But the problem was different then and the refugees had come from another country. But it is a new and shameful thing that people should have to leave their homes and go to another state. There can be no trust among the people but only fear.

Therefore, the most urgent problem before us is to dispel this evil atmosphere and create a new trust. The people who are in camps must be brought back and resettled in their own houses. It will mean a lot of expenditure on this when the

Therefore, the most urgent problem before us is to dispel this evil atmosphere and create a new trust. The people who are in camps must be brought back and resettled in their own houses. It will mean a lot of expenditure on this when the money could have been usefully spent on building schools or colleges or something else. Well, it is necessary to do this because if we fail to clear this blot it will augur ill for Assam forever. Therefore, those who have had to leave their homes must be rehabilitated at once. I am sure that the Government will do so. But I do not think that is enough. In my view, this is a task not for the Government alone but for the people. Wherever these incidents have occurred, the people must themselves call the others back and help them to resettle. This is very important because how can there be any rehabilitation if the people keep quarrelling among themselves? How can we station the police and army all the time to protect them?

SELECTED WORKS OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

Therefore, it is the duty of the people who are living in those areas to extend their help and cooperation to the homeless. I am glad to hear that it is happening in many places.

I am surprised, however, to notice that there is a continuing demand for making Assamese the state language. Assamese is a very beautiful language and I wish Assamese language well. But please be clear about it that Assamese cannot become the state language over the corpses of people. It will not be spoken in torched houses either. Assamese, or any language, is a great thing and it has its dignity. You will only earn a bad name for the language by misbehaving in its name, which is not right. The question of language is no doubt important and anything pertaining to it should be settled peacefully. But nothing can be imposed on the others by force. No language has yet been imposed on a people, ever, in history. The Russia of centuries ago had ruled over Poland for centuries and had outlawed the Polish language. But the entire might of Russian imperialism could not suppress the language. Now Polish has a place of honour. Poland is a free country now.

So you cannot use force in the matter of language. It grows by love and service and by attracting people. Assamese is a beautiful language and will progress. You should nurture it and I am sure that it will spread further. But the moment there is a question of force, a barrier is created and leads to opposition and resistance. So, this question has to be tackled in a manner in which there is no force and a solution is reached by agreement. If a solution is not found by agreement for the whole of Assam, then Assamese may well become the official language in certain areas and in the rest of the areas it may not be the official language. You must have these considerations in mind. I am telling you about the principles that govern a language or literature. I have been associated with literature and I have a love for languages, and for words. There is strange magic in a word, though, normally, people do not perceive it and so tarnish its brilliance. I say it with conviction that I want Assamese to grow and flourish because it is a beautiful language. But I want you to go about it in the right way.

I have heard that there is a strange fear among the Assamese that outsiders will come and swamp them. Lots of refugees came from Pakistan. Then more people came from other places. Some people say that they want industries in Assam but do not the people from India to come and take up all the high positions. This is absurd. There will be progress only when there is industrialization. We want a large number of Assamese to be recruited to the new factories and plants. But obviously, people from other states will also come. If you go to the steel plants in Rourkela or Bhilai, you will find people from all over the country, from Madras, Andhra Pradesh, Punjab, Bengal, Assam and elsewhere, working there. Nobody bothers about whether the people are from Madhya Pradesh or outside. How can there be any industrialization if this is the thinking? Are we to stop all progress out of the fear that outsiders will come in? First of all, how many can

come? It could be at the most a few thousands which cannot make any great difference to the basic population. Even if more come, they do not have the constitutional right to interfere in the status of the regional language, etc. That goes by the percentage of population, which should be sixty per cent or fifty-five or fifty-two per cent or something. Assamese is a national language. It has been included in the Constitution. So you should not be afraid of these things. Moreover, the basic fact remains that Assam's future is linked to that of India's future. It cannot be isolated. The moment the people of Assam forget this, they will be failing to take advantage of the progress that India is making. They will become backward, which is not a good thing.

Let me repeat some of the things that I have already said. The first thing is that we are living in a revolutionary, changing world full of upheavals. Secondly, you must remember that India is changing rapidly. We have taken up great projects, revolutionary tasks, to get India out of the morass of poverty which the country has been in for centuries, and the people of Assam are stakeholders in that. Thirdly, Assam is a part of India. The moment Assam isolates itself from India—I do not mean politically but mentally—and forget the larger national issues, it will cause harm to itself for it cannot progress. It is wrong to think that you can get more by preventing the others from getting a share. Such thinking is an obstacle in the way of progress. The fourth thing to remember is that the riots and violence which have rocked Assam recently have earned a bad name for India abroad. This is bad, because by linking the issue of language to other problems, the people of Assam have done great damage. I am referring to the people who were responsible for these acts.

So, the first priority should be to establish complete peace in the state—not the peace maintained by the police and the armed force, but peace in people's hearts, and good neighbourliness. The people who are living in camps must be brought back and rehabilitated as quickly as possible. There should be an atmosphere of mutual trust and amity in the state before the language issue can be taken up. We can then consider the matter peacefully and arrive at a decision so that Assamese can flourish. It cannot be forced down anybody's throats. If you remember these things, the problems which are rearing their heads can easily be solved and all of us can march ahead together.

Jai Hind.

Translation ends]

111. At Sibsagar: Public Meeting²⁶⁴

आज मैं शिबसागर में बहुत बरस बाद आया। अभी मैं अपने मित्रों से पूछ रहा था, उन्होंने कहा कि पिछले बारह-चौदह वर्ष हुए मैं यहाँ आया था, सन् 46 में। यानी भारत में स्वराज आने के बाद पहली बार मैं यहाँ शिबसागर में आया हूँ। अब ऐसे समय पर बहुत सारी बातें मुझे आपसे कहने की हैं, बहुत सारी बातें भारत की निस्बत, दुनिया की निस्बत, क्या हमारी दुनिया में हो रहा है, बड़े-बड़े प्रश्न हैं, हमारे देश हिन्दुस्तान में क्या-क्या बड़े काम हो रहे हैं, आपसे कहने की हैं, आप पुरुषों से, स्त्रियों से, लड़कों से, लड़कों से और बच्चों से, क्योंकि आजकल के भारत की कहानी आपको समझनी है। आप पुरानी पुस्तकों में प्राचीन कहानियाँ पढ़ते हैं, वो ठीक है। लेकिन इस समय भारत में जो कहानी लिखी जा रही है जो भारत की जनता अपने परिश्रम से और कार्य से कहानी लिखती है उसको भी हमें समझना है। आप यहाँ एक सुंदर प्रदेश में, हिमालय पहाड़ के पास भारत के एक कोने में रहते हैं, एक सीमा प्रान्त है। और इसलिए आपकी बड़ी ज़िम्मेदारियाँ हैं लेकिन आपकी उन्नित उतनी होगी जितनी भारत की होगी। सब मिले हैं।

स्वराज हमें मिला, तो सबको मिला, एक प्रान्त को नहीं। इसिलए हमेशा हमको याद रखना है कि आजकल की दुनिया में, संसार में हमारा और आपका आदर किसिलए होता है? आप कहीं जाओ यहाँ से विदेश जाओ तो किस नाम से आप वहाँ जायोंगे। आप इस नाम से नहीं जायोंगे कि आप आसामी हैं या मैं जाऊँ तो मैं इस नाम से नहीं जाता कि मैं उत्तर प्रदेश का रहने वाला हूँ या कोई और जाये इसिलए कि हम कलकत्ते के रहने वाले हैं। कोई दुनिया में इस बात को नहीं देखता। आप और हम अगर बाहर जाते हैं तो हम एक ही नाम से जाते हैं कि हम भारतीय हैं, हम हिन्दुस्तानी हैं, हम रिपिल्लक ऑफ इंडिया के सिटिजन हैं। एक निशानी हमारी होती है। यह नहीं होती, कि हम पंजाबी हैं, आसामी हैं, हम बंगाली हैं और उत्तर प्रदेशी हैं, और मराठा हैं, और मद्रासी हैं या गुजराती हैं, यह कोई निशानी बाहर नहीं है। जहाँ आप भारत के बाहर गए एक ही निशानी है कि हम हिन्दुस्तानी हैं, या भारतीय हैं और उसी का पासपोर्ट हमारे पास होता है। और उसी नाम से हमारा आदर होता है। तो इस बात को हमें हमेशा याद रखना है, बच्चों को और बड़ों को, कि हम इस बड़े देश भारत के रहने वाले हैं, इसीलिए हमारा आदर होता है, इसी से हमारी शक्ति है, ताक़त है, इसी शक्ति से हम उन्नित करेंगे, तरक्की करेंगे, हमारा देश बढ़ेगा। तो देश के अलग-अलग भाग बढ़ेंगे।

अलग-अलग हिस्से हैं देश के, अलग-अलग प्रान्त हैं, प्रदेश हैं बड़े-बड़े। एक प्रदेश आसाम का है। एक, लेकिन सारे देश का शरीर एक है, उसके अलग-अलग अंग हें, अलग-अलग भाग हैं, जैसे आसाम एक है, राजस्थान है, कितने हैं। एक शरीर के अलग-अलग भाग हैं। अब एक शरीर के कहीं किसी भाग में कुछ चोट लगती है तो सारे शरीर को लग जाती है। तुम्हारी उँगली थोड़ी सी कटे तो सारे शरीर में दर्द होने लगता है, ज्यादा चोट आए तो ज्वर आ जाता है सारे शरीर को, चोट एक जगह लगती है। और जब सारे शरीर का स्वास्थ्य अच्छा होता है तब बहुत उन्नित होती है, तरक्की होती है। यह बात हमें याद रखनी है। क्योंकि हम इस बड़ी बात को भूल जाते हैं, अपने

अंदर के झगड़ों में-प्रदेश के, कभी हम धर्म के नाम से लड़ाई लड़ते हैं आपस में, कभी जातिभेद के नाम से, कभी प्रदेश के नाम से, कभी भाषा के नाम से। अजीब हालत है। यह कोई लड़ाई लड़ने की बातें तो नहीं है। यह सब तो हमारे देश के अलग-अलग, हमने नक्शे में अलग-अलग हिस्से कर दिए, कि अलग-अलग उसका प्रबंध हो, देश तो एक है हमारा, हम कहीं भी रहें। भाषाएँ अलग-अलग हैं। तो एक भाषा दूसरी भाषा से, भाषाएँ लड़ाई तो नहीं लड़ा करती। खाली जो लोग मूर्ख होते हैं वो लड़ा करते हैं। भाषा की उन्नति से, एक भाषा की उन्नति से दूसरी की भी उन्नति होती है। कोई एक-दूसरे में लड़ाई नहीं। हमारी सुंदर भाषाएँ हैं और हमारे विधान में, कांस्टीट्रयुशन में चौदह भाषाओं का नाम लिखा है जो हमारे देश की बड़ी भाषाएँ हैं, राष्ट्र की बड़ी भाषाएँ, उसमें आप जानते हैं, आसामी भाषा का नाम भी है। ठीक है प्राचीन भाषा है, सुंदर भाषा है। तो हमेशा आप इस बात को याद रखें कि पहली बात जो आपको अपने सामने रखनी है, अपने बच्चों को बतानी है वो यह कि वो भारत के नागरिक हैं इस बड़े देश के। ख़ाली एक आसाम के शिवसागर के रहने वाले नहीं हैं, लेकिन दुनिया में भारत के नागरिक के नाम से वो जाने जाते हैं और उसी तरह उनका आदर होता है और उसी तरह आगे बढ़ेंगे वो। अब वो यह भूल जायें यह बड़ी बात भारत की, हिन्दुस्तान की और ख़ाली अपने प्रदेश को सोचें, चाहे वो आसाम हो, चाहे बंगाल हो, चाहे मद्रास हो, चाहे बम्बई हो, अपने देश को भूल के ख़ाली अपने प्रान्त को सोचें, तब तुम अपने को हानि पहुँचाते हो, तब तुम एक बड़े समंदर से आके एक तालाब में आ जाते हो। अपने चारों तरफ़ दीवारें खड़ी कर देते हो। तब एक बड़े देश के रहने वाले से तुम एक छोटे देश के रहने वाले हो जाते हो। इस तरह से हमें देखना है और इस तरह से इन प्रश्नों को हम देखें, तब दो प्रान्तों में, दो प्रदेशों में, दो भाषाओं में, कोई लड़ाई का प्रश्न तो नहीं है। लड़ाई तो हमारी किसी से भी नहीं होनी चाहिए, हम और जो देश है दुनिया के उनसे भी लड़ाई नहीं चाहते। दुनिया में प्रसिद्ध है कि भारत की नीति शांति की है। तो फिर और भी आश्चर्य होता है कि दुनिया में तो हम शांति के लिए हैं और अपने घर में आपस में कभी-कभी लड़ाई लड़ें। यह तो बड़े आश्चर्य की बात है।

तो मैं यह चाहता, मेरी इच्छा होती कि आज आ के आपको बताऊँ कि क्या-क्या भारत भर में हो रहा है। कल का भारत कैसा होगा, कल का आसाम कैसा होगा? हमारे छोटे बच्चे बढ़ रहे हैं, थोड़े-दिन बाद वो बड़े होंगे, और भारत को चलाएँगे। जो आजकल के नवयुवक हैं, लड़के-लड़िकयाँ वो कल का भारत चलाएँगे, जब ज़रा बड़े हो जायें तो। एक देश का धन क्या होता है? देश का धन उसकी जनता होती है, काम करने वाली जनता, फ़िज़ूल जनता नहीं धन होता है। वो बोझा होती है। देश का धन होता है देश के नवयुवक विशेषकर देश के बच्चे। अगर उसको सम्भाल कर रखें, बड़े हों, सीखें, पढ़े-लिखें, कार्य करने की शिक्त उनमें हो, तो देश ऊँचा हो जायेगा, नहीं तो देश गिरा रहेगा। क्योंकि देश नारों से नहीं उठता, देश परिश्रम से, त्याग से, सीखने से। इसीलिए स्कूल-कॉलेज में पढ़ाई होती है अगर ठीक पढ़ाई हो। अगर ठीक पढ़ाई न हो और वहाँ लड़ाई लड़ना सिखाया जाये और लोग समय अपना नष्ट करें ऊपर-नीचे फिरने में और जुलूस निकालने में, बजाय पढ़ने के, तो वो तैयार नहीं होते, अपने को ट्रेंड नहीं करते और बाद में जब समय आता है तो बड़े काम नहीं कर सकते। क्योंकि भारत में इस समय भी और बाद में आने के समय आता है तो बड़े काम नहीं कर सकते। क्योंकि भारत में इस समय भी और बाद में आने के समय में कितने रास्ते खुलते जाते हैं बड़ी-बड़ी जगहों के, बड़ी ज़िम्मेदारी के, बड़े ओहदे के लिए? किसके लिए? जिन लोगों ने सीखा है काम करना, जिन लोगों ने अपने को ट्रेंड किया है। बड़े-बड़े काम होते हैं। आजकल के बड़े काम कैन करतो है? आजकल के बड़े काम ये लोग नहीं करते जो आपके एक

प्रबंध करने के लिए अफ़सर होते हैं। आजकल के बड़े काम करते हैं इंजीनियर लोग, आजकल के काम करते हैं जो विज्ञान जानते हैं, टेक्नॉलोजी जानते हैं, वो बड़े काम आजकल के करते हैं, दुनिया को जो बदलते हैं और लोग भी हैं।

अब मैं यहाँ आया, आपने देखा कि नहीं, हैलीकॉप्टर पर आया। यह एक हवाई जहाज़ है छोटा सा, जो ज़मीन से सीधा उड़ जाता है। मैं आज सुबह वहाँ से चला शिलाँग से, शिलाँग से चला मोटर से गोहाटी, गोहाटी से चला फिर दूसरे हवाई जहाज़ से जोरहाट पहुँचा, वहाँ से फिर मैं छोटे जहाज़ पर बैठा, हेलीकॉप्टर पर, यहाँ आया। अब यह सब नयी-नयी दुनिया है और रोज़ बदलती जाती है। हम चाहते हैं कि हमारे लड़के-लड़िकयाँ इस दुनिया में आयें, सीखें, विज्ञान सीखें, बड़े-बड़े काम करने सीखें, जिससे उनका लाभ होगा, उनके देश का लाभ होगा, और आसाम यहाँ के रहने वाले

जो हैं उनका लाभ होगा। इस तरह से दुनिया बढ़ती है, लड़ाई-झगड़े से तो नहीं।

तो ये बड़े-बड़े काम देश में हो रहे हैं। और आपने सुना हो पंचवर्षीय योजना चल रही है और एक तीसरी पंचवर्षीय योजना तैयार हो रही है इसीलिए कि यह सारा भारत तेजी से बढ़े। हमारे बच्चे खूब तगड़े हों, अच्छे हों, हमारे नवयुवक सीखें भारत की बागडोर लेना, चलाना। पुरुष-स्त्री कितनी हमारी लड़िकयाँ आजकल कन्याएँ स्कूल कॉलेज जाती हैं, अच्छी बात है। देश कोई बढ़ता नहीं, जहाँ की स्त्रियाँ नहीं आगे जाती हैं। सभों को सीखना है और हमारी इस तीसरी पंचवर्षीय योजना में यह निश्चय हमने किया है कि इसके अंत तक यानी आज से छः-सात बरस तक, कोई बच्चा भारत भर में नहीं होगा, जो ठीक स्कूल में नहीं जाता। बड़ी भारी बात है। कोई बच्चा ग्राम में या नगर में, सभों को बराबर का मौक़ा मिलना चाहिए। यह सब बातें हो रही हैं। कैसे होती हैं? नारों से नहीं, परिश्रम से, मेहनत से। जो देश की जनता मेहनत करती है वो देश आगे बढ़ता है, कोई जादू से, मंत्र पढ़ने से देश नहीं बढ़ते, परिश्रम से बढ़ते हैं। ये सब बातें हैं।

लेकिन आप जानते हैं कि आज मैं आपके पास क्यों आया? यहाँ आना तो — मुझे इससे प्रसन्नता होती है कि शिबसागर में बहुत दिन बाद फिर से आया। जब मैं पिछली बार आया था, तो बहुत सारे यहाँ बच्चे बैठे हैं, उनका जन्म भी नहीं हुआ था, खुशी हुई। लेकिन जिस कारण मैं आया यहाँ वो खुशी की बात नहीं है। क्योंकि आसाम में पिछले दो-चार सप्ताह में झगड़ा-फसाद हुआ है। आपके शिबसागर में झगड़ा-फसाद हुआ है, और एक पड़ोसी ने दूसरे को मारा, दूसरे को निकाला, भगाया। कैम्प बने हुए हैं शरणार्थियों के, लोग कुछ डर से आसाम प्रदेश से भी भाग गये। यह क्या बात है? यह कैसे — आसाम में, जो कि एक शांतिप्रिय प्रान्त है, प्रदेश है, जहाँ के लोग एक-दूसरे से प्रेम करते हैं। यह कैसे, यह एकदम से उनका मन बहक गया, कैसे आसाम के शरीर में ज्वर आ गया, बुखार आ गया, जिससे यह सब बातें हुई। यह विचार करने की बात है। किस का कसूर है, किसका नहीं है, यह तराजू में कोई तोले बैठ के, मैं भी तोलूँ समय हो तो। लेकिन मुझे तो इस बात की फ़िक्र है कि कोई बात ऐसी न हो जिससे आसाम का शरीर अस्वस्थ हो जाये, बीमार हो जाये। ये याद रखने की बात है क्योंकि ये बातें जो आपके शिबसागर में हुई हैं पिछले मास और इस मास यह अच्छी बातें नहीं हैं। किसने आपको भड़काया, किस तरह से आपको क्रोध आ गया ऐसी बातें करने के लिए, यह आप समझ लें। लेकिन कोई बुरी बात होती है तो वो बुरी बात है अच्छी नहीं हो जाती कह के कि हाँ हमें क्रोध आ गया था या दूसरे ने बुरी बात की।

क्या बात है कि इस समय आसाम देश भर में बदनाम हो गया है? क्या बात है कि इस समय मालूम नहीं कितने हज़ार, बीस हज़ार, तीस हज़ार, चालीस-पचास हज़ार, में नहीं जानता कितने

शरणार्थी अलग-अलग कैम्प में पड़े हैं या अपने घर छोड़कर निकले हुए हैं। क्यों? कौन अपना घर छोड़ता है सिवाय इसके डर गया है, डर। क्यों ऐसा वायुमंडल आसाम में फैला डर का? जहाँ डर होता है वहाँ काम नहीं होता। तो इसलिए यह बुरी बात है और यह आपको समझना है। हाँ, लोग मुझसे कहें कि हाँ साहब हमने यह किया, यह तो बुरा हुआ लेकिन हमारे साथ बुराई हुई थी। लम्बी-लम्बी कहानियाँ मुझे दी जाती हैं, आप दीजिए। ठीक है किसी आदमी ने बुरी बात की हो, किसी आदमी ने गाली दी हो, आसामी भाषा में, या कुछ हो, यह बुरी बात है। जो कुछ करना है करें, लेकिन आप यहाँ और इस समय जो चालीस हज़ार, पचास हज़ार आदमी बैठे हैं शिविर में, कैम्प में, पड़े हुए हैं घर छोड़कर, कितने लोगों के घर जले हैं। क्या जवाब है इसका? यह जवाब नहीं है कि लोगों ने हमारी भाषा के विरोध में कोशिश की, या यह किया, या वो किया, जो कुछ है, या उन्होंने कुछ हमें मार-पीट किया। वो बुरी बात की, जो कुछ हो करें। लेकिन इस समय जो दुनिया के सामने निशानी रखी है, सारा संसार देख सकता है वो यह कि आसाम के अंदर से आसाम के रहने वाले, तीस-चालीस हजार लोग अपने घर से उखाड़ के बाहर चले गये, या बाहर निकाल दिये। आज तक आपने सुना था कि भारत के अंदर ऐसा होना? हाँ, जब पाकिस्तान बना था, तब बहुत सारे लोग भाग के आये थे पाकिस्तान से, दूसरी बात थी, दूसरा देश बना। लेकिन देश के अंदर ऐसी बात हो, यह पहली दफा भारत में हुआ है और मुझे बड़ा दु:ख है कि इसका काला टीका आसाम के माथे पर है। यह बड़ा दु:ख है। क्योंकि मुझे बड़ा प्रेम है आसाम के रहने वालों से, इस सुंदर प्रदेश से और मुझे यह विश्वास है कि यह तरक्की करेगा। इसकी ज़मीन में धन है, उसको हम निकालें, नयी-नयी चीज़ें निकल रही हैं। कोई मुझे इसमें संदेह नहीं है यह बढ़ेगा आगे। अगर आप लोग परिश्रम करें, मेहनत करें, ख़ाली समय जाया न करें नारे में और जुलूस निकालने में। तब तो आप नहीं बढ़ेंगे कोई नहीं बढ़ सकता है। जो देश दुनिया के बड़े हैं चाह अमेरिका हो, चाहे रूस हो, चाहे अंग्रेज़ हैं वो बढ़े हैं परिश्रम से, एकता से, और परिश्रम से और बड़े कामों में लग के। तो फिर क्या बात है यह कि एकदम से एक तुफान यहाँ उठे, जिससे आसाम बदनाम हो जाये। आप कहें मुझसे कि देखो वहाँ, गोहाटी में कॉलेज के पास पुलिस ने गोली चलायी। एक आपके शिबसागर का होनहार लड़का मर गया, बड़ी बुरी बात है। मैं मानता हूँ बड़ी बुरी बात हुई, एक होनहार लड़का बेचारा मारा गया। यह हमें दुःख होता है। लेकिन उस बेचारे के मारे जाने के माने ये हैं हम बेगुनाहों को जा के मारें? यह तो नहीं है जवाब उसका। यह तो गलत बात हो जाती है न? तो इसको सोचना है। क्योंकि यह कोई अभी की बात नहीं है।

अभी तो ख़ैर यह मार-पीट इत्यादि बंद हो गया और अब नहीं होगा मुझे आशा है यह और शांति रहेगी। लेकिन मुझे यह ऊपर की शांति की फ़िक्र नहीं है, मैं तो जिस चीज़ की खोज में हूँ वो शांति आपके दिलों की शांति, आपके दिलों का प्रेम है। क्योंकि नहीं तो सारे हमारे चित्र, हमारे नक्शे भारत के बिगड़ जाते हैं। अगर हम आपस में इस तरह से लड़ें। इस बात को आप याद रखें और इसलिए आपका काम है कि आप पूरी कोशिश करें, पूरा यत्न करें, जो ज्वर आ गया आसाम में उसको अच्छा करें। जो वायु ख़राब हो गयी है, वायुमण्डल, उसको साफ करना और यह आपस की जो यह अनबन है उसका अंत कर देना। आपको चाहिए पहला काम हरेक का है कि जो लोग जो बंगाली लोग, या जो भी कोई हों अपने घर से छोड़कर डर से निकले हैं, उनको वापिस लाइए, उनके घरों में फिर पहुँचाइए, उनकी सहायता कीजिए, उनको आश्वासन दीजिए कि वो आप उनको मित्र की तरह रखेंगे, आवश्यकता हुई तो उनकी रक्षा करेंगे। ये बातें आप उन्हें कहिए। आपकी

गवर्नमेंट, आपकी सरकार करेगी यह। लेकिन सरकार का करना काफी नहीं, यह तो आपको करना है। क्योंकि आपको अपने जो यह जख़्म हो गया इसमें मरहम लगाकर अच्छा करना है दिलों पर जख्म हुआ। याद रखो शरीर पर कोई जख्म हो, कोई वूंड हो वो अच्छा हो जाता है, जो दिल में हो उसका अच्छा होना ज्यादा कठिन होता है। तो हमें दिलों के जख्म को अच्छे करने हैं। इसलिए यह आपका काम है कि कोशिश करके, घर बैठ के नहीं, कोशिश करके हवा बदल दें आप अपने जिले इस शिबसागर की। आप आसामी भाषा की बातें करते हैं। ठीक है करें आप, उसके बारे में दो शब्द मैं आपसे कहूँगा, सुंदर भाषा है, लेकिन इसके माने क्या? आसामी भाषा के नाम से आप जाके लोगों के सिर पर मारिये और घर से निकालिए। यह आसामी भाषा की सेवा करना है? कि आसामी भाषा को और लोग समझें कि आसामी भाषा के माने हैं सिर फोडना लोगों का, निकालना घर से। यह सेवा तो नहीं हुई, यह तो बदनामी हो गयी आसामी भाषा की। इसलिए आपको जो कुछ बातें करनी हैं वो भाषा की. ठीक है वो अलग से करें। लेकिन इस बात को आप मानें, इस बात को स्वीकार करें कि जो यह मारपीट हुई, जिन लागों के घर जलाये गये, बंगालियों के, जो लोग घरों से निकाले गये, डर से या और तरह से, यह बुरी बात हुई है। और इसके लिए आपको, हमको, सभों को प्रायश्चित करना है, और प्रायश्चित के माने हैं कि हम इस बात को उलटाऐं। हम उनको लायें, और फिर उनके अपने घरों में लौटकर उनको यह आश्वासन दिलायें कि वो अच्छी तरह से रह सकते हैं वहाँ और इसको जल्दी-से-जल्दी करें। क्योंकि अगर देर होती है तो फिर कठिनाइयाँ बढ़ जाती हैं। यह बात आप करें और दूसरे यह कि आप अपने यहाँ शहर में, अपने नगर में, अपने जिले में ऐसी हवा फैलाएँ, कि जो आदमी हाथ उठाता है दूसरे पर, वह एक गुनहगार है, वो पापी है अपने देश के ख़िलाफ़। वो उस पर हाथ नहीं उठाता है वो आसाम को मारता है, आसाम के शुभ नाम को मारता है, भारत के शुभ नाम को मारता है। यह अच्छी बात नहीं है ऐसी बात करना। तो यह इस तरह की हवा आपको फैलानी है।

अब मैं आपसे भाषा की निस्वत, लोग कहते हैं भाषा इस वजह से बढ़े। अजीब तमाशा है, कोई भाषा की भी सेवा इस तरह से होती है। आप चाहें कि आसाम की भाषा का आदर हो, मैं आपसे सहमत हूँ, आसाम की भाषा की तरक्की हो, मैं आपसे सहमत हूँ और मैं इस बात को भी स्वीकार करता हूँ कि आपको अधिकार है आसाम की भाषा को अपनाना, उसको गद्दी पर बैठाना। बाकी सब ठीक है, लेकिन उसी के साथ यह भी आपको याद रखना है कि जैसे आप आसाम की भाषा का आदर करना चाहते हैं और गद्दी पर बैठाना चाहते हैं वो ठीक है, लेकिन आप ज़बर्दस्ती आसाम की भाषा को दूसरे के सर पर नहीं रख सकते। हाँ, वो स्वीकार करें तो बड़ी ख़ुशी की बात है। क्योंकि जहाँ भाषाएँ ज़बर्दस्ती रखी जाती हैं, तो वो फलती-फूलती नहीं है। वो तो जब अपने आप स्वीकार करके। आसाम में आप जानते हैं, यह जो ब्रह्मपुत्र की वैली है इसमें कोई संदेह नहीं है कि आसामी भाषा यहाँ, एक बड़ी भाषा है, है ही। इस वैली में भी लोग और रहते हैं लेकिन वो स्वीकार करते हैं करना ही चाहिए आसामी भाषा को। आप यहाँ पहाड़ी इलाकों में जायें, जो ये कबायल है, ट्राइबल लोग हैं, थोड़ी बहुत आसामी भाषा वो भी जानते हैं, लेकिन उनकी भाषा नहीं है। कल, परसों, कुछ बरस बाद क्या हो, मैं नहीं जानता, उनकी भाषा नहीं है। अगर वो आसामी भाषा स्वीकार करें, बड़ी खुशी की बात है, नहीं करें तो आप ज़बर्दस्ती नहीं कर सकते। इससे आप अपनी भाषा को हानि करेंगे। आप वहाँ कचार जायें, वहाँ भाषा सब लोग जानते हैं। बंगला है, ठीक है बंगला है। जो लोग अपनी भाषा को चाहते हैं उन्नति करना, उनके लिए यह आवश्यक है कि औरों की भाषाओं का भी आदर करें। तो इस ढंग से हमें भाषा के सवाल को लेना है, लड़ाई-झगड़ा करके नहीं, शांति से मिलकर, समझौते से और इस बात की कोशिश करके कि हम यहाँ आसामी भाषा की उन्नति करें, तरजीह दें। लेकिन दूसरे पर ज़बर्दस्ती न करें जिससे हानि हो।

और यह आप याद रखें कि अब आजकल की दुनिया एक बड़े, क्या कहूँ आपसे, क्रान्तिकारी दुनिया है, सारा संसार। आजकल नयी-नयी बातें होती हैं। आपने प्राचीन कहानियाँ पढ़ी होंगी बहुत कुछ, जादू की कहानियाँ बच्चों ने पढ़ी होंगी और बड़ी अच्छी लगती होंगी वो और क्या-क्या। लेकिन आजकल के संसार में जैसे-जैसे नयी बातें हो रही हैं वो किसी जादू की कहानी में आपको नहीं मिलेगी। थोड़े दिन हुए, कुछ बरस हुए, कौन कहता यह कि लोग हवा में उड़ा करेंगे। हाँ कहानी में हमने पढ़ा था, पढ़ा करते थे, अब मामूली बात हो गयी है। मामूली बात हो गयी है अब यह, कि चाँद तक यहाँ से हमारे इस पृथ्वी से चाँद तक एक तीर फेंका हुआ यहाँ से पहुँच गया रॉकेट। एक साल, दो साल में यहाँ से आदमी भी चन्द्रमा पर चले जायेंगे। देखिए ना एक अजीब दुनिया है न, यह दुनिया जहाँ पे एटम-बम बना जो सारे संसार का नष्ट हो जाये अगर लड़ाई हो और उसी की शक्ति से सारी दुनिया बदल जायेगी, लाभ हो सारी दुनिया को। तो यह बड़ी क्रान्तिकारी दुनिया है, उलट-पलट की।

हमारा देश भी आजकल एक बडे क्रान्तिकारी तरीके से बढ़ रहा है, बदल रहा है, हाँ हमारा ध्यान सिर फोड़ के बढ़ने का नहीं है, शांति से बढ़ने का है। और विशेषकर हमारा ध्यान है बच्चों की तरफ क्योंकि आजकल के बच्चे कल का भारत है। लेकिन कल के भारत को भी हमें बनाना है उनके लिए, इसीलिए यह बड़े-बड़े काम, कारख़ाने क्या-क्या ज़मीन पर, कारख़ाने बनाते हैं और बच्चों को सिखाते हैं कि उनमें काम करें बाद में। आपके आसाम में तेल का ज़ोर है, वो बहुत बढ़ेगा और उसकी वजह से बड़े-बड़े कारख़ाने बनेंगे, तो ज़मीन की भी तरक्की हो रही है, उद्योगधंधों की, कारख़ानों की सब बातें हैं किसलिए? इसलिए कि जनता का लाभ हो, परिश्रम से होता है। लेकिन इस क्रान्तिकारी संसार में ज़रा भी कोई देश दुर्बल हो, कमज़ोर हो गये, तो वो गिर जाता है। कौन हमारी देखभाल करे। अगर हम ही नहीं अपनी देखभाल कर सकते। तो हमारी शक्ति कैसे बढ़ती है? बहुत बातों से। विद्या से, इल्म से, विज्ञान से, परिश्रम से, लेकिन सबके साथ है आपस की एकता रखना, एक देश की शक्ति एकता की। अगर आपस में द्वेष हो, आपस में हम लड़ें, चाहे धर्म के नाम से, चाहे प्रान्त के नाम से, चाहे भाषा के नाम से, चाहे जातिभेद के नाम से, तो हम गिर गये। जातिभेद मैंने आपसे कहा। जातिभेद ने पिछले कई सौ बरसों में हमारे देश को गिराया। क्योंकि देश के हज़ार टुकड़े कर दिए। और हममें ठीक-ठीक राष्ट्रीयता नहीं बढ़ी, अलग-अलग जाति, कोई ऊँच जाति, कोई नीच। ये बातें अब नहीं चल सकती। यह देश को गिराती हैं। हमें सभीं को बराबर ले जाना है। हाँ, जिसमें योग्यता होगी, वो आगे बढ़ेगा। ये योग्यता है हम नहीं स्वीकार करने को तैयार हैं कि यह इस जाति का है, इसलिए योग्य पुरुष है, योग्यता है, मौक़ा सबको मिले, योग्यता है बढ़ेगा आगे। तो इस क्रान्तिकारी दुनिया में पहली आवश्यकता है, एकता। इस देश में एकता नहीं है। तो हम गिर जायेंगे।

आपका एक सीमा प्रान्त है और आपकी इसी सीमा पर हमारे सामने भय की बातें हुई हैं, ख़तरे की बातें। हमारी फ़ौजें आके आपकी सीमा पर बैठी हैं इस वक्त भारत की रक्षा करने के लिए। जो लोग सीमा पर रहते हैं, उन लोगों को तगड़ा होना होता है। क्योंकि वो भी एक तरह से उनका कर्तव्य रक्षा करना होता है। ये बातें आपको हमें करनी हैं, बढ़ानी हैं। आसाम में अपनी भाषा को बढ़ाइये खुशी से, लेकिन ऐसी बातें नहीं करिए, जिससे आप बदनाम होते हैं, देश को करते हैं और आपकी भाषा बदनाम होती है। यह लड़ाई झगड़ा करना बंद हो और हमेशा याद रखिए अगर आपकी कोई शोभा है, तो आपकी भारतीय होने की है, आसामी या बंगाली या एक पंजाबी या मद्रासी होने की नहीं। तो इसलिए हम सभों को भारतीय समझ के मिलकर रहना है। और इस समय जो-जो यहाँ घटनाएँ हुई हैं मार-पीट की, उसको उस धब्बे को मिटाना है। उसको एक ही तरह से मिटा सकते हैं कि जल्दी-से-जल्दी दो-तीन सप्ताह के अंदर, अधिक समय मैं आपको नहीं देता, दो-तीन सप्ताह के अंदर जो लोग घर छोड़कर गये हैं उनको लाइये, बुलाइये और सहायता कीजिए उनकी। फिर घर बनाये जायेंगे अगर टूट गये, जल गये। क्योंकि मैं हवाई जहाज़ से आता हूँ, कितना सुंदर लगता है नीचे। लेकिन उस सुंदर शरीर में, आसाम में, एकदम से देखता हूँ एक फोड़ा है, फूंसी है, क्या है? मैं देखता हूँ वहाँ मकान जले हुए हैं उसकी सारी सुंदरता छुप जाती है उस फोड़े-फुंसी से। उसको मिटाना है, फिर से घर बनाने हैं, फिर से बसाने हैं, फिर से एक शांति करनी है, फिर से पड़ोसी मिल कर रहें। यह आपका काम है ज़ोरों का। इस काम को करने से आप बडी सेवा अपनी करें और आसाम की करें और देश की करें। क्योंकि आप सिखा दें कि एक गलती हो गयी थी, भ्रम में हो गयी थी। लेकिन समझ के फिर आप सम्भाल सकते हैं अपने को। ठोकर खाकर कोई भी गिर सकता है, लेकिन जो तगड़े लोग होते है वो ठोकर खाकर गिर गये. फिर खड़े हो जाते हैं, गिर नहीं पड़े रहते। अगर गलती हुई तो हम सम्भाल के फिर खड़े हुए, उस गलती को सम्भालें। ये बातें आप करें।

तो अब दो-चार वातें मैंने आपसे कहीं। बातें तो बहुत हैं क्योंिक देश हमारा बड़ा और देश की कहानी बड़ी लम्बी है। आपको समझनी है, हमारे बच्चों को समझनी है। क्योंिक बड़े हो के इसी देश में बच्चों को काम करना है। हमारे लड़के-लड़िकयाँ जो स्कूल जा के समझे नहीं, तो अपने देश की सेवा कैसे करेंगे? अपने प्रान्त की कैसे सेवा करेंगे? लेकिन कभी और आना होगा तो और आपसे मैं कुछ कहूँगा। इस समय जो बातें कहीं मैंने वो काफी हैं और आप भी इस कड़ी धूप में कुछ आप तक़लीफ़ में हैं, तो जो मैंने कहा, उस पे आप विचार करें। मैंने आपसे प्रेम से कहा मैं चाहता हूँ कि यह सुंदर प्रदेश आगे बढ़े। मैं चाहता हूँ आपकी भाषा की तरक्की हो। लेकिन मैं यह नहीं चाहता कि लड़ाई-झगड़ा होके तरक्की हो। क्योंिक इस तरह से नहीं होती है। जिस काम को, भले काम को आप बुरे ढंग से करें वो भला काम भी बुरा हो जाता है। यह महात्मा जी ने हमें सिखाया था।

तो बस अब मैं जाता हूँ और थोड़ी देर बाद फिर हवाई जहाज़ पर बैठ के, हेलीकॉप्टर पर उड़ के मैं जोरहाट जाऊँगा और वहाँ भी काम है, सभाएँ हैं। और वहाँ जाके मैं देखूँगा जैसे यहाँ भी जो बेचारे लोग शरणार्थी पड़े हैं कैम्प में, उनसे मिलूँगा जा के यहाँ और उनको अपनी सहानुभूति दूँगा वहाँ भी। और फिर कल सुबह हवाई जहाज़ पे बैठ के मैं दिल्ली चला जाऊँगा। बड़ी दूर है दिल्ली, लेकिन वहाँ चला जाऊँगा। और अपने प्रतिदिन के काम में लगा रहूँगा। यहाँ दो-तीन दिन जो रहा मैं आसाम में फिर से इस सुंदर जगह आया, उसका चित्र मेरी आँखों के सामने रहेगा, और मुझे विश्वास है कि यहाँ के रहने वालों से कुछ लोगों से उनसे अपराध हुए थे, गलतियाँ हुई थीं, बहक गये थे, अब सम्भल गये हैं और अब सम्भल के चलेंगे।

जय हिन्द । अब आप सब लोग मेरे साथ तीन बार जय हिन्द कहें । जय हिन्द । ज़ोर से कहिए सब लोग दूर तक । जय हिन्द, हाँ । जय हिन्द ।

[Translation begins:

I have come to Sibsagar after many years today. I asked my friends about it and they tell me that I had come here fourteen years ago, in 1946. So I have come to Sibsagar for the first time since India became free. Naturally, on such an occasion, I have a great deal to say to you about India, about the world and what is happening everywhere. Big things are happening in the country that I would like to tell all of you, men, women and children, about. I want you to understand the story of India today. You must have read the ancient tales and mythology. But you must also understand the story that is being written in India today by the people of the country with their hard work and effort. You are living here in a beautiful corner of India, near the Himalayas. It is a border province and therefore you have great responsibilities. Your progress depends on that of India. All these things are interlinked.

We have got swaraj, all of us, not just one province. Therefore, we must always remember why we are held in respect in the world today. When you go to a foreign country, you do not go as an Assamese, nor do I go as a citizen of Uttar Pradesh, or someone else as that of Calcutta. Nobody in the world looks at these things. You and I go abroad only as Indians, as the citizens of the Republic of India. That is the only symbol which is marked on our passports and for which we are respected. The fact that we come from Punjab, Assam, Bengal, Uttar Pradesh, Maharashtra, Madras or Gujarat simply does not count. Therefore, all of us must remember that we are the citizens of this great country and it is in this that our strength lies and it is because of this that we will progress and be respected. If India progresses then the various parts of the country too will progress.

There are various provinces in India and one of them is Assam. All of them, like Punjab, Assam, Bombay, Madras, Bengal, Bihar, Madhya Pradesh and all the other states, are various parts of the body politic of India. If a wound is inflicted on any part of the body, the whole body feels the pain, just as a small injury to a finger causes fever to the whole body. It is only when the whole body is healthy that there can be progress. We must remember this because we often tend to forget the larger issues in our internal feuds and wrangling in the name of province and religion and caste and language and whatnot. It is strange. What is there to fight about in all this? They are merely details for the sake of the administrative arrangements of the different parts of the country. The country is, after all, one wherever we may be. There are different languages. But only fools will fight over this issue because the progress of one language depends on the progress of the other. There is no competition. Our Constitution lists fourteen languages as national languages, of which, as you know, Assamese is also one. All of them are ancient languages, beautiful languages.

So I want you to remember, and want you to tell your children, that all of us are the citizens of this great country. You are not citizens of Assam or Sibsagar

You Said It



No, these people are broadminded—they don't resent your speaking in English or Hindi—or Tamil—they just resent your speaking!

(From The Times of India, 14 June 1960, p. 1)

alone. The world knows us as the citizens of India and we are respected because of that. If you forget about this great country of ours and think only of your own province, whether it is Assam, Bengal, Madras, Bombay, you will do great harm to yourself. You will get out of a large ocean and into a small pond and thus create walls all around you. Then, in spite of being the citizens of a large country, you become small in stature. This is how we should look at these problems. There is no quarrel between two states or two languages. In fact, we should have no quarrel with anyone. We do not wish to fight with any other country. India is famous in the world for her policy of peace. Therefore, the world feels greatly surprised when we talk about peace and fight among ourselves in the country.

So I wanted to come here today and tell you what is happening in the country and what our future is going to be like. The little children who are in schools today will grow up and take the reins of governing this country tomorrow. It is the youth of today, boys and girls, who will run the country when they grow up.

Therefore, what is the wealth of a nation? It is her people, not the useless, idle ones, but the people who are capable of hard work. The others become a burden on the country. The wealth of a country is its children and youth. If they are looked after properly, are well educated and grow up to be able to do great tasks, the country can progress. Otherwise, we will remain where we are. A country progresses not by slogans but by hard work, training and sacrifice. That is why children have to be educated properly, in schools and colleges. If they are taught instead to fight among themselves then, instead of studying, they will grow up and fritter away their energies in shouting slogans and taking out processions. They do not become trained and later will not be able to handle the great tasks of the nation. There are innumerable avenues of opportunity and employment, of responsibility and position, opening up in the country and will continue to do so. People must train themselves for them. The officers cannot do the great tasks of the country. We need engineers, technicians and scientists for them, for they are the people who are transforming the world.

I do not know if you saw it, but I came here by helicopter. It is a small plane which can take off straightaway from the ground. I left Shillong this morning by car and reached Gauhati from where I took a plane to Jorhat and then came here, from Jorhat, by helicopter. These are the changes that are taking place in the country. We want our young boys and girls to be trained for this new world, by learning science and being trained for all these new tasks, which will benefit them as well as the country, and the people of Assam too. This is how the world progresses, not by fighting.

So there are these big things that are happening in the country. You must have heard about the Five Year Plan. Now we are drawing up the Third Plan, as we want to accelerate the pace of progress of the entire country. We want our children to be well looked after and the youth to be trained to take over the reins of the country when they grow up. It is a good thing that girls are going to schools and colleges in large numbers. The country where the women are backward cannot progress. Everyone in the country must be educated. We have decided that by the end of the Third Five Year Plan, that is, in another six to seven years, there will be no child in India who does not go to school. This is a big thing. We want every child in India, in villages and towns, to get equal opportunities. And this is possible, not by shouting slogans, but by hard work and effort. The country where the people are hard working can go very far. It does not happen by magic or by chanting mantras. What is required is hard work.

But do you know why I came here today? I would have been happy to come here in any case after such a long interval. When I was here last time, many of the children who are sitting here were not even born. So I am happy to be here. But the occasion for my visit is not a very happy one, because there have been riots in Assam, in Sibsagar and elsewhere, a few weeks ago. Neighbours killed

one another and people were rendered homeless. Some have run away from Assam in fear, while others are lying in camps as refugees. What is all this? Why is all this happening in a province like Assam, which is a peaceful state, where the people love one another? How did this fever suddenly grip Assam? Why did the people get carried away and such things happened? You must think about this. It is not a question of deciding who is to blame or who the guilty party is. I am worried lest some incident should again give rise to the same malady again.

I want you to remember this because what has happened in Sibsagar in the last few weeks is not a good sign. You should realize who incited you and how you got carried away. But you cannot absolve yourself of blame by saying that you were angry, for what is wrong remains so. Why has Assam earned a bad name for itself in the country? Why is it that nearly thirty to forty thousand people left their homes and are now in various camps as refugees? Why? It is out of fear. Why else would anyone leave his home? Why is there such a pall of fear all over Assam? Nothing can be achieved when there is fear in the heart. Therefore, it is bad and you must understand that. People try to find excuses for their bad behaviour and hand me long memoranda. All right, it is bad if someone abuses the Assamese language or misbehaves in some other way. But what is your answer to the forty to fifty thousand refugees who are lying in camps and are homeless today? It is no answer to say that there was opposition to your language or something else and so you beat them up. What the world sees today is that thousands of people in Assam have left their homes or have been driven away. Have you ever heard of such a thing ever happening in India? Yes, when Pakistan came into being, a large number of refugees from Pakistan had crossed over to India. But that was different. A new country had come into being. But this is the first time such a thing has happened within the country, which grieves me deeply. It is a black mark on Assam's forehead. It is indeed sad because I have a great affection for the people of Assam. It is a beautiful state and I am sure it will go far. There are rich sources of wealth hidden under the soil and we are tapping them. I have no doubt about it that it will progress if the people work hard, instead of wasting their time shouting slogans or taking out processions. Nobody can progress in this manner. The Soviet Union and England and the United States have advanced because of their hard work and unity.

Why is it that there was a sudden storm, which has earned a bad name for Assam. You will point out that there was police firing in Gauhati, in which a young boy from Sibsagar was killed. It is indeed very sad, and particularly because a young, innocent boy was killed. It grieves us. But that does not mean that we should go and kill more innocent people in retaliation. That is absolutely wrong. We must give it serious thought because it is not a temporary affair. The situation has calmed down and I hope there will be no repetition of these incidents. But I am not worried about superficial peace. I am in search of peace in your hearts and love among the people, because otherwise the entire picture of India will be

marred if we continue to fight among ourselves. Please remember this. It is your duty to make full effort to get rid of the fever which had gripped Assam and clear the atmosphere which has become vitiated. All this internal squabbling must be put an end to. The first task for each one of you should be to bring back the Bengalis and others who have left their houses in fear and rehabilitate them by assuring them of their your friendship and, if necessary, your protection. You must assure them. The Government will take the necessary steps, but that is not enough. This is something that you have to do, because it is only you who can apply balm to the wound that has been inflicted on the hearts of the people. You must remember that a physical wound heals much faster than a wounded heart. That takes much longer. It is the wound to the heart that needs to be healed. It is your job to do it, not by sitting at home but by going out and trying to change the atmosphere in your district. Whatever your demands may be, and I am prepared to admit that they may be legitimate, and Assamese is a beautiful language, but you cannot serve its cause by breaking people's heads or turning them out of their home. This will only earn a bad name for the language. Therefore, you can make your demands, but at the same time, you must realize that violence and burning houses or threatening the Bengalis, etc, is very bad. All of us will have to repent this, which means that we have to undo the wrong. We must bring them back and reassure them of their safety. This must be done as quickly as possible because the difficulties will multiply if there is delay. You should do this, and create an atmosphere in your city, and your district, so that the man who lifts a hand against his neighbour is castigated by everyone as a traitor to his country, and to Assam, and is one who besmirches the name of India and Assam. This is not a good thing. So you must create this kind of atmosphere.

Now, about the question of language. It is strange that anyone should think that a language can be served in this way. If you want that Assamese should be respected, I agree with you; if you say that it should progress, again I agree; I accept also your right to adopt Assamese as your language and to enthrone it. But at the same time you must remember that you cannot force Assamese down anybody's throat. It is a different matter if people accept it willingly. A language does not blossom by the use of force; it has to be accepted voluntarily. Assamese is a great language of the Brahmaputra Valley. There is no doubt about it. There are others who live in this area and accept Assamese language as they should. But it is not the language of the tribals, who live in the mountain areas, though they know a smattering of it. I do not know what will happen a few years hence, but at the moment it is not their language. If they accept it willingly, it will be a very good thing. But you cannot force anything. If you do, you will harm your language. If you go to Cachar, you will find that the people speak Bengali. Those who want to serve their language must respect other languages. So we must tackle this question peacefully and by mutual agreement and should make an effort to see that Assamese should progress but without forcing it down others'

throats, which would be harmful.

You must remember that we are living in a revolutionary world where all sorts of new things are happening. You must have read mythological tales and stories of magic and whatnot, which are very interesting. But the things that are happening in the world today are much more magical than any mythological tale. Who could have believed a few years ago that we would be able to fly? We used to read about it in imaginary tales. Now it has become a common thing, so much so that a rocket, launched from the earth like an arrow, has reached the moon. In a year or two, man would have also reached the Moon. Isn't it a strange world, the world of atom bombs, which can destroy it completely in a war. On the other hand, nuclear energy is something that can transform the world. In short, it is a revolutionary world, full of upheavals.

India is also marching forward in a revolutionary way and changing. Our intention is not to be violent but to progress peacefully. Our attention is focused specially on the children, because they are the future of the country. We are laying the foundations of future progress by setting up industries, improving agriculture, providing education for children and training human beings. Assam has oil and so it is bound to progress. It will mean setting up industries, etc, which will benefit the people. No country can afford to be weak in this revolutionary world, because that will mean its downfall. Who can protect us then, if we are unable to do so ourselves?

How are we to become strong? It can be done in many ways, by education, knowledge of science and hard work. But the most important thing for the country is unity. The strength of a country lies in its unity. If there is bitterness and people fight in the name of province, religion, language and caste, it will lead to our downfall. I mentioned the caste system. It is the caste system which has been responsible for the country's downfall in the past, by keeping it divided into thousands of compartments. It prevented a spirit of nationalism and equality from growing among us. These things cannot go on now, for they are bad for the country. We must have equality of opportunity, so that each individual may then progress as far as he is able to. We are not prepared to accept that talent and ability are concentrated in a particular caste or group of people. There should be equality of opportunity. Therefore, the important thing is unity of the country, because otherwise we will fall.

Yours is a border province, and terrific danger looms over our borders. Our forces are stationed at the moment to guard India's freedom. Therefore, the people of the border provinces should be strong, because in a sense it is their duty to protect the country. You are welcome to advance the cause of Assamese, but please do not do anything which earns a bad name for your state or the country and language. All the internal feuds must stop. Please bear it in mind that your dignity lies in the fact that you are an Indian, not because you are an Assamese, Bengali, Punjabi or Madrasi. We must live together in unity as Indians. We must

somehow try to erase the blot of recent events, which is possible only if you make it possible for the people who have left their homes to return soon, within the next few weeks. I do not give you more time. You must bring them back and help them to rehabilitate themselves.

As I come by air, Assam looks very beautiful. But I suddenly see eruptions, like pimples or boils in the beautiful body of Assam, I see burnt down houses and other vestiges of ravages, and the beauty hides under that eruption. We must get rid of the eruption and rehabilitate the people once again, so that everyone may live in peace as neighbours. This is your task and by doing it you will be discharging a great duty towards Assam and India. You must prove that you are capable of rectifying a mistake that had been made in a state of confusion. The strong are those who are able to stand up again, even if they stumble and fall. If a mistake has been made, we should try to rectify it.

Now, these are some of the things that I wanted to talk to you about. India is a great country with a long history. All of you, including the children, must understand this, because it is they who will have to hold the reins of the country when they grow up. If our children do not get proper education, how can they serve their state and their country? I shall speak more about this when I come another time. I have spoken enough just now and you are sitting here in the hot sun: So please give a thought to what I have said. I have spoken to you affectionately for I have great love for Assam and its people, and I want that this beautiful state should progress. I want your language to make progress too. But I do not want this to happen at the cost of peace, or by violence, for that is not the right way. Wrong means make even a right goal wrong. This is what Gandhiji had taught us.

I shall take leave of you and in a little while, I will leave for Jorhat by helicopter. I have work there and will address meetings. Then I shall visit the poor refugees in their camps and express my sympathy. Tomorrow morning I shall leave by air for Delhi. Delhi is very far away, and the moment I reach there I will be engulfed in the day-to-day affairs. But I shall carry with me memories of my stay in this beautiful province, and I hope that some of the people here who had committed crimes and made mistakes and had gone adrift, have now steadied themselves and will be careful in the future.

Jai Hind. Please say Jai Hind with me thrice. Jai Hind. Say loudly, all of you. Jai Hind. Jai Hind.

Translation ends]

112. At Jorhat: Public Meeting²⁶⁵

Nehru's Appeal to Assamese to Act in Country's Interests

Jorhat, July 20 – Prime Minister Nehru made a fervent appeal last evening to the people of Assam to realise the state's importance in the context of national and international affairs and to think and act in the interest of country's integrity and solidarity.

Addressing the final public meeting of his Assam tour at the Jorhat football stadium, Pandit Nehru said: "Assam is a door, a window of India. It is no longer a corner of India."

Pandit Nehru said that Asia's face was fast changing and many new nation had risen. There was China and friends like Burma. What were the reason for keeping a strong army in Assam, he asked. The Asian picture was fast changing and Assam's importance was also increasing.

He asked the youth and students to give up "childish talk" and not to think of "becoming generals and commanders-in-chief overnight in one jump."

He said he was amused to receive yesterday a suggestion from students' representatives at Sibsagar that they be entrusted with the task of maintaining law and order since the administration had failed. He said in that case schools and colleages could be closed and they could start work. "I could not understand this childish talk. They want to become generals in one jump without beginning to learn from the rank of sepoy. Our boys are good but if they go astray they will do great harm and damage to the country."

Language Issue

On Assamese language, Pandit Nehru suggested that all sections of the people of the state-Assamese, tribals and Bengalese-should sit together as early as possible and evolve an agreement in an atmosphere of goodwill and friendship.

Pandit Nehru said he was in full agreement that Assamese language should be given its rightful place but there should not be any type of imposition.

Refugees

On the rehabilitation of refugees living in Government camps, Pandit Nehru said they must be taken back to their homes soon and rehabilitated. The harvests were to be gathered and their services were vital. The Government would, of course, help in rehabilitating them but people's effort in this regard was equally important. Village committees should be formed to help them rebuild their homes and live in an atmosphere of brotherhood and friendship.

265. Report of speech, 19 July 1960. National Herald, 21 July 1960.

Pandit Nehru said there were many languages in India but the difficulty was about script. How many scripts could they learn. He said some Khasi people had pointed out to him that they had to learn Assamese, Hindi, English and Khasi in three different scripts. He said he would suggest for people's consideration adoption of one scripts-Devanagari-for Indian languages to facilitate learning them.

Referring to the Assam Pradesh Congress Committee's resolution on state language, he said it was passed in an atmosphere that was not healthy. Such resolutions should have come out after agreement had been reached with all people. Nor did he like its timing. Besides, there were some who said the resolution was weak and ought to be made stronger. The result was a lot of reaction in Calcutta and Assam news-papers leading eventually to a series of incidents and disturbances.

Newspaper Reports

Pandit Nehru criticised some newspapers which, he said, had reported his views on the Assamese language question "out of context".

He said during the past two days he had to deal with several aspects of the question out of which the papers picked up "what they liked" from his speeches and printed it to give it a different bias.

Pandit Nehru referred to certain reports his address to congressmen at Gauhati on the present agitation. Addressing the Congress workers in Gauhati on July 17, he said, he was a little hard on them for not having proper hold on the masses. Being a Congressman of forty-seven years' standing, it was his duty to guide his colleagues.

But some papers had printed "an exaggerated account" of the Gauhati meeting, he added.

Tribute to Chaliha

The Prime Minister paid tributes to the leadership of the Assam Chief Minister, Mr. Chaliha, in handling Assam's problems.

Pandit Nehru said it was a great pity that Mr. Chaliha was ill at the moment but doctors had, however, told him that he (Mr. Chaliha) would be well in a fortnight.

He justified Mr. Chaliha's statements in which he had said there was no question of making Assamese the official language of the state until it was acceptable to all its people.

Earlier, in Sibsagar, addressing a public meeting, Pandit Nehru asked the people of Assam to show in action their "repentance" by immediate rehabilitation of refugees who had left or lost their homes in recent disturbances over the question of the state language.

"I give you two to three weeks' time for completion of rehabilitation work. I have every confidence that you will do this," he said.

The Prime Minister said that a boy (student) of Sibsagar was killed in the police firing in Gauhati on July 4. But it did not mean that the innocent here (in Sibsagar) should be beaten up. "I have every hope that such incidents will never happen again. I know the situation is much better now, but what I want is peace of the mind and heart. The fever from which Assam is suffering has to be cured and the atmosphere of suspicion and fear cleared once for all," he said.

Concluding, the Prime Minister said that unity was very essential in this important frontier state of India whose borders had been, threatened and one had to be very vigilant at all times.—PTI

113. Impressions of Visit to Assam²⁶⁶

I returned from Assam this afternoon after spending three full days there. Indira Gandhi went with me, but she had a completely different programme. We were not together except during our journeys to and from Assam. Between the two of us, we covered a large part of the Assam Valley. I could not go to Cachar and, except for a visit to Shillong, I could not go to the Hill districts.

- 2. We visited many refugee camps where, as usual, refugees were crowded and huddled together and presented a distressing sight.
- 3. I saw many places where small houses or huts had been burnt down, and could form a fair idea of the extent of this type of damage.
- 4. I met innumerable deputations of Assamese, Bengalees and representatives of the Hill tribes. Each one of them gave me long and detailed memoranda giving its views of the events that had taken place and their causes and consequences. While some of the major facts were admitted, there was great difference of opinion in regard to other matters. Broadly speaking, the disturbances were confined to the Assam Valley. Among the Bengalees in Cachar, there was much excitement, but otherwise nothing untoward took place. In the Hill states, there was some excitement, but complete peace was maintained. The only incident of note that happened, was a procession in Shillong.
- 5. I do not propose to give here an account of these disturbances or to go into any details in regard to them. I am writing this note to convey the broad impressions I have in mind and, for this purpose, I am not referring to any notes or memoranda.
- 6. When I reached Assam, the disturbances had ceased, and I do not think that any incident took place during my stay there. The Army was present in most

places and, no doubt, had a restraining influence. But, even apart from this, I think that other factors helped in toning down the people, and I had a feeling that the rather sudden eruption of mob violence had played itself out. The Assam Government was also more alert, and Ministers as well as members of the public were moving about the towns and rural areas and thus helping to bring about normality. Some refugees were slowly returning to their houses, but this process was rather slow. Many of the refugees had their huts or small houses burnt down but there were many others who left their houses through sheer fright, without any damage being done to their houses.

- 7. While no incident occurred during my stay there, and I do not think there is any chance of any further incidents, there can be no doubt that there was a good deal of tension. Even while I was there, this tension seemed to grow less. But both the Bengalees and the Assamese were all rather worked up emotionally, and it was not particularly easy to discuss the situation with either of them calmly. A large number of representatives of the Hill tribes who came to see me, were probably calmer and less excited than the others.
- 8. After meeting many of these individuals and deputations and listening to their excited complaints and reading their memoranda, I felt rather worn out and wondered if I could hold on to any measure of sanity. Most people who saw me were too excited to be wholly sane, and could only see one side of the picture.
- 9. There is no doubt that the damage done, chiefly in the destruction of small houses or huts, was considerable and widespread. About 30 persons are said to have been killed and the number of small houses and huts destroyed is over 2,500. (These figures may not be accurate, as I am giving them from memory). The stories about raping and molestation of women, which appeared in some newspapers, were greatly exaggerated. In these newspaper accounts, it was also stated that some women had their breasts cut off. There is no truth in this. From such reliable enquiries as I could make, there were two cases of rape. Apart from these, there was some pushing about of women and it may be that a few women might have been hit. Generally speaking, there were no attacks on women.
- 10. In May and June, there were a number of sporadic cases of individual assaults or of burning of huts (these huts are quite small, made of wood and bamboo and easily inflammable). The first big incident that happened was on July 4 at Gauhati when the police fired on a crowd which had gathered near one of the College hostels. As a result, one student was killed immediately and a number of other students were wounded. The student killed was inside the hostel and not part of the crowd. An enquiry has been ordered into this incident. It was, however, the general impression that this firing was not justified.
- 11. News of the killing of this student had a powerful effect on the surcharged atmosphere and most of the big scale destruction followed during the next few days. Bands of people went about in the rural areas, often consisting partly of

students, setting fire to huts occupied by Bengali peasants or others. The Bengalis became terrified and started running away from their houses, even when there was no immediate danger. Sometimes quite a small group, consisting often of young boys, would come up shouting and frighten the occupants of the house and set fire to the hut. Nobody apparently intervened. It should have been quite easy to drive the boys away.

- 12. The police did not play a distinguished role. It is rather difficult to criticise it when this kind of mob violence is taking place in a large number of places and the resources of the police were strained to the utmost. Once at Goreshwar, I think, (soon after the killing of the student in the hostel on the 4th July) a large mob of about 15,000 people gathered and began systematically burning these small houses occupied by Bengalis. Bitter complaint is made that the police, though present, did not intervene at all. The answer given on behalf of the police is that they were only about half a dozen or so, and it was impossible for them to deal with that huge crowd. There may be something in this answer, but I do not think it is quite adequate.
- 13. It is very difficult for me to judge, but the broad impression I got was that the police force was largely ineffective. It may be that some of them sympathised with the rioters. The District Administrative apparatus is also much criticised for its earlier inactivity. Probably this criticism is also, to some extent, justified. And yet, there were cases where the Deputy Commissioners had functioned effectively and with speed. In one case the Deputy Commissioner was, I think, from Madras. This showed that where a competent and alert Deputy Commissioner or police chief was present, he could check the riots fairly effectively. However, the general impression I got was definitely of a low standard of district administration.
- 14. Whenever I asked either the local authorities or members of the public or well-known citizens as to why they had not taken more effective action, their answer was that it all came very suddenly and they had neither time nor resources to meet such a situation which was affecting wide areas. In some places the citizens, especially local Congressmen, who moved out to the rural areas, helped to check violence. But I rather doubt if this was generally done during the first few days. It must be remembered that the main disturbances lasted for about a week or ten days.
- 15. A significant and most unfortunate part of these disturbances was the part that students played in them. There can be no doubt about this, though it would be wrong to blame all students for it. The Assamese students were worked up against the Bengalees as well as the police, more especially after the shooting of a student at Gauhati on the 4th July. One rather silly incident also appears to have had a very considerable effect in rousing the Assamese. This was a slogan used by one or more persons in a procession at Shillong. The slogan was that Assamese was a donkey's language. It was ridiculous for people to attach

importance to some young man's slogan. No one knows who used the slogan, whether he was a Bengalee or a hill man. But in the super-charged atmosphere over the question of language, this angered and excited the Assamese greatly.

- 16. The Assamese newspapers—more especially two, one in English and one in Assamese—did not deal with events soberly and rather helped in adding to the excitement. But even more so, on the other side, some of the Calcutta newspapers added to the fire. Their reports and their comments were often exaggerated and full of denunciation of the Assamese. These Calcutta newspapers have a large circulation in Assam, and resentment grew among the Assamese at their attitude.
- 17. I have mentioned some incidents just to give some background to this picture. There were some others too of this kind. The question, however, is how matters came to such a head and, more particularly, how this widespread mob violence took place more or less simultaneously. One may form some idea of the gradual worsening of the situation in the course of a number of weeks or even months; one may also understand that the particular incident of the killing of the Gauhati student, coming when it did, led to sudden outbursts of violence. But all this does not explain to me fully why this widespread violence took place more or less at the same time. This could not have happened spontaneously everywhere. There must have been some preparation and some organisation behind it. I am unable to say what this was. In one district, Sibasagar I think, there is a party, the R.S.P.I., which has always been devoted to violence. Some ten years ago, it carried on a murderous campaign against Congressmen and killed a large number of them. It is a small party, without any real influence. It has one member in the Assam Assembly. No doubt, this party must have given the lead in its own district. It cannot be said that it has spread out in other parts of Assam. The Communist Party is not strong in Assam and, though it might have helped the disturbances, I doubt if that made very much difference. This party plays a dual role. In Assam Valley, it is strongly pro-Assamese in regard to language, in Cachar, it is pro-Bengalee.
- 18. The P.S.P. also is not strong in Assam. But some of its leaders in the Assembly played an important role in the language agitation and in criticising the Government and the Congress on this issue. Their speeches often were very intemperate. A number of Congressmen also sympathised with this language agitation partly because they wanted to undermine the present Chief Minister Chaliha's position. Shri Chaliha has been, and I believe is, popular in the Assam Valley as well as in other parts of the State. Indeed, in the Hill areas and in Cachar, he is greatly respected and people have faith in him. A dead set was made by various opposition groups against Shri Chaliha in the early days of this month especially. Not only were slogans raised at public meetings asking Chaliha and the Government to resign, but some people even went so far as to demand Chaliha's blood. A few Congressmen (not many, I think) probably secretly approved of this

campaign against Chaliha.

- 19. Unfortunately, Chief Minister Chaliha was lying seriously ill. He was completely bed-ridden from the 6th of July onwards. But he had been unwell for some days earlier. The incident of the 4th July pained him greatly and probably made him break down, unwell as he was at the time. Since then, Shri Chaliha has been completely out of the picture. He has been so unwell that no one has told him what was happening. The Finance Minister, Shri Fakhruddin Ahmed was in Srinagar, Kashmir, attending some conference. He only returned to Gauhati on the 6th July. After his return he tried his best to deal with the situation as it then was, and visited a number of places where disturbances had taken place. He has, in fact, been functioning as Acting Chief Minister because of Shri Chaliha's illness.
- 20. The Chief Secretary, Shri S.K. Datta, an able officer with long experience of Assam, was also away part of the time on leave as he had not been well. Even after his return, he has not kept well.
- 21. Thus, a combination of circumstances, added to the fact that the Assam Administration cannot generally be considered efficient, made it even more difficult than it might otherwise have been, to face the serious situation that had arisen owing to these disturbances.
- 22. I got the impression that the situation had not been handled with any wisdom and for some days the administration was functioning very weakly. They were confused. Curfew orders were issued and withdrawn and the demands upon them were so great that they did not know what to do about them. A senior police officer told me that it was bedlam in the Police station with constant demands coming from a hundred places asking for protection. With his small force, he said, what could he do?
- 23. One odd idea was suggested to me, and there might perhaps be something in it. This was that one reason for this growing excitement about the language among the Assamese was the impending census operations. They were afraid that if Assamese was not declared their national State language now, it may become impossible to do so later on. Perhaps the census figures might show a lesser percentage of real Assamese in the State.
- 24. Language was so closely associated in the minds of the people with employment. Assamese, and especially the students, saw large numbers of non-Assamese, and especially Bengalis, being employed everywhere in Assam. The Railways had practically 95 per cent of Bengalis. In the Administration there are many Bengalis. Even the Refinery that came had a Bengali General Manager. They felt, therefore, that the avenues for advance in the future were closed to them largely. Language became symbol of the opening of these avenues.
- 25. Shri Chaliha, who had all along taken a sane and wise view of the situation in Assam, and realised that the state was a very mixed State, was accused of being partial to the people of the hills and to the Bengalis and dominated by Muslims. Although he was popular with the Assamese also, all the Opposition Parties, with

the secret help of a few Congressmen, took advantage of the prevailing language excitement to attack Shri Chaliha especially and generally to incite the people. And this was done when Chaliha was lying seriously ill.

- 26. We must realise the deep sense of frustration among the Assamese. They feel not only that their state is backward in relation to most of the States, but that such advance as might be made by it helps the non-Assamese elements much more than the Assamese. They have become so bitter about it that they say that they would rather not have this advance at this cost. A few among them even talked loosely about splitting up the Assam State and allowing the Bengali part to go its way and the hill areas to go their way. At least this would leave the Assamese to live their own lives as they choose. But this is not a widespread sentiment, and most Assamese would not like any division of the State.
- 27. When confronted with the fact that in new industries or other developments, we have to have first class men, and if Assamese were not available, we had to get them from outside Assam, they agreed, but they begged that the outsiders should not be Bengalis but from other parts of India as they were already having too many Bengalis in Assam and they dominated the situation. They would like to come in touch with other parts of India. Bengalis, they said, were not easily assimilated in Assam and live their separate life.
- 28. This, of course, is true. But it probably applies to all of us. We are provincial minded and keep in provincial groups. Where such a provincial group becomes big as in the case of the Bengalis in Assam, it attracts attention and leads to discontent. The Bengalis in Assam have, of course, a long history behind them and, for a considerable period, they dominated Assam politically and culturally. There was rather a tendency to look down on the Assamese and to consider the Assamese language as a vulgar dialect of Bengali. All this has sunk deep into the minds of the Assamese, and they are terribly apprehensive that this kind of thing may continue in future unless checked now.
- 29. In Bengal it is said that the recent developments in the Assam Valley were part of a Bengali Kheda movement (drive out the Bengalis). I rather doubt if there was any such thought-out movement though there might be some sub-conscious desire to that effect. I was reminded by the Assamese that in the course of the last few years, they had accepted five lakhs of Bengali refugees from East Pakistan. If they wanted to drive out the Bengalis why should they have accepted such a large number of them? There was some force in this, but the presence of large numbers of Bengali refugees has now made them realise that the proportion of the Assamese population is lessening, and they can take no further risks in the future.
- 30. One very odd fact which is almost inexplicable is that the Bengalis in the Assam Valley join in the demand for the Assamese language being made the State language. It is the Bengalis in Cachar that oppose this demand. And yet it was the Bengalis in the Assam Valley who suffered in the disturbances.

31. The most disturbing fact that stands out in Assam is that the students are quite out of hand and imagine that they have to rescue Assam and mould it after their own wishes. A few of these students are perhaps bad characters. One student leader has a definitely criminal background. But most of these students are decent young men and women who have somehow got themselves pushed in the wrong direction. Probably some of their professors and teachers are partly responsible for this. In one student memorandum, I was asked in all seriousness that the law and order business should be handed over to the students as the administration was incapable of dealing with it! Handled rightly, I think many of these students would behave well. But at present it is not easy to handle them at all.

32. Nearly all the Assamese delegations that came to see me, men, women, students, pressed on me hysterically to have Assamese declared as the State language immediately. If this was done, they said, normality would come in soon. As a matter of fact, any such course adopted unilaterally would undoubtedly lead

to a great deal of trouble, both in the hill areas and in Cachar.

33. We see thus on the one side the passionate desire of the Assamese to have some part of the good things of life and of progress which, they feel, have been denied to them by past neglect and by the dominance of Bengali elements. They want some avenues of employment, and they resent other persons being thrust in there, and more especially Bengalis. The symbol of all this yearning has become the Assamese language. On the other side, we have Cachar resisting this demand; so also the hill areas, though for somewhat different reasons. No sensible person can imagine that Assamese can be imposed on either Cachar or the hill areas. But even if Cachar and the hill areas are, for the moment, excluded and at the same time the Assamese language is declared the State language, this is not agreeable to Cachar or hill districts. They think that this exception will not protect them adequately.

34. I was a little surprised to find that the Hill districts deputation to me did not ask for a separate State. But they made it perfectly clear that they would not tolerate Assamese being thrust upon them. They could not very well ask for any of their local dialects to be used by the State as there was no common language for the Hill areas. Therefore, they were prepared to accept Hindi as their official language. They pointed out, with much justification, that it was too much to ask them to learn (1) their own language, (2) Hindi, (3) Assamese and (4) English (and they wanted to learn English). This meant four languages and three scripts.

35. Recently, there was a Bengalee Cultural Conference at Cachar. This again irritated the Assamese although it should not have done so. They pointed out that Cachar was always looking to Calcutta for guidance culturally and otherwise,

and did not assimilate itself enough in Assam.

36. During all this period, the two principal officers in Assam, the Chief Secretary and the Inspector-General of Police, were Bengalees. I have referred to the Chief Secretary above. The Inspector-General of Police has struck me

previously as an able officer in intelligence. He did much work in the Naga Hills. But I must say that I have not carried away with me a favourable impression of his work as I.G.P. There was too much of a tendency in him to blame others for everything that had happened. In any event, he is very unpopular among the Assamese, and he himself told me that he was considered public enemy number one. In these circumstances, it does not seem wise to continue him in Assam as I.G.P. He cannot work effectively there. Even more unpopular in Assam is the Superintendent of Police of Gauhati, who ordered the firing which killed the student on the 4th July. I am quite sure that he should be transferred. It is impossible for him to function in Gauhati. I had a talk about this with the Governor, and he agreed with me. So also, the Finance Minister, Shri Fakhruddin Ahmed. 267 I further suggested, and they agreed, that a competent Assistant or Additional Chief Secretary should be given to the present Chief Secretary, partly because the Chief Secretary is not well. As I have suggested that the I.G.P. should be removed from his present post, I would hesitate to transfer the Chief Secretary also. That would mean removing the two senior Bengalees almost at the same time. Also, I think the Chief Secretary is a good officer. It is really his ill-health that has made him rather ineffective.

- 37. I might add that when someone suggested that the Superintendent of Police of Gauhati should be transferred, the I.G.P.²⁶⁸ threatened to resign. This was very improper of him. He did not say this to me, but I think he said it before the Governor or the Finance Minister.
- 38. The Finance Minister agreed to all this but asked the Centre to send him a really first class Police Officer who can take the place of the I.G.P.
- 39. The Assam Government have appointed one of their senior and competent men, Shri Kidwai, ²⁶⁹ as Rehabilitation Officer for the Bengalees who are living in camps now. I have laid stress on this work being completed within a few weeks.
- 40. Chief Minister Chaliha, if all goes well, will probably be well enough in about two weeks' time. Even after that, he will have to go a little slow for another week or so.²⁷⁰
- 41. The question of President's rule was mentioned to me solely by the Bengalees. The Assamese of all parties would deeply resent it. I gave a good deal of thought to this and discussed the matter with Governor Shrinagesh. We both

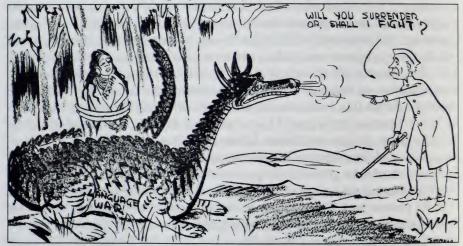
^{267.} B.R. Pabbi, the Superintendent of Police, Gauhati, was replaced on 24 July 1960 by Ataur Rahman, the Additional Superintendent. *The Statesman*, 25 July 1960.

^{268.} S.M. Dutta.

^{269.} Ahmad Nazir Kidwai, Development Commissioner, was appointed as Additional Chief Secretary to the Government of Assam for Relief and Rehabilitation. *Hindusthan Standard*, 5 August 1960.

^{270.} It was announced on 22 July 1960 that B.P. Chaliha would be on leave for a month. *The Times of India*, 23 July 1960.

[RESCUING DAMSELS IN DISTRESS] The Age of Chivalry Is Here Again



The Prime Minister has urged that the language war in Assam must be ended. (From Shankar's Weekly, 24 July 1960, p. 5)

felt that at present this would not be advisable or helpful. There might have been some point in it immediately the disturbances arose. But, now, as there is a progressive approach to normality, having President's rule would not help in any way in this return to normality. At the same time, I cannot, nor can Governor Shrinagesh, rule out the possibility of the President stepping in later if conditions do not improve quickly. What is necessary in Assam is strong action in many ways and, in particular, a tightening up of the services. I have asked the Finance Minister, who is in charge now, to keep in intimate touch with the Governor and seek his advice.

42. In the course of one of my speeches, I said that the question of punitive fines should be considered.²⁷¹ The imposition of such fines is not free from difficulty, and I cannot, therefore, give a positive view about it. I thought it as well to mention it so that people might think of it.

43. Governor Shrinagesh is coming to Delhi probably on the 24th or 25th of this month. This is in connection with the delegation of the Naga People's Convention. His visit here will give us a chance of consulting him and finding out what progress has been made.

44. Finance Minister Fakhruddin Ahmed is likely to come to attend the Working Committee meeting on the 28th July.

114. To R.K. Dutta²⁷²

21 July 1960

Dear Shri Dutta,273

I have received two letters from you dated the 19th July. As they appear to be based on wrong information and much emotion, it is difficult for me to answer them. I do not know where you have got your facts from. Probably I know more as to what has happened in Assam than you do, and probably also I have said many more hard things to the Assamese than you are aware of. Nevertheless, the Assamese are dear to me as are Bengalees or people of other parts of India.

Your interpretation of what the States Reorganisation Commission said has no relevance to the case of Assam. The S.R.C. referred to border issues.

Yours sincerely, Jawaharlal Nehru

115. To the Lok Sabha Secretariat²⁷⁴

I would venture to submit to Mr. Speaker²⁷⁵ that the subject referred to in the Notice²⁷⁶ is not one about which it would be proper for me to make a statement. All I can say is that I enjoyed my visit and our armed forces there are in good heart. There is practically no "public" there as these are uninhabited regions. I cannot say much about the disposition of our forces.

116. To Fakhruddin Ali Ahmed²⁷⁷

22 July 1960

My dear Fakhruddin,

I shall be anxiously following developments in Assam. It seems to me very important that there should be no relapse there into complacency. What happened in the earlier days of July there was very bad indeed and has shocked people all over India. I was surprised to find during my tour of Assam how little this aspect had been realised by the Assamese. Whatever the grievances and demands of the

^{272.} Letter.

^{273.} A resident of 20-12, Graham's Land, Calcutta 40.

^{274.} Note, 21 July 1960. File No. 8/145/60-PMP, Vol. II, Prime Minister's Secretariat.

^{275.} M. Ananthasayanam Ayyangar.

^{276.} The Calling Attention Notice by V.S. Naldurgkar, Congress, Lok Sabha MP from Osmanabad, Bombay, about Nehru's tour of Ladakh and other border areas.

^{277.} Letter

Assamese might be, and some of them have justification, what actually happened made them the guilty party on this occasion.

Without any particular inquiry, one can say that the Government and the administration failed to meet the crisis. So, also of course the police. It was unfortunate that the Government had practically to do without the Chief Minister and yourself and the Chief Secretary was also away. Nevertheless, all this did show up the weakness of the administrative apparatus in Assam as well as that of the police structure. It is important, therefore, that the administration should be tightened up. Any slackness shown in this direction now will be harmful both in the short run and the long run. This means, as we discussed, some changes at the top on the police side. We shall, of course, help you in finding good men and I have mentioned this matter to our Home Minister.

The Chief Secretary, who appears to be a capable man, should be given special help i.e. a high class man should be given to him to be his Joint Secretary working with him. All your heads of departments should be pulled up and made to realise that they have to function with speed and efficiency. Your senior district officials, deputy commissioners and superintendents of police, should, if I may say so, be considered separately and where necessary changes might be made.

The point is that there should be an attempt at this overhaul. In this you should seek the guidance of the Governor who must know all these officials himself very well.

Then, as I told you, a test of the success of the administration is the rapidity of the return and rehabilitation of Bengali refugees. This must be pushed through. This is not only desirable in itself, but is also the best answer to the continuing agitation in Bengal.

I hope that you have distributed clothes to the refugee children. I sent you a cheque for rupees ten thousand soon after my return here.

I hope that you will keep me informed of developments.

Yours sincerely, Jawaharlal Nehru

117. To Debeswar Sharma²⁷⁸

22 July 1960

My dear Debeswar Sharma,

During my last evening at Jorhat, 279 you spoke to me for a few minutes and enquired if I had any grievance against you. There is no question of my having any grievance and I was too tired then to have much of a talk.

278. Letter.279. 19 July 1960.

But I think it is only fair to you that I should inform you that a number of reports have reached me, not only in Assam but outside Assam also, that your general attitude, in recent weeks specially, has been that of a person in opposition to the Government. Whatever the precise facts might be, it does appear that this is a widespread opinion.

Even Dr. B.C. Roy of Calcutta wrote to me about it and said that you yourself

had told him that you hated Chief Minister Chaliha.

In the recent language agitation in Assam, you are said to have associated yourself with people who not only held extreme views but also expressed them in a very unbecoming manner. You attended public meetings addressed by various people in the Opposition and others where slogans were raised against the Assam Government and, more particularly, against Chaliha.

Because of all this, a general impression has been created that you are bitterly against Chaliha and his Government and would like that Government to fall.

I am communicating to you what I have heard, both in Assam and in Delhi. You were good enough to ask me on the subject and I think I owe it to you to let you know.

Yours sincerely, Jawaharlal Nehru

118. To Kesho Ram²⁸⁰

Please reply to this telegram from Shri Saumyendra Nath Tagore²⁸¹ as follows:"The Prime Minister has received your telegram of the 19th July²⁸² only this morning.

In the course of his speeches in Assam, the Prime Minister stated that the Assamese have every right to use Assamese for State purposes in the Assamese-speaking area of Assam, that is, chiefly the Valley of the Brahmaputra. But it would be improper for them to impose this on the non-Assamese-speaking people in Assam State, more especially Cachar and the Hill areas. Assamese like thirteen other languages has been listed in the Constitution of India and there is no doubt

281. President, West Bengal Re-organisation Parishad.

^{280.} Note, 23 July 1960.

^{282.} Saumyendranath Tagore had stated in his telegram: "Your Gauhati speech declaring Assamese as Assam's only State language is a concession to Assamese provincialists and a gross injustice to Assam's Bengalee and tribal inhabitants and a violation of SRC recommendations. Bengalees do not constitute a minority community in Assam. Political manipulation of census is at the back of this misrepresentation. A recent secret circular distributed in Assam urges the expulsion of Bengalees from Assam before the 1961 census. Assamese, Bengalees and a couple of recognized tribal languages should be declared as Assam's State languages."

that in the Assam Valley Assamese is a dominant language just as in Cachar Bengali is the dominant language. In the Hill Districts there is no single tribal language which can be said to be dominant. In fact the Hill Districts do not claim any such language but have asked for Hindi to be used in their areas.

There is no question of the violation of the SRC recommendations which apply to the border areas; nor is there any question of numbers involved in this, although some people may have that in mind. Whatever the proportionate numbers might be, the fact of language distribution is clear."

119. To S.K. Dey²⁸³

23 July 1960

My dear Dey,

I received your long telegram today. This was really, I suppose, in answer to a message that had been sent to you by our Home Minister.

You know that I have just returned from Assam and I feel it is very important for a competent officer to be sent there for a brief period, say three months. This is not for rehabilitation but to function as Additional Chief Secretary there. The situation there is a very difficult one and we have to help the Assam Government as much as possible. This is not a question of seniority or of rehabilitation. I do not personally know any of these officers, but as Pantji thinks that Balachandran is the kind of person we need in Assam at present, I think we should abide by his advice in this matter. I do not see why your work should suffer for three months. You have a fair number of senior officers in the Ministry and they can share this work between them.

Yours sincerely, Jawaharlal Nehru

120. To Padmaja Naidu²⁸⁴

23 July 1960

Bebee²⁸⁵ dear,

The day I returned from Assam, I wrote a note about my impressions of my visit there.²⁸⁶ This was meant for our President and two or three of my colleagues. I did not wish to give this wider publicity in its present form. As you might be interested in this, I am sending you a copy of it. You can, of course, share it with

^{283.} Letter, copied to G.B. Pant.

^{284.} Letter. Padmaja Naidu Papers, NMML. Also available in JN Collection.

^{285.} Pet name of Padmaja Naidu, the Governor of West Bengal.

^{286.} See item 113.

the Chief Minister, Dr. B.C. Roy, but I would not like it to go much further. Love,

Jawahar

121. To Amar Bhattacharjee²⁸⁷

24 July 1960

Dear Shri Bhattacharjee, 288

I received your letter of the 15th July on my return from Assam.

As you must know, I have paid a visit to Assam and I have seen for myself the conditions that are existing there now. I have enquired into the riots and the disturbances. There can be no doubt that deplorable occurrences took place there, more especially for about a week or ten days from the 4th July onwards. Conditions are practically normal now and the Assam Government is doing its best to rehabilitate those people who went away and to punish those who are guilty.

Yours sincerely, [Jawaharlal Nehru]

122. To G.B. Pant²⁸⁹

26 July 1960

My dear Pantji,

I see from an Intelligence Report that there is a move to avoid discussion in Parliament of the Assam situation. I had not myself heard of any such move, but N.C. Chatterjee²⁹⁰ has also written to me about it.

I am not anxious to have any such discussion there, but if it is widely desired, will it be proper for us to avoid it?²⁹¹

Yours affectionately, [Jawaharlal]

287. Letter.

288. Convener, West Bengal Youth Congress.

289. Letter.

290. President, All-India Civil Liberties Union; was Hindu Mahasabha, Lok Sabha MP from Hooghly, West Bengal, 1952-57.

291. On 31 July, National Herald reported Nehru as having told the Executive Committee of the CPP in New Delhi on 30 July that "he would have no objection to a discussion in Parliament on the recent language riots in Assam, though he did not think such a discussion would be particularly helpful."

123. To N.C. Chatterjee²⁹²

26 July 1960

Dear Shri Chatterji, I have your letter of the 26th July.²⁹³

I am not aware of any attempt to prevent a discussion about the Assam situation in Parliament.

So far as the language question is concerned, I stated in Assam repeatedly that it was the right of the Assamese speaking people to have Assamese as a State language, but they could not impose this on the non-Assamese people. Assam was, in fact, a multi-lingual State, and I suggested that the matter should he considered at some kind of a round table. So far as the tribal people are concerned, they expressed their wish to have Hindi made their language.²⁹⁴

You refer to the large scale arson at Goreshwar, details of which were given in the Calcutta press of the 25th July. This arson took place on or just after the

According to this same report, Nehru had written to Chatterjee on 16 July, in reply to a letter, that "there could be no doubt that what had happened in Assam was tragedy of an extreme kind, not only for the present, but with all its implications for the future. 'Although the lead in these recent deplorable happenings was taken by the PSP there and some other groups. I have little doubt that many Congressmen either participated or merely looked on. Unfortunately, the one man who could have held the situation, that is, Chief Minister Chaliha, has been lying very ill'." Nehru also reportedly said: "As you have yourself mentioned in your letter, part of this agitation was really against Mr. Chaliha."

^{292.} Letter.

^{293.} This letter has not been traced.

^{294.} Chatterjee's letter of 26 July has not been traced. However, *National Herald* reported on 29 July that, with reference to Nehru's public comments on the language question, Chatterjee had written to Nehru: "We find it difficult to believe that in this crisis you would go out of your way to indicate your view that Assamese should be the state language in that state. We ask you to realise that such a statement coming from you may be construed as putting a premium on mass hooliganism and persecution of the linguistic minority. It would mean the triumph and vindication of those who started this anti-Bengali agitation. The tribal people are deeply perturbed because this would mean the imposition of a language on 24 lakhs of tribal people besides two millions of other non-Assamese speaking people out of a total population of 95 lakhs in Assam."

5th July. The reports may have appeared in the press much later.²⁹⁵ To my knowledge there has been no arson at Goreshwar for the last two weeks or so. This applies to other parts of Assam too except for a few isolated cases. What has happened is that reports of earlier cases have come later.

Yours sincerely, [Jawaharlal Nehru]

124. CWC Resolution on the Disturbances²⁹⁶

Draft Version

The Working Committee have noted with sorrow and distress the recent occurrences in Assam which led to a number of deaths, to large-scale arson and looting, and to the driving out of their homes of tens of thousands of persons. That such tragic developments could take place at any time for any reason is deplorable; it is even more reprehensible that this kind of widespread breach of the public peace should take place over a question of language, which normally should be settled by peaceful and cooperative processes. It is also regrettable that the State Administration could not deal with this situation when it arose with speed and efficiency and give immediate

Final Version

The Working Committee have noted with sorrow and distress the recent occurrences in Assam which led to a number of deaths, to large-scale arson and looting, and to the exodus of tens of thousands of persons from their homes. That such tragic developments could take place at any time for any reason is deplorable; it is even more reprehensible that this kind of widespread breach of the public peace should take place over a question of language, which normally should be settled by peaceful and cooperative processes. In some districts the administration could not deal with this situation when it arose with speed and efficiency and give immediate

295. For instance, the *Hindusthan Standard* of 28 July sought to know from the Government of Assam whether "a senior police official of Tamalpur P.S., North Kamrup" had gone to the house of a prosperous resident of Muhuripur village on the night of 5 July and, after telling him "that anti-Bengalee elements had raided Goreswar the previous day and proposed to raid Muhuripur on July 5," offered him police protection for Rs 1,000. On 6 August, the same newspaper claimed that the anti-Bengali disturbances in the Goreswar area occurred in fact on 3 July, one day before the police firing at Gauhati.

296. The draft resolution, prepared by Nehru on 28 July 1960, was adopted by the CWC on 29 July 1960 with some changes. File: Sr. No. 40, 1960, AICC Papers, II Instalment, NMML. Also available in JN Collection. The resolution adopted by the CWC was published in

Congress Bulletin, July-August 1960, pp. 346-349.

protection to those who were attacked.

The Committee recognise that after the first few days of mob violence, the Administration took more effective steps and checked any further depredations and apprehended many of those who had been guilty of them. A situation involving so much violence must be dealt with with firmness and impartiality. If the normal apparatus of Government is not adequate for the purpose, special measures may have to be taken to prevent the possibility of any recrudescence of this violence and to give full protection to all.

The Committee is informed, and has reason to believe, that conditions have improved in Assam and that, on the whole, law and order prevail there now. This must be maintained. It is essential that not only should law and order prevail, but that there should be a sense of security for all residents of Assam, and that the fundamental right of staying or moving about freely in every part of the Indian Union, without molestation and danger, should prevail. Action should be taken against such persons who took part in disturbances at the beginning of July. No public demonstrations should take place which create tension or endanger this feeling of security. Wherever it is considered necessary, special armed guards should be organised or permitted to help in creating this sense of security.

The first and urgent step now is to rehabilitate those who were driven

protection to those who were attacked.

- 2. The Committee recognise that after the first few days of mob violence, the Administration took more effective steps and checked any further depredations and apprehended many of those who had been guilty of them. A situation involving so much violence must be dealt with with firmness. If the normal apparatus of administration is not adequate for the purpose, special measures may have to be taken by the Government to prevent the possibility of any recurrence of this violence and to give full protection to all.
- 3. The Committee is informed, and has reason to believe, that conditions have improved in Assam and that, on the whole, law and order prevail there now. This must be maintained. It is essential that not only should law and order prevail, but that there should be a sense of security for all residents of Assam, and that the fundamental right of staying or moving about freely in every part of the Indian Union, without molestation and danger, should prevail. Action should be taken against such who took part in the persons disturbances. Wherever it is considered necessary, special guards should be organised or permitted to help in creating this sense of security.
- 4. The Committee trust that no demonstration would take place which create tension or endanger this feeling of security, and the Press in Assam & Bengal and outside would help to bring about an atmosphere of friendship and good will.
- 5. The first and urgent step now is to rehabilitate those who were driven

away from their homes and to help in this process. This is the first responsibility of the Government of Assam, but in this work of rehabilitation. the Government of West Bengal as well as the Government of India should give every cooperation and assistance. Congressmen in Assam should give their full cooperation in this task, and the Working Committee will gladly assist by sending its representatives to Assam or by any other methods that are feasible. This work of rehabilitation should be undertaken as a short term measure, and special officers for that purpose should be appointed. Where huts or houses have been destroyed, steps should be taken immediately to provide temporary shelters so that the people dispossessed may return to their fields and look after their crops and other business. Further rehabilitation should follow this

It is most unfortunate that a question of language should be connected with such disturbances which can only do harm to the cause of the language concerned. Language is the embodiment of the culture of a people, and culture cannot flourish in an atmosphere of violence or coercion, nor can language grow in such conditions. The Assamese language is one of the national languages of India laid down in the Constitution of India. This language, like other national languages, has to be encouraged in every way and progressively used by the people whose mother-tongue it is. In promoting its use in various public activities, it should be remembered that its use should not be enforced in areas

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Assam occupies a vital position in India, being a border State. It is on the eve of considerable development in various ways. Neglected to some extent in the past, it is now likely to develop fast. But this can only happen in an atmosphere of peace and cooperation. The immediate necessity is to wipe out of the consequences of these disturbances and to turn the people's mind to constructive and cooperative effort.

where other languages prevail. Many areas of India are bi-lingual or multi-lingual, and each of the languages in use has to be protected and encouraged. Languages do not grow in conflict with each other; they flourish in cooperation, each helping the other. The question of language, therefore, in Assam is one that should be settled cooperatively by representatives of various parts of Assam State so that this sense of conflict should disappear and an atmosphere of cooperative endeavour for the good of the State should take its place.

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125. To V.K. Krishna Menon²⁹⁷

When I was in Shillong recently, I had a talk with Dr. Verrier Elwin who is our Adviser for Tribal Affairs. He told me that he was rather concerned about the impact of our Defence Forces in the NEFA region. It is quite possible that the presence of large numbers of soldiers and others from outside NEFA might create difficult problems. It was necessary, therefore, in his opinion, that our officers

297. Note, 29 July 1960, copied to Subimal Dutt, the Foreign Secretary.

should realise this and should issue specific instructions to their forces.

- 2. I asked Verrier Elwin to send me a note on the subject. He has done so, and I am sending you two copies of this note. I think it will be advisable for you to have copies of this note sent to our senior officers in NEFA and request them to instruct our men there more or less on the lines of what Verrier Elwin has said.
- 3. In this note, Elwin refers to a book he wrote called "A Philosophy for NEFA". I wrote a foreword to it.²⁹⁸ I think that some copies of this book might well be sent to our officers in NEFA.
- 4. Our political officers in NEFA are generally good and have been trained to deal with the tribal people in a proper manner. I hope that our military officers there keep in touch with them and take advantage of their special knowledge of the tribal people.

126. To Verrier Elwin²⁹⁹

29 July 1960

My dear Elwin,

Thank you for your letter of the 22nd July and for the note that you have sent me. I am sending this note to our Army people, and I trust that it will be helpful to them as well as to the people of NEFA.

Yours sincerely, Jawaharlal Nehru

127. To Subimal Dutt300

You may remember that Verrier Elwin wrote a book called I think "A Philosophy for NEFA". I wrote a foreword to it.³⁰¹ This book tried to explain our attitude to tribal people and how we should treat them as friends and equals.

2. It has struck me that it would be worth while sending a few copies of this book to our High Commission in London. This has no direct relevance insofar as Phizo is concerned. But it does give an insight to the way we approach the

^{298.} For Nehru's foreword to the first edition of *A Philosophy for NEFA* (Shillong: North East Frontier Agency Administration, 1957), see SWJN/SS/36/pp. 251-252; for his foreword to the second edition, see SWJN/SS/44/pp. 266-267.

^{299.} Letter.

^{300.} Note, 29 July 1960. File No. 2 (38)-NEFA/56, MHA.

^{301.} See item 125, fn 298.

problem of tribal people, and our High Commission could perhaps utilise it to advantage.

128. To Tara Sankar Banerjee³⁰²

30 July 1960

My dear Tara Sankarji, 303

I have received your letter of July 26th with which you have sent me a copy of an open letter addressed by you to me. I am very sorry to learn that you are unwell and indeed are confined to bed. Because of your ill-health I do not wish to inflict a long letter on you.

You may have seen in the newspapers a resolution passed yesterday by the Congress Working Committee in regard to the Assam disturbances.³⁰⁴

I entirely agree with you that those guilty of these disturbances should be punished. There can be no question of showing them any leniency. I understand some thousands of people have been arrested and many of them will be tried.

You refer to the SRC Report. The report discussed the question of border areas and gave certain percentages. That would hardly be applicable to a State like Assam which is in a sense multi-lingual. What I have stated in Assam is that the people in the Brahmaputra Valley have every right to the use of Assamese, but they cannot thrust it on others. In the same way the people of Cachar are entitled to use Bengali. This statement of mine is not affected much by the census figures.

As for the general approach to the language question, I have repeatedly stated that this should be done by broad agreement among the parties concerned.

I did not fix any time limit for the return of a sense of security. But I did say that I hoped that within three weeks all the Bengali refugees in camps in Assam would be able to return to their homes or lands. I still hold that that may be done. Some of them have, I believe, already so returned.

The process of the return of the Bengali refugees who have left Assam will, no doubt, be more difficult. Still I understand that to begin with two thousand are going to return. I hope this will continue.

The question of producing a sense of security in the minds of people who have suffered is always a difficult one and there is no way of measuring it immediately. The first course is to make such arrangements for protection that a certain external sense of security comes. The second course is for the atmosphere to change bringing about an internal sense of security. So far as the first approach is concerned, that can be done and has been done. Where any necessity arises, it

^{302.} Letter.

^{303.} A resident of Tala Park, Calcutta.

^{304.} See item 124.

can be added to. The other process depends so much on the minds of men that it is not easy to measure it. Yet, I believe that it can be done and that, in fact, it is in the process of being done, though gradually.

A government should take such physical steps as to give protection and a sense of security. But it is also important that processes should be started which tend to create peaceful conditions on the minds of men. From the long term point of view this obviously is of high importance. All of us can help a little in this.

I hope that you will get well soon.

Yours sincerely, Jawaharlal Nehru

129. To S.M. Das305

30 July 1960

Dear Dr. Das. 306

I have your letter of the 25th July. Confidence and a feeling of security come from a number of factors. There are the external factors like protection given by Army, Police and the Administration, and then there are the internal factors of a feeling of friendliness among neighbours and the people generally.

At the present moment it is obvious and as certain as anything can be that the external steps for protection taken such as Army, etc. are quite adequate to prevent any kind of mob or large-scale violence. They are also adequate for any other type of violence in any big way. No one, of course, can guarantee some individual misbehaving.

In addition to this, there is the policy of the Administration which, I think, is now helping greatly in assuring a feeling of security.

But the basic approach must necessarily be greater goodwill between the various communities living side by side. There is no other more effective protection in the long run. Our policy, therefore, should be aimed at removing these tensions and fears and creating goodwill, while, at the same time, giving protection. I have no doubt that the refugees should return and can do so in perfect safety. The next step will then have to be taken which will bring long-term results.

There are, of course, basic problems to be faced which have their roots in the past. Let us try to face them. Such problems cannot be solved by some coercive apparatus only.

Yours sincerely, Jawaharlal Nehru

305. Letter.

306. President, United Khasi-Jaintia Hills Displaced Persons' Association, Shillong.

130. To R.K. Dutta³⁰⁷

31 July 1960

Dear Shri Dutta,

I have received your letter of the 26th as well as the one of the 28th July. Should you so wish it, you can publish my letter to you of the 21st July.

I did not say that normalcy has returned to these areas of Assam. I have said, however, that the Bengalees who have left their homes, can return there. There is a very considerable improvement in these areas, and there is absolutely no chance of any mob violence. Full steps have been taken for protection, and I think that the atmosphere in Assam has also changed much for the better. This, of course, does not mean that every effort should not continue to be made. You will, perhaps, have seen the resolution of the Congress Working Committee on this subject. 308

Yours sincerely, Jawaharlal Nehru

131. To Nibaran Bora³⁰⁹

31 July 1960

Dear Shri Bora, 310

I have your letter of the 29th July. My own impression is, and this has been gathered from information received from many sources, that the Praja Socialist leaders in Assam took a leading and rather aggressive attitude in regard to the language question. It is this that I have hinted at. I did not accuse them of encouraging violence as such, but rather of creating an atmosphere of tension.

Behind the language issue there were, of course, political and economic issues also.

Yours sincerely, Jawaharlal Nehru

307. Letter.

308. See item 124.

309. Letter

310. Chairman, Praja Socialist Party, Assam.

132. To Fakhruddin Ali Ahmed³¹¹

31 July 1960

My dear Fakhruddin,

Two persons came to me this morning and gave me the attached letters. They appeared to be bona fide persons.

I do not know what your policy is likely to be in such matters. It will be difficult to give full compensation, but I suppose it would certainly be desirable to give them some loans to start work. Also, it may be necessary to arrange for some protection lest the factory or plant may suffer damage again.

Yours sincerely, Jawaharlal Nehru

(ii) Nagas

133. To S.M. Shrinagesh³¹²

11 June 1960

My dear Shrinagesh,

I enclose a copy of a letter I have addressed to the Chief Minister.³¹³ For the rest we have exchanged telegrams already.

I should like to know how we stand in regard to the Naga Convention and their proposals. My impression was that this matter has now more or less hung up probably awaiting a visit of the representatives of the Convention to me. Is that so and, if so, would you advise me to invite them now to see me? By now, I mean some time, let us say, in July. When we meet them, we should be clear in our minds as to what attitude to take up.³¹⁴

^{311.} Letter.

^{312.} Letter.

^{313.} See item 92.

^{314.} Shrinagesh's reply to the questions raised by Nehru in this letter has not been traced. Subimal Dutt, however, addressed these matters in his note of 19 June 1960 to Nehru, see Appendix 39.

[SCOTT, PHIZO, AND A DONKEY]



(From Shankar's Weekly, 31 July 1960, p. 13)

According to our information, Phizo is abroad, somewhere in Europe. He intends going to America.³¹⁵ He has apparently got some kind of a passport from El Salvador, a small country, whose passports can almost be purchased.

Yours sincerely, Jawaharlal Nehru

134. To Subimal Dutt³¹⁶

I agree with you. 317 I do not think that we should at this stage ask for extradition, whatever the law on the subject might be. We may point out to the U.K. Government that obviously Phizo has been travelling on a forged passport under a false name. Indeed, according to their own statement, the passport was purchased in the blackmarket at Manila. We may add, however, that we do not wish to embarrass them over this matter, but they might remember that he is a fugitive from our

^{315.} According to information furnished by Michael Scott to the High Commission of India to UK, and passed on to MEA on 10 June, "Phizo has left Pakistan and is in overseas country not Britain which Scott sworn not to disclose. Phizo encouraged by American sympathisers and probably Pakistan intends seeking support including appeal to U.N. for independent Naga State. One American Jack Homer Editor of "Freedom" journal has requested Scott's assistance in facilitating Phizo's travel to United States." Telegram, J.C. Kakar, Counsellor, Indian High Commission, London, to M.J. Desai, Commonwealth Secretary, MFA, 10 June 1960. Subject File No. 60, S. Dutt Papers, NMML.

^{316.} Note, 16 June 1960.

^{317.} See Appendix 34.

[PHIZO THE INVISIBLE MAN] "HEAD HUNTER"



It is believed that the British Government will not allow Mr. Phizo to take undue advantage of its hospitality.

(From The Times of India, 24 June 1960, p. 7)

justice and we trust that while he is in their territory he will not be allowed to indulge in activities directed against India.

I agree that we should inform the press as suggested in your paragraph 3.

135. To Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit³¹⁸

Your telegram 1437 of June 17 must have crossed Dutt's telegram 24488 of June 17 to Azim Husain.³¹⁹ As stated in Dutt's telegram, we are not asking UK Government for Phizo's extradition. Any extradition proceedings or pressure on UK Government to send Phizo back to India would give him the publicity which he is so anxious to secure. Nevertheless we have expressed the hope to the UK High Commission here that Phizo would not be allowed to indulge in activities directed against India. It is for UK Government to decide how they will deal with

^{318.} Telegram, 18 June 1960.

^{319.} Mohammad Azim Husain, Deputy High Commissioner of India to the UK.

Phizo. If he has entered UK as an alien with a San Salvador passport, he must have used a forged passport for entering UK territory and cannot now claim the privileges of a Commonwealth national.

- 2. We can well imagine a number of people who may be either well-meaning or inspired by anti-Indian motives to play up Phizo's demand and his story of alleged atrocities in the Naga territory. These stories are grossly exaggerated. His main object seems to be to enter the U.S. where he hopes to attract more sympathy for his case in the United Nations and elsewhere. We have already spoken to the U.S. Ambassador³²⁰ here against grant of a visa to him. We understand that Phizo's nephew,³²¹ who is a U.S. citizen, is trying to secure sympathy of some U.S. circles.
- 3. As you know, the disturbances in the Naga Hills have been continuing since the last four years. If we had adopted heavy handed methods without regard to life and property, we would have been able to break the Naga resistance by now. We have instead always avoided harsh measures and have ruled out air action completely. Our instructions are to treat the Nagas as Indian citizens and try to win them over. Our policy has met with considerable success, though hard core of hostile Nagas continues. Most of the Nagas want a settlement and are against these hostile activities.
- 4. We have made it clear in the past that, in accordance with our general policy, we are prepared to concede largest possible local autonomy to Nagas in addition to all the privileges of Indian citizenship, representation in Parliament, etc. But we have also said that we can never agree to an independent status for the Nagas which in fact is Phizo's demand. We have also been spending money in developing the Naga area in various ways.
- 5. Some months ago the Nagas held a big convention and elected a negotiating committee for discussions with Government. This negotiating committee represents at least 75 per cent of the Nagas. 322 It has given up demand for independent State and has put up certain draft proposals for discussion. These envisage Naga territory to be made a constituent State of India with Governor, Assembly, Cabinet and other administrative paraphernalia. The total Naga population in the territory is a little over four lakhs and the total revenue is about five lakhs or so. With these limited resources, the territory would clearly be unable to bear the top heavy administrative apparatus of a regular State. Apart from this practical difficulty, we are prepared to go to the farthest length possible to meet Naga wishes and I hope to have discussions with the Negotiating Committee during the next few weeks.

^{320.} Ellsworth Bunker.

^{321.} Vichazellu, a public health official in Chicago.

^{322.} Major R. Khathing, Deputy Commissioner, Mokokchung, in the NHTA, to Subimal Dutt, 13 June 1960. File No. 42, Subimal Dutt Papers, NMML.

- 6. Meanwhile hostile Nagas finding themselves somewhat isolated and progressively pushed out are trying to terrorise Nagas and others by sniping and adopting guerilla tactics in some areas. It is not always possible for us to give protection to people who are scattered over a large area.
- 7. After I have met the Naga negotiating committee and some agreement has been reached with them, we shall undertake such Constitutional amendments as may be deemed necessary.
- 8. Phizo's wife³²³ and family were detained for some months but were released a long time ago. I know that the Governor of Assam took particular interest in them and their children's education. I have not heard of any complaint from them. The wife and family are now in Shillong leading normal lives.
- 9. You need not go out of your way to give interview to Phizo but if he desires such an interview, Azim Husain can meet him and find out what his intentions are. I might add that Phizo is a very cunning and astute person.

136. To Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit³²⁴

Your telegram 1449 June 18. I have already sent you a long message about Phizo³²⁵ which probably answers your questions.

- 2. It seems to me quite absurd for some odd people to form a committee to judge between Phizo and the Government of India. Obviously we cannot have anything to do with this. Phizo is a fugitive from justice. He does not even represent the great majority of people in the Naga area. At the most he represents some terrorist elements there. I rather doubt if even these elements acknowledge his authority and there are inner factions there between different tribes.
- 3. We cannot stop newspapers or individuals or committees from functioning, whether they are right or wrong. But it is up to the UK Government to do what they can to prevent Phizo or others exploiting this situation. We shall point this out again to UK High Commissioner here.³²⁶

^{323.} Jwane.

^{324.} Telegram, 20 June 1960.

^{325.} See item 135.

^{326.} Malcolm MacDonald.

137. To Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit³²⁷

24 June 1960

[Nan dear,]

I returned last evening from a three-day visit to the districts of Surat and Broach in Gujarat. My main purpose in going there was in response to the invitation of a hundred-year old Muslim gentleman from South Africa whose own village was in Surat District. He was an old colleague of Gandhiji in his early campaigns in South Africa. He came to see me about three months ago and invited me to go to his village. I accepted that invitation. He managed to get quite a number of prominent people of Indian descent from South Africa to meet me. In fact, I was told that many more would have come but they had difficulty in getting passports.

As I went there, naturally I visited many other places roundabout. This was the route which Gandhiji took on his famous Dandi march. Unfortunately, I could not go to Dandi or to Bardoli because of heavy rains which put the roads out of commission.

At Ankleshwar in Broach District, we have found oil and this is of high quality. Here also I could only look at the derrick from two-three miles away because the kutcha road there was not easy to negotiate and my time was limited. Throughout this tour, there was almost frenzied excitement among the people and the welcome they gave me was terrific. I seem to have become Nehru Chacha for all and sundry in various parts of India.

I have just received your telegram about the Queen's visit. We shall now proceed to draw up a provisional programme in consultation with Malcolm MacDonald here. The actual announcement of the dates would be made as soon as Macmillan³²⁹ writes formally to us.

I have also received your letter about Phizo and Asha Devi's³³⁰ talks with you. This whole affair has an element of unreality. So far as the Naga situation here is concerned, I received a request for an interview from the representatives of the Naga Convention just before I went to England. I told them that I would meet them some time after my return. I propose to do so in the second half of July or thereabouts. There is no difficulty at all about our agreeing to the fullest autonomy to them and I hope that we shall come to some kind of an agreement. But they want to have the trappings of a full Indian State, although they are not even the size of an average tehsil in India. This will mean a very top-heavy administration.

^{327.} Letter, copied to N.R. Pillai.

^{328.} See item 8.

^{329.} Harold Macmillan, Prime Minister of the UK.

^{330.} Asha Devi Aryanayakam.

Another difficulty is not directly in relation to them but the effect this step might have in the other hill States of Assam. Because of this disruptive effect, the Assam Govt is terribly anxious that the Naga area should retain some contact with Assam. To this the Nagas have the strongest objection and I think we shall have to agree to the Naga request in regard to this matter. We hope, therefore, to hammer out an agreement. This will not end the trouble in that area as there are some irreconcilable and diehard elements there. But no doubt this will make a very big difference.

I have found out that a number of warrants were issued against Phizo. Some of these have been withdrawn. But there is still one warrant in a murder case which was a particularly brutal one. This is still in force. Whether we proceed on it or not is another matter. But obviously we cannot allow Phizo to roam about these areas and create further trouble. I must say that I have formed a bad opinion of him. He has been slippery in the past and has not kept his word. So far as his wife and children are concerned, they live freely in Shillong and have been helped by us.

I agree with you that the way in which David Astor³³¹ and Michael Scott have acted is not at all commendable. However, I am not worried about this matter. We have to keep wide awake, you at the other end and we at this end, and see to it that any mischief is not done.

Indira and the children are at Srinagar. I am going there on the 2nd July, mainly for the purpose of going to our Ladakh border areas. I shall be away for about a week.

[Love]

[Jawahar]

138. To Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit³³²

24 June 1960

[Nan dear,]

In a letter that I have dictated to you,³³³ I have briefly referred to what you have written to me about Phizo. I think I should say something more about it. Hence this letter.

I have received your letter of June 21st about this Phizo drama in which all kinds of odd people are becoming actors. It is odd enough for Michael Scott and

^{331.} Proprietor and editor, The Observer (UK), and an associate of Africa Bureau in London.

^{332.} Letter, copied to N.R. Pillai.

^{333.} See item 137.

David Astor to be associated with Phizo in this particular way. Then comes Asha Devi Aryanayakam and finally Moral Rearmament appears on the scene. I really do not know what to say about this motley crowd.

I think we might disabuse these people and William Clark³³⁴ about their attempts to put pressure on us. I am not at all worried about Phizo getting in touch with Express³³⁵ or anyone else; or, indeed, his asking China for help. What surprises me is how people, who presume to have some commonsense, behave.

For my part, I am not in the least worried about this matter. It has a certain amusing side.

[Love]

[Jawahar]

139. To Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit³³⁶

30 June 1960

[Nan dear,]

I have just received and read your letter of June 27th, with which you have sent me copies of various letters. One of these is David Astor's letter to Dickie Mountbatten, another Astor's letter to you of the 25th June and your reply to Astor of the 27th June. There is a letter from Phizo addressed to Hicks³³⁷ of M.R.A. and two letters of Niketu Iralu.³³⁸

I have read all these papers with mounting amazement. Your reply to Astor was a proper one.

I do not know what evidence Phizo might have placed before Astor or Michael Scott. Whatever it may be, are Astor and Scott so simple-minded as to accept one-sided reports from any man and least of all Phizo. I have in the past seen some statements issued by Phizo giving accounts of so-called atrocities. These statements were fantastically wrong. Perhaps, Phizo has got some pictures of demolished villages etc. I cannot understand what type of evidence he can have other than this. David Astor clearly says that he believes in Phizo's story. If so, he is welcome to it. But this does not indicate much intelligence or good sense. Even a person of average intelligence tries to find out what the other side of the story is, before believing it.

^{334.} William Donaldson Clark (1916-1985); British journalist; worked with *The Observer* for a few years until 1960; Director, Overseas Development Institute, 1960-68.

^{335.} Probably the Daily Express.

^{336.} Letter, copied to N.R. Pillai.

^{337.} Roger Hicks.

^{338.} Nephew of A.Z. Phizo; studied in Shillong and Madras; joined Moral Re-Armament, 1957.

The broad facts of the situation are that Phizo started a terroristic campaign. Apart from raids and shooting our civil and army personnel, the real terrorism was on his own people to force them to line up with him or to give him money and supplies. It may be that many of the Nagas felt some sympathy with the ideal of an independent Nagaland.

We had to take action against these terroristic activities, and some armed forces were sent there. The whole terrain of the Naga territory had practically no communications, was hilly and full of forests. It was ideal for raids and sniping. The result was that our people were picked off, and the Naga terrorists usually disappeared. Occasionally, some of them were killed in encounters. Sometimes, some of the villages where they used to take shelter, were destroyed by our army people. On the other hand, the Naga hostiles destroyed and burnt Naga villages because they would not side with them. Apart from encounters, Phizo and his group kidnapped or captured some of our friendly Nagas of position and, later, shot them down in cold blood. In fact, it is one of these murders that is a charge against Phizo.

Later, our army people devised a method of grouping the Naga inhabitants in certain villages or areas for effective protection to them, and also to have a free hand to deal with the hostiles round about. When the situation improved, this

grouping was largely abandoned.

At present, the Naga people as a whole are thoroughly fed up with all this business where, inevitably, they have suffered from both sides, and they clamour for peace. I think that a considerable majority of them are tired of Phizo's methods and activities. They are a proud people, and I have always admired them. About a year or more ago, a Naga National Convention was held, and this represented nearly all the tribes in those areas. The active hostiles kept apart. It is this Convention that has been meeting again and again and has now put forward some proposals for the consideration of Government. This Convention has clearly stated that they do not claim independence, but want to be treated as an autonomous State like other States in India. As I think I wrote to you, we have always assured them of full autonomy. Only some difficulties arise in treating a very small area as a major State in India. Possibly, we shall get over them. I have invited the representatives of the Naga National Convention to meet me here in Delhi on the 28th of July.

In some of the papers you have sent me, reference is made to "genocide" and that a hundred thousand Nagas have been killed by the Indian army. This, of course, is complete nonsense. The whole population of the Naga territories is four hundred thousand. I could not say how many Nagas have been killed in these military operations. Probably, they may run to two or three thousand in the course of the last few years. Several hundred of our army and civil people have been shot down by the Naga hostiles.

I really do not know what advice to give you about this matter. You seem to

be handling it in the right way. The idea of some kind of a Committee appointed by Astor and Scott to come as a Commission to enquire is really quite extraordinary. They should at least have the sense to realise that whatever their threats might be, we are not going to permit this kind of thing. It is true that we have not permitted journalists to go there, though I think some journalists did go to Kohima, capital of this area. It was difficult for us to allow journalists to go about that area, for there was continuous sniping. We could not take the responsibility of protecting them if they went into the interior.

During these years, many development schemes have functioned in the Naga area. New schools have been opened, and hospitals, and they are functioning. Some roads have been built, and a considerable part of the area is more or less settled, though there may be an occasional raid.

I have already told you that Phizo's wife and children are comfortably settled at Shillong. His children go to school.

I feel naturally annoyed at these activities of Astor and Scott. But I still see no reason to get excited about them, in spite of their threats. If Jayaprakash Narayan goes there and meets Phizo, it is difficult for me to say how he would react. He is an odd person.

[Love]

[Jawahar]

140. To Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit³³⁹

I have received your letter of June 22 and correspondence with David Astor about Phizo. I am really astonished at the way Astor has accepted every concocted story of Phizo. Your reply to Astor was on right lines.

- 2. What Astor has said in his letter amounts to very serious allegations against Indian Army. It seems likely that Astor and others are determined to carry on organised propaganda against us. We shall have to meet that and as soon as we know nature of charges, we shall send you information to reply to them.
- 3. As this matter specially affects our Army, I think that our Defence Minister Krishna Menon should take it up personally with Home³⁴⁰ and, if possible, Macmillan. He will be returning from Accra via London.³⁴¹ You will see telegram I am sending to Krishna Menon about this matter.³⁴²

^{339.} Telegram, 1 July 1960.

^{340.} Alexander Frederick Douglas-Home, Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations.

^{341.} Krishna Menon was in Accra to attend the inauguration of the Republic of Ghana.

^{342.} See item 141.

4. These Phizo developments in England are bound to create a furore in India when they come out and be subjected to parliamentary questions and debates.

141. To V.K. Krishna Menon³⁴³

Your telegram 239 June 30th. I am amazed at the way David Astor and some others are building up Phizo and organising some major agitation against India. Astor appears to accept all the fantastic charges which Phizo has been making against the Indian Army. Some letters that Astor has written have shocked me.

- 2. Our High Commissioner in London has been dealing with this matter and will continue to do so with the UK Government and others. But I think that as the honour of our Army is involved in these charges, you as Defence Minister should meet Home and, if possible, Macmillan and speak to them about these extraordinary developments. We are very jealous of the honour of our Army and we do not propose to permit these slanderous accusations.
- 3. In any talks about Phizo, you will of course keep in touch with our High Commissioner and keep her fully informed.
- 4. I am going to Kashmir and Ladakh tomorrow morning returning 7th morning. If it is necessary for you to stay an extra day in London for purposes mentioned above, you may do so.

142. To Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit³⁴⁴

8 July 1960

[Dear Nan],

This morning, I received your telegram suggesting that we should make no statement about Phizo till I received a letter you had written. I had no particular intention of making a statement about Phizo and, anyhow, our minds are full of the proposed general strike here. We shall await your letter. In any event, I shall have to make statements about Phizo to Parliament when it meets early next month. Much may happen by then.

Asha Devi Aryanayakam came to see me two or three days ago.³⁴⁵ She told me nothing new. Today I received a letter from her with a brief report of a talk she had with Vinobaji about Phizo.³⁴⁶ She asked me if she could send this brief

^{343.} Telegram, 1 July 1960, sent to the Indian High Commission to Ghana and repeated to the Indian High Commission to the UK.

^{344.} Letter.

^{345.} In fact, she met Nehru on 1 July.

^{346.} See Appendices 62 and 70.

[JP TO PHIZO'S DEFENCE]



[From left: Jayaprakash Narayan, Phizo, Michael Scott and other Church figures] (From Shankar's Weekly, 3 July 1960, p. 11)

report to Michael Scott and others. I have told her she could certainly do so. I enclose a copy of her letter and this report.

I had a long talk today with Jayaprakash Narayan also about Phizo etc. I found nothing much new in what he said, and I tried to give him some information about Phizo and the Naga movement, which he did not seem to know.

Jayaprakash told me that David Astor had asked him to become the Chairman of the Committee he intended forming for Phizo. Jayaprakash refused to join this Committee and advised David Astor not to have any such Committee.

He asked me about the feasibility of journalists or others coming here to visit the Naga territory. I told him that we would not agree to any kind of Commission of Inquiry. As a matter of fact, a bunch of journalists (Indian) had gone to the Naga territory some months ago. Also, the Sarvodaya people had several of their men working there in schools. Asha Devi herself had visited these places on more than one occasion. Jayaprakash wanted to know if some Sarvodaya people could go there. I told him they certainly could. We have, in fact, rather a big Ashram there, partly financed by us, in charge of a Sarvodaya worker.

Some time ago, we were thinking of arranging a visit of more Indian newspapermen there. But the rains have now intervened. We have no objection to any of our newspapermen going there, and possibly we might not even object to some bona fide man from outside India also going. But it is clear that if a man from The Daily Telegraph or the Daily Express goes there, we know exactly what to expect from him.

[PHIZO AT THE INNER TEMPLE]



Phizo is to challenge the legal validity of the British transfer of Naga territory to India—Report.

(From Shankar's Weekly, 17 July 1960, p. 19)

I suppose one of these days, Phizo will address a Press Conference in London and bring out all his charges against us,³⁴⁷ which will get headlines in some of the newspapers there. I have had a fairly comprehensive note prepared about Phizo and the movement in the Naga area. We shall send you this soon.

I gather that Colonel Luthra,³⁴⁸ who was for two or three years our Commissioner in Naga Hills and Tuensang area, is in London on leave. Perhaps, you or Azim³⁴⁹ met him. He could, of course, give you a first-hand account of everything that has happened there during his presence, as also tell you about the background. It would be good to take advantage of his stay there to get all this information from him.

[Love]

[Jawahar]

^{347.} At a press conference in London on 26 July, Phizo called for "an immediate cease-fire" in the Naga area and the appointment of an "impartial" commission to investigate his allegations of atrocities by the Indian Army which he listed in a memorandum titled "The Fate of the Naga People: An Appeal to the World." The memorandum, distributed at the press conference, described the Nagas as "a Christian community which not only wanted separation from India but also aspired to become a Christian State within the Commonwealth." Phizo also demanded that "the world press should have free access to all parts of the Naga area to see for itself what was going on there."

^{348.} P.N. Luthra.

^{349.} Azim Husain.

143. To Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit³⁵⁰

10 July 1960

[Dear Nan],

I have just received your letter of July 8 with the various enclosures. I have read all these papers. I am writing to you briefly now to tell you that we have no intention, as at present advised, to ask for the extradition of Phizo. At no time have I thought this desirable.

As for the "well documented charges" by Phizo against the Indian Army, I have seen no such papers at any time. All I have seen is some vague charges made by Phizo or on his behalf in what appeared to be circular letters that he was issuing to people in America and elsewhere. There was nothing specific in them, and I considered them grossly exaggerated and often quite baseless. Apart from this, a few cases of rape came to our notice. I think there were five or six in the course of the last few years. The Army took action in every one of these cases that was reported to us. There may, of course, have been other cases which were not reported. But I doubt if a number of atrocities could have taken place there without these coming to our notice. Please remember that the Governor of Assam was our representative there and was in over-all charge. He kept in intimate touch with these matters. Generally speaking, he could not be ignorant of the course of events. The Governor during the last three or four years was Fazl Ali,351 a man who took a deep and friendly interest in the Nagas and was always trying to win them over. Apart from this, he was a High Court and Supreme Court Judge for 25 years or so, and his outlook was very much governed by his judicial experience.

I believe there were cases of the burning of villages, both by the Nagas and by our Army. In fact, some of the fights took place in the villages themselves which consisted of simple huts.

I shall enquire into this matter and see what papers we have. But it is obvious that we cannot carry out much of an enquiry unless we have precise allegations. If it is possible for you to send some of these to us it will help us to enquire.

As I have already suggested to you, you should meet Luthra who was our Commissioner in the Naga territory for two years or more. He certainly knows everything during the period he was there and probably has considerable knowledge of what preceded that. He is a competent man who has been friendly to the Nagas.

[Love]

[Jawahar]

350. Letter.

351. Saiyid Fazl Ali, the Governor of Assam from May 1956 to August 1959.

144. To S.M. Shrinagesh³⁵²

11 July 1960

My dear Shrinagesh,³⁵³ I have your letter of July 9th.

We have had news about Phizo from London from various sources. Of course our High Commissioner, Vijaya Lakahmi Pandit, has kept us informed about him, although she has not met him. Our Defence Minister discussed his case with Commonwealth Secretary³⁵⁴ in London. Jayaprakash Narayan met Phizo two-three times and had long talks. He has come and has reported them to me on his return here. So has Asha Devi Aryanayakam.

I shall not go into all this in any detail. This, however, I might inform you. We have no present intention of asking for Phizo's repatriation to India. Apart from the legal difficulties in this, we think it is far better for him to stay where he is. His stay in London has already lost the charm of novelty and the newspapers there have paid little attention to him. It is true that he has threatened to come out with well-documented list of charges and is apparently preparing this for publication. I imagine that even this will probably not raise too much interest except for a day or two. Much depends on what this list of charges contains. Apparently it is rather a formidable document and those people who have seen it have been much impressed by it. In the main, it consists of charges against Army personnel who are accused of all kinds of horrible crimes. The charges, it is said, are not merely vague charges but dates, places and names of Army officers are mentioned.

It is difficult to deal with this till one has these charges with specific details. I am, however, asking our Army people in our Ministry to look into all their papers to find out what kind of charges were made previously on behalf of the Naga hostiles. If you have any record of them in your office, you might have them looked up.

There is no question of delaying the negotiations with the Naga Convention people. I expect to meet them here on the date fixed.³⁵⁵ I presume you will come here a little earlier. There is of course the general strike situation and one does not know which way all this may turn. I hope the Assam situation will certainly be under full control and more or less normal.

^{352.} Letter, copied to Subimal Dutt, the Foreign Secretary.

^{353.} The Governor of Assam.

^{354.} Probably Nehru was referring to Alec Douglas-Home, the British Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations.

^{355.} See item 150, fn 370.

145. To Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit³⁵⁶

I have received following telegram from Michael Scott:

"Would greatly appreciate opportunity meeting you anywhere your earliest convenience."

I should like you to convey to him following reply on my behalf:

Begins. I have received your telegram. I am heavily engaged during this month and our next session of Parliament begins on 1st August. The earliest convenient date would be the second week of August.

While I am always prepared to meet you, I should like to know in what capacity and for what particular purpose you wish to meet me. In recent weeks, I have learnt with surprise about your contacts with Phizo which have been surrounded with some kind of mystery. It has been hinted at that there are serious charges against the Government of India or the Indian Army. We are naturally concerned with anything concerning the honour of our Army. In these circumstances, I can hardly meet you as representing Phizo or discuss with you matters having grave import. Normally my Government deals with or through another Government and not with a private citizen of another country. If any representation is to be made this should be done through our High Commission in London. There is no mystery or secrecy in so far as we are concerned, but there are international proprieties to be observed and we do not propose to bypass them. Ends.

We have been grappling with the general strike situation for the last few days. On the whole we have done well although Calcutta and Bombay have been troublesome.

On 17th July, I am going to Assam for three days. Conditions there have been bad.

146. To Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit³⁵⁷

16 July 1960

[Nan dear,]

Yesterday I sent you a telegram in which I gave a message I had received from Michael Scott.³⁵⁸ I had asked you to convey my reply to him. I enclose a copy of my telegram to you.

356. Telegram, 15 July 1960.

357. Letter.

358. See item 145.

Today I have received a bunch of papers from you with your two letters dated July 12th³⁵⁹ and 13th. These papers include copies of correspondence between David Astor and Dickie Mountbatten and a copy of a letter from Michael Scott to you dated 11th July.³⁶⁰

I think that the reply I have sent to Michael Scott covers Michael Scott's letter to you and is an adequate reply to his various questions. It also deals, in a sense, with what David Astor has written.

I really am quite unable to understand all these mysterious approaches and hints and threats. The reference to some trouble between the Minister of Defence and me in this matter has no basis. Even if our troops misbehaved, it had nothing to do with me or Krishna Menon.

I cannot obviously give an answer to allegations which are not specified to me. But it passes my comprehension that terrible things must have been happening in the Naga Hills for four or five years without my having known about them.

It is very good of David Astor to be so concerned about India's prestige. I think we can look after it ourselves without his help.

I had twice mentioned to you that Col. Luthra was in London and that you might meet him and discuss these matters with him. Did you do so?

A rather simple fact has been mentioned in some newspapers abroad in a completely distorted way. This is about Phizo's activities during the last war. It is sometimes said that he helped the British or the Allied Forces. As a matter of fact, he helped the Japanese against the British.

I think it will be advisable for you informally to let Lord Home know what answer I have given to Michael Scott.

I am going very early tomorrow morning (five o'clock) to Assam. Indira is accompanying me. She knows the Assamese people somewhat better than I do and she will have her own programme.

[Love]

[Jawahar]

^{359.} See Appendix 79.

^{360.} See Appendices 72 and 78.

SCOTT ADVERTIZES PHIZO] REV. MICHAEL SCOTT MELPED PMIZO TO REACH LONGON - BEHOLD ANOTHER MESSIAN!

[From right: Phizo, Michael Scott, others] (From Shankar's Weekly, 26 June 1960, p. 13)

147. To Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit³⁶¹

16 July 1960

[Nan dear,]

I have sent you two letters today. One of these dealt with Phizo matters. 362 This whole story, ever since Michael Scott appeared on the scene and produced Phizo, has been quite extraordinary. It almost sounds like some detective fiction. Why Michael Scott or David Astor should have proceeded in this particular way, is beyond me. They could have functioned quite normally, told us what the matter was and taken our reply, without getting too excited about it. If after that they wanted to do something, they could have done it. But they have surrounded this with mystery and secrecy, and tried to create an impression of terrible things happening in the Naga territory which apparently we are hiding.

Naturally, we have been somewhat irritated. But none of us here has taken it too seriously. It is true that we do not know what these famous charges are which are said to be so well documented. But I am unable to conceive anything of the kind hinted at. And so I am not greatly worried.

You have had to bear the first brunt of these attacks in London, and it must have been a matter of much concern to you. Do not worry about it. When the famous day comes when these charges are made public, we shall look into them and deal with them.

After my telegram to you³⁶³ in reply to Michael Scott's message to me, there is nothing more to be said by me in response to David Astor's kind advice. Astor

361. Letter.

362. See item 146.

363. See item 145.

and Scott can go ahead and do just what they like.

I think our Ministry is sending you soon a note about these Naga areas. I do not remember the exact dates. But, broadly speaking, Phizo started this trouble in 1955 or so. The Naga District was under the Assam Administration. When Phizo's revolt grew, the Army was called in. This was, I think, in March 1957. The Army functioned there in aid of the civil power. In one of your letters, an official's name was mentioned as having been a guilty party, according to Phizo. This man (Cavalo or some such name³⁶⁴) was a Deputy Commissioner of the Assam Government in the Naga Hills. He was not an Army man. In 1957, many Naga leaders met us and pressed that the Naga District should be separated from Assam. We agreed and created a new unit, the Naga Hills and Tuensang Area (N.H.T.A). This was in December 1957. It was from this date that this area came directly under the External Affairs Ministry. The Army was given larger powers. But, even so, the civil Administration functioned. Colonel Luthra was appointed the Commissioner of this new unit. The Governor of Assam, at first Fazl Ali, and then General Shrinagesh, was in overall charge under the External Affairs Ministry.

Phizo was responsible for a particularly callous murder of one of his oldest associates, Zakri. This was because Zakri disagreed with him and did not want to carry on this rebellion.

[Love]

[Jawahar]

148. To Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit³⁶⁵

I returned from Assam yesterday afternoon. I have seen your telegram 1764 of July 20th. Also direct message from Phizo copy of which you have already seen.
2. My reply to Michael Scott dated 15th July³⁶⁶ is in effect a reply to Phizo's

- telegram also.
- 3. You might send for Michael Scott and tell him that I have received Phizo's telegram. Tell him that the position taken up by Phizo in his message to me is, in the circumstances, quite extraordinary and we cannot accept proposals he has made. In view of the reckless allegations against the Government of India and the Indian Army that he has made, I am unable to meet him. Further, I cannot discuss the constitutional future of the Naga territories with him. I am, in fact, meeting the properly elected representatives of the Nagas during the next few days.

^{364.} Probably the reference is to S.J.D. Carvalho, Deputy Commissioner, Naga Hills District, 1953-57.

^{365.} Telegram, 21 July 1960.

^{366.} See telegram from Nehru to Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit, item 145.

4. Phizo may, however, meet some officer of the High Commission who will listen to what he has got to say. In fact, we have already suggested this in response to earlier message of Phizo, but he did not then take advantage of this offer.

149. To Purna Chandra Jain³⁶⁷

25 जुलाई 1960

प्रिय पूर्णचन्द्र जी,368

आपका 23 जुलाई का पत्र मिला। इसमें आपने लिखा है कि सर्व सेवा संघ की इच्छा है कि कुछ लोगों को लद्दाख, नेफा आदि भारत की सीमाओं पर भेजे। मेरी कुछ ठीक समझ में नहीं आया कि आप ठीक-ठीक क्या करना चाहते हैं। श्री जयप्रकाश जी ने इसकी कुछ चर्चा मुझसे की थी। लेकिन जहां तक मुझे याद है उन्होंने नागा प्रदेश का ज़िकर किया था।

नागा प्रदेश में अगर आप चाहें तो अवश्य भेज सकते हैं। नेफा में भी अक्सर जगह आप भेज सकते हैं, लेकिन जो असली सीमा है वहां किसी का जाना बहुत कठिन है, और शायद बग़ैर फौजी

मदद के वहां पहुंच भी न सके। वहां लोग बहुत कम रहते हैं।

लद्दाख की सीमा पर पहुंचना और भी कठिन है। वहां कोई आबादी नहीं है। इस समय खाली हमारे फौजी लोग हैं या कुछ दूर बाद चीन की फौज के लोग हैं। इस लद्दाख की सीमा पर मामूली पहाड़ी रास्ते से जाने में करीब एक महीना लगेगा। इसलिए हमारा सारा सामान हवाई जहाज़ से जाता है। उनपर खाली फौजी लोग जाते हैं या उनका सामान। अगर कोई वहां पहुंच भी जाये, जो कि मुश्किल है तो हमारे फौज के कुछ सिपाहियों से मिल ले। और किसी से मिलने का उसे मौका नहीं मिलेगा। इसलिए वहां किसी का जाना मुझे उचित नहीं मालूम देता। और करीब 2 असम्भव है।

मैं आपको पूरी तौर से सब बातें लिख नहीं सकता, इसलिए थोड़े में ही इशारा दे दिया है।

आपका जवाहरलाल नेहरु

[Translation begins:

25 July 1960

Dear Purnachandraji, 369

I have your letter of the 23rd July. In this letter you have written that the Sarva Seva Sangh would like to send some persons to India's borders, like Ladakh, NEFA, etc. I could not understand properly what you exactly want to do. Shri

367. Letter.

368. Secretary, All-India Sarva Seva Sangh, Varanasi.

369. See fn 368 in this section.

Jayaprakashji had mentioned to me something about it but as far as I remember he had referred to the Naga areas.

If you want to send some of your persons to the Naga areas, you can certainly do so. You can send them to most places in NEFA also. But it is very difficult for anybody to go to the main frontier and probably it is not possible to reach there without army assistance. In fact, very few people live there.

It is still more difficult to reach the Ladakh border. At present only our army is there, or the Chinese army a little beyond that. It takes about a month to reach the Ladakh border by the usual mountain tracks. Therefore, all our supplies go by aircraft. They carry the Defence personnel and their luggage. If somebody manages to reach there, which is difficult, some members of our forces. He will not be able to meet anybody else. Therefore, I do not think it is appropriate for anybody to go there and it is almost impossible too.

I cannot write to you everything in detail, so I have given you an indication in brief.

Yours sincerely, Jawaharlal Nehru

Translation ends]

150. Proposals of the Naga People's Convention³⁷⁰

Prime Minister's Secretariat
Notes on Resolution of Naga People's Convention

- 1. Name: The name Nagaland may be agreed to. But what does "State" mean? Does it merely mean a separate entity cut off from Assam or does it mean a State approximating to the principal States of India?
- 370. Undated note, kept between documents dated 26 and 27 July 1960 in JN Collection, NMML. The note is unsigned, but from its style and manner of writing, it appears to be by Nehru, and recorded immediately after his meeting with a delegation of the Naga People's Convention (NPC) on 26 July 1960. It seems to be his comments on the NPC's sixteen-point resolution, see Appendix 2 (a). For the final agreement with the Naga delegation, see Appendix 2 (b).

A nineteen-member delegation of the NPC, led by Imkongliba Ao, met Nehru in New Delhi for more than two hours; others present were: S.M. Shrinagesh, Subimal Dutt, K.L. Mehta (Joint Secretary, MEA), N.K. Rustomji (Adviser to the Assam Governor), D.M. Sen (Legal Adviser) and Murkot Ramunny (Commissioner for NHTA). See *Hindusthan Standard*, 27 July 1960.

2. The Ministry in charge: This is not a matter to be laid down in any Constitution as proposed. The Government of India as a whole is in charge. But we have no objection to the Ministry of External Affairs being directly in charge.

3. The Governor, etc: The Governor of Assam should also be the Governor for Nagaland. Headquarters of the Administration of Nagaland will, of course, be in Nagaland. For the present the Governor need not have his headquarters there though he will, no doubt, pay frequent visits.

There may be a Chief Secretary or whatever he is called. Other staff should be limited.

The Governor shall have special responsibilities in regard to finance, and in regard to law and order. The Naga representatives will also help in this.

4. Council of Ministers: The number suggested appears very big. Salaries, emoluments, etc: There should be no top heavy expenditure. The number of Ministers is not mentioned in the Constitution.

5. Legislature: Clarify this.

- 6. Representation in Parliament: At the most one in the Lok Sabha and one in the Rajya Sabha.
- 7. Acts of Parliament: Basic principles and fundamental laws of our Constitution. Lists I, II & III. Detailed provisions in respect of civil and criminal justice contained in the Sixth Schedule.

What does "underground resources" mean?

- 8. Local Self-Government: What does law making mean?
- 9. Administration of justice: Appeals from districts to High Court of Assam. Also appeal from Naga Tribunal to High Court.
 - 10. Administration of Tuensang District:
- 11. Financial assistance from the Government of India: Broadly speaking, administrative expenses should be met by resources of Nagaland. Development grants to be made by the Government of India.

Standard of administration: Officers from North-East Frontier Administrative Service.

- 12. Reserve Funds: Difficult to raise this point. Past history. Certainly this cannot be mentioned in the Constitution.
- 13. Consolidation of contiguous Naga area: There can be no mention in the Constitution of this. If such demands are made, they should be considered in relation to the wishes of the Naga people concerned.
- 14. Separate Naga Regiment: There are already Naga Companies. Usually mixed regiments.
- 15. Transitional period: What is transitional period? How does it relate to broad border situation?
 - 16. Inner Line relation:

All this will require amendment of our Constitution. Constitution based on certain fundamental rights and directive principles of State policy. These should

not be offended.

Thus Seventh Schedule, Union List, State List, Concurrent List—These lists cannot be changed.

Detailed consideration of these points.

151. To S.M. Shrinagesh³⁷¹

Talks with representatives of Naga People's Convention ended satisfactorily this afternoon. They are likely to return tomorrow.

- 2. I intend making statement in Parliament on Monday, August 1st.³⁷² Till then we shall keep this confidential.
- 3. Broadly the agreement is on the lines we have discussed. We agree to separate State of Nagaland with a transitional period of three years or more when Governor will be responsible for law and order. During this period, elected Advisory Council will be associated with Governor. The Governor will also have special responsibility for finance.
- 4. Governor of Assam will be Governor of Nagaland also and High Court of Assam will function there.
- 5. Delegation urged me to visit Nagaland. I replied that I shall try to do so and perhaps might go there towards end of September.
- 6. You might keep Chaliha informed if he is well enough. But matter should be treated as confidential till I make statement in Lok Sabha.

152. To Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit³⁷³

Our talks with Delegation of Naga People's Convention ended this afternoon resulting in agreement on constitutional and connected steps to be taken in Nagaland. I shall make a statement on this subject in Parliament on Monday, 1st August.³⁷⁴ Till then no publicity has to be given.

For your personal information, we have agreed to constitution of separate State of Nagaland which will ultimately have normal attributes and powers of a State. There will be intervening period when Governor will have over-riding powers of law and order. This period is really dependent on the return of normal conditions in Nagaland. Governor of Assam will also be Governor of Nagaland and High

^{371.} Telegram, 30 July 1960.

^{372.} On 1 August, Nehru announced the Agreement in the Lok Sabha. See SWJN/SS/62/item 85.

^{373.} Telegram, 30 July 1960.

^{374.} See item 151, fn 372.

Court of Assam will also function there. Apart from this, there will be no other connection with Assam or any other State.

153. To the Lok Sabha Secretariat 375

I have received notices of motions and questions relating to (1) the Naga situation and (2) Mr Phizo's activities in the United Kingdom.

- 2. I think that it would probably be convenient if I dealt with these matters in statements to be made in the Lok Sabha. If it is convenient to Mr. Speaker, I should like to make a statement on the Naga situation and the recent talks with the Naga Delegation on Monday, August 1st after Question Hour.³⁷⁶
- 3. The other statement dealing with Mr. Phizo's activities in London I should like to make on Thursday, 4th August, after Question Hour.³⁷⁷

154. To Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit³⁷⁸

In answer to various questions in Parliament, I shall make a statement on our talks with Naga Delegation on Monday. I shall make a separate statement on Thursday, 4th August, about Phizo. There are many questions about Phizo's activities in London and I have to give some general answer. I want to deal with this matter separately. In case you have any suggestions to make, you might let us know in time.

155. To Jayaprakash Narayan³⁷⁹

31 July 1960

My dear Jayaprakash,

I gave you today a copy or Verrier Elwin's "A Philosophy for NEFA". That was the first edition. A second and enlarged edition came out last year. I am sending this to you. Perhaps some of your friends in England might be interested in this book.

375. Note, 30 July 1960.

376. See item 151, fn 372.

377. On 4 August Nehru informed the Lok Sabha that the Government had decided not to demand his extradition. See SWJN/SS/62/item 88.

378. Telegram, 30 July 1960.

379. Letter.

380. See item 125, fn 298.

In Phizo's statements at the press conference in London there is frequent reference to the Chinese frontier.³⁸¹ A map is attached to his pamphlet which makes out that the Naga territory adjoins China. This is entirely wrong. The Tuensang Division, to which probably Phizo refers as free Nagaland, is at least 150 miles from the Chinese frontier. Between that frontier and Tuensang there are the Tirap Frontier and the Lohit Frontier Divisions of the NEFA.

Yours affectionately, [Jawaharlal]

(m) Punjab

156. To Partap Singh Kairon: Traders in Tibet, Beas Dam³⁸²

11 June 1960

My dear Partap Singh,

I have had a visit this morning from Hem Raj, 383 MP, from Kangra and Nihal Chand, a member of your Lahaul and Spiti Council. They both came to tell me of the difficulties of the traders on the border who used to go to Tibet for Pashmina and wool. They wanted our help in this matter. I told them that we would gladly give help but our capacity to do so was strictly limited. The Chinese in Tibet do not listen to us or help our traders. However, we are always trying to help.

Thereafter Nihal Chand said to me that the Punjab Government and specially you had been very helpful to them in Lahaul and Spiti and they were very grateful to you. One matter they mentioned in regard to this trans-border trade was that the Punjab Government was advancing some money which they would pay back next year. Probably the Government advanced Rs. 5 lakhs. This year they were unable to pay back fully, although they paid back half of it, because of trade difficulties and they wanted some relaxation or moratorium or some such thing. I referred them to you.

There is one other matter to which Hem Raj drew my attention, that is, the proposed Beas Dam. He said that this would cover a very big area in Kangra which is specially good for cultivation. Further that it might displace as many as 70,000 cultivators. This would be a major upheaval and people were very worried about it. What are the facts about this? Will such a dam and its reservoir have

^{381.} At his press conference on 26 July, Phizo stated that he did not recognize the Macmahon Line which, according to him, "had been drawn arbitrarily by the British imperialists in the past." The Times of India, 27 July 1960.

^{382.} Letter.

^{383.} Congress, Lok Sabha MP from Kangra, Punjab.

such a big effect on the people? The Beas Dam is certainly important from a larger point of view but naturally we should take particular care of the people who are living there.

I hope you are better now. You will have seen the order that has been issued by the Delhi Administration about the proposed Akali procession and demonstration tomorrow.

Yours sincerely, Jawaharlal Nehru

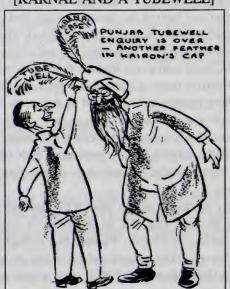
157. To Partap Singh Kairon: Rarewala's Tubewell³⁸⁴

11 June 1960

My dear Partap Singh,

Our Law Minister Asoke Sen has at last sent me back papers concerning the enquiry into the sale of the tubewell by Gian Singh Rarewala.³⁸⁵ He has written a covering letter, ³⁸⁶ a copy of which I enclose.

[KARNAL AND A TUBEWELL]



[From left: A.K. Sen, Partap Singh Kairon] (From Shankar's Weekly, 19 June 1960, p. 13)

384. Letter.

386. See Appendix 24.

^{385.} Minister for Agriculture and Forests, Government of Punjab.

The report and other papers, including evidences of witnesses are lengthy. For the moment, I am keeping this file here but I shall send it to you when you so desire.

As you will notice from the letter of our Law Minister to me, the result of this enquiry has been in his opinion to exonerate Gian Singh Rarewala from having done anything which might he said to be improper. The Law Minister, therefore, has modified the previous opinion he gave in this matter.

Here this matter should end. It has already lasted too long.

But you will notice that towards the end of his letter the Law Minister has made a certain suggestion. This is to the effect that in order to end this controversy finally "the tubewell in question, the structures and the land acquired be valued again by a competent engineer or surveyor not in the employ of the Punjab Government. If it is below the price paid to Shri Rarewala it should be accepted by Shri Rarewala and he should refund the excess, if any. If, however, his report is in favour of Shri Rarewala it would be an end of the matter".

Personally, I am not in favour of any further enquiry of this kind. We should accept the broad conclusions of the Law Minister's report, exonerate Rarewala and end the matter. But, if you feel that the Law Minister's further suggestion should be carried out, I have no objection.

I am not for the present writing to Gian Singh Rarewala on this subject till I hear from you.

Yours sincerely, Jawaharlal Nehru

158. To C.S. Jha: Akali Detainees³⁸⁷

20 June 1960

My dear Jha, 388

I have received your letter of June 16th, 1960, in which you have raised the question of the Secretary-Generalship of the UN. I agree with you that we should give thought to this matter, although the present Secretary-General's term will continue for another three years or so. As you know, I have a high regard for our Secretary-General Pillai.

I have also received your letter of June 13th with which you have sent a copy of Roger Baldwin's ³⁸⁹ letter about Master Tara Singh and others. Roger Baldwin has sometimes written to me about our Preventive Detention Act. He came here a year or two ago and spoke to me about it too and I tried to explain to

^{387.} Letter.

^{388.} Permanent Representative of India to the UN, New York.

^{389.} National Director, American Civil Liberties Union, New York.

him what it was. The fact of the matter is that this preventive detention here is partly a judicial process. Every person so detained has to appear before a board of high judicial officers who go into the matter and their decision has to be accepted. It is true that this is not a regular trial but it is a big check on the Executive and, in many cases, this judicial board has taken action against the Government's decision. To compare this with other Preventive Detention Acts in other countries is not, therefore, correct, although the other countries might like to do so.

I am not going into the reasons for our using this Act occasionally. We have in fact used it seldom. Master Tara Singh and his activities stand rather on a special footing. He is a law unto himself and in effect tries to bring about some kind of a semi-peaceful rebellion with occasional violence. I am quite satisfied that the action taken against him was justified. But the main thing is that there is a kind of judicial process attached to this preventive detention, and this fact should be brought out whenever necessary.

Yours sincerely, Jawaharlal Nehru

159. To Iftikhar Ahmed Khan: Punjabi Suba Demand is Communal³⁹⁰

23 June 1960

My dear Nawab Sahib,

Thank you for your letter of June 22 about the Akali movement.³⁹¹ I think that this present demand for a Punjabi Suba is undoubtedly a communal one and is very misconceived. I do not quite know what you have in mind about helping to find a solution. I have found in the past that such efforts sometimes have a contrary result, or at least produce confusion in people's minds. You may, of course, meet the Punjab Chief Minister, Sardar Partap Singh Kairon, and discuss the matter with him.

^{390.} Letter to the Nawab of Maler Kotla. Subject File No. 3, Nawab of Maler Kotla Papers, NMML. Also available in JN Collection.

^{391.} See Appendix 43.

160. To Surjit Singh Majithia: No Division of Punjab³⁹²

25 June 1960

My dear Surjit Singh, 393

Thank you for your letter of June 25th. No body, I suppose, is happy over the shape of things in the Punjab at present.

I entirely agree with you that any further division of the Punjab would be harmful to the State and to all people there. This is economically obvious, and all our future planning will be disastrously hit by it. Politically, there are also grave disadvantages in it.

To ask for a division or a special Punjabi Suba on the basis of language seems to me very odd. In order, perhaps, to preserve the language in a part of the present State, the risk of eliminating it from the rest of the State is apparently accepted. Also, the proposed separation would certainly not have a good effect on the Sikhs elsewhere. As it is, Sikhs play a very important part in all parts of India, even apart from the Punjab.

The language issue in the Punjab seems to me so simple that it has amazed me how some of the Hindus and some of the Sikhs there have made it a major issue. Personally, I am quite agreeable to what you say and, in fact, more or less that is the position, except for some very minor deviation from it. The question is not what I want, but what we can do which is good in itself and is agreeable to everyone concerned. As a matter of fact, if knowledge of Gurmukhi and Hindi is made compulsory for all Services in the Punjab, the automatic consequence will be that practically everyone will have to learn them.

Yours sincerely, Jawaharlal Nehru

161. To G.B. Pant: Meetings with Maler Kotla Muslims and Delhi Sikhs³⁹⁴

I received a delegation today from the Malerkotla Muslims. They spoke to me against the agitation for the Punjabi Suba etc. They also gave me a memorandum which I am not sending to you.³⁹⁵

^{392.} Letter.

^{393.} Deputy Minister for Defence.

^{394.} Note, 25 June 1960.

^{395.} According to *The Hindustan Times* of 29 June 1960, a Muslim deputation led by Nusrat Ali Khan, maintained that the Akali demand was meant to "coerce and terrorise the communities and intimidate the Government." Nehru was reported to have assured the deputation "that Government was quite alive to the situation created by the Akali morcha in Punjab."

2. I also received a big deputation from the Delhi State Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee. They gave me a long memorandum which I am sending to you. They spoke in particular about what they call the excesses by the police on June 12th. It appears that after the main demonstration was over on June 12th, the police, in clearing Chandni Chowk etc., probably used their lathis somewhat indiscriminately. However, I told the deputation that the whole movement was most unfortunate and mis-conceived and if this kind of major conflict takes place, it is not easy to pick out small instances of possible misbehaviour. I did not agree to any inquiry.

162. To Partap Singh Kairon: Be Gentle With Dissidents³⁹⁶

28 June 1960

My dear Partap Singh,

I enclose a letter from Lala Duni Chand³⁹⁷ of Ambala. He writes to me sometimes and I am afraid I pay little attention to his letters. He is much too old and a bit gaga. However, I am sending this letter to you and you can do what you think proper.

Today I had a visit from Giani Zail Singh,³⁹⁸ Prabodh Chandra³⁹⁹ and Abdul Ghani Dar.⁴⁰⁰ They were in bad shape and rather down and out. They said that they wanted to be helpful in these crises but there was no way open to them to do so. Their efforts to come nearer to you had been repulsed by you. It was true that they had disagreed with you in many matters, but since I had directed them, they had remained silent, etc. etc.

I am afraid I rather lost my temper with them and spoke to them in strong language. They said that if I wanted them to do so, they would retire completely from public life. Otherwise some opportunity should be given to them to serve. Since they came to see me, I gave some thought to this matter again. I feel that it would probably be desirable for you to soften somewhat towards them and thus gradually utilise them. It is always good to try this kind of thing. They are at present completely frustrated and a frustrated man is not a good man. Why not help them to work?

^{396.} Letter.

^{397.} A Congress leader of Punjab.

^{398.} Congress, Rajya Sabha MP from Punjab; and leader of the dissident group in Punjab Congress.

^{399.} Congress MLA, Punjab.

^{400.} Congress MLA, Punjab.

163. To Partap Singh Kairon: Punjab Language Problem a Maze⁴⁰¹

28 June 1960

My dear Partap Singh,

I have your two letters of the 27th June. One of them is about traders' difficulties in Lahaul and Spiti. The other deals with the Akali agitation.

In the second letter you refer to the language problem in the Punjab. I am getting rather lost in the maze of this problem and the various proposals suggested. From the point of view of a united Punjab, I think that it was not a good thing for us to encourage the formation of a Hindi Region and a Punjabi Region. However there it is. It has always seemed to me that the Punjab should be treated as a bilingual state with both Hindi and Punjabi as official and compulsory languages in the schools. The only difference should be as to the stage at which they should be taught. Among the Hindi speaking people, Hindi should be the first language taught, followed up by Punjabi. For others, Punjabi should be the first language followed up by the other. In effect, therefore, people should know both. For Government Service every person should pass in both.

I should have thought that some simple approach like this was the best and was really in tune with the real situation. At the same time it promoted the unity of the Punjab instead of disunity.

The other day I spoke about this language matter in my Press Conference. 402

Yours sincerely, Jawaharlal Nehru

164. To Zail Singh: Don't Leak to the Press⁴⁰³

29 June 1960

Dear Zail Singhji,

I see in this morning's papers a report of the interview you and some others had with me yesterday. It is very improper for such reports to be sent to the press without reference to me. I have pointed this out publicly.

Apart from this, the report is in many respects completely wrong. Some things are mentioned that you said to me which you did not say and what I said to you is not mentioned at all.

^{401.} Letter.

^{402.} See item 15, here pp. 96-98.

^{403.} Letter.

It is this kind of thing which I consider very improper and which would indicate your desire to exploit an interview with me for special purposes propaganda.

You and your colleagues asked me to help you to find opportunities of work in the Congress organisation. 404 You will appreciate that it becomes difficult for me to take any step in this matter when there is continuous behaviour on your part which I consider quite wrong.

Yours sincerely, Jawaharlal Nehru

165. To Partap Singh Kairon: Mewa Singh Talib⁴⁰⁵

Chashmashahi, Srinagar, 6 July 1960

My dear Partap Singh,

After you had gone, I saw the letter from the wife⁴⁰⁶ of Master Tara Singh. I enclose it. In view of her suggestion that Master Tara Singh's personal doctors should examine him, I think it would be desirable for you to agree to this.

When I was in London last, a person named Sardar Mewa Singh Talib came to see my P.P.S. Presumably he is a Punjabi. He went to Shanghai and for many years was Head Master of a school there. He is involved in the Indian National Army activities etc. 407 He has been busy collecting material about Subhas Chandra Bose's life and has already collected many papers, press cuttings etc.

I did not myself see him, but my P.P.S. who saw him reports that he is an honest, loyal and sincere type of person and that he is very anxious that his services should be utilised in some form or other especially in Punjab. I do not know his age but obviously it must be fairly advanced because he served for twentyfive years as Head Master in the Shanghai school.

Do you know anything about Mewa Singh Talib? I do not quite know how to deal with him. I am prepared to help him a little.

^{404.} See item 162.

^{405.} Letter.

^{406.} Tei Kaur.

^{407.} He was Education Secretary, Indian Independence League, Shanghai.

166. To Gurnam Singh: Don't Make Spurious Complaints⁴⁰⁸

8 July 1960

Dear Sardar Gurnam Singh, 409

I have today received your letter of the 5th July. This letter, you say, is an open letter which means, I take it, that it has been sent to the press. The purpose of the letter, therefore, is more to reach the public than me. In such circumstances, it is hardly proper for me to endeavour to answer it at length as that would mean carrying on a public argument with you. I shall, therefore, only refer to one or two matters.

In paragraph 4 you say something about the Governor of the Punjab, soon after Partition, 410 having issued a secret policy directive. This is the first time I have heard of it, and I cannot conceive of any such directive having been issued.

You refer also to the eviction of Sikhs from the Tarai in the U.P. I have enquired into this matter and I have received long reports from the U.P. Government as I was anxious that no injustice should be done. My information is that a number of people, both Sikhs and others, occupied land without justification or permission. Such persons were removed, whether they were Sikhs or others. It had nothing to do with any particular group.

You object to a common roll and to what you call an undifferentiated franchise being clamped upon Sikhs. In this matter I must disagree with you. It has been a fundamental basis of Indian national thinking that there should be a common roll and a joint electorate, if there is to be any nationalism at all. This has nothing to do with the Sikhs as such, and I am not aware of any objection to this having been raised at any time previously.

You refer to the "metalegal" religious constitution of Sikh society and their "theo-political" centres. I am afraid I am not learned enough to understand these terms, even though I know something of the organisation of modern societies in India as well as elsewhere in the world.

It has been my privilege to be associated with large numbers of Sikh comrades in our struggle for independence and otherwise. We have met and worked together as Indians working for a common cause. I have admired them for their courage and as valued comrades deserving our esteem. I do not, therefore, understand your charge that they have been differentiated to their disadvantage. The Sikhs have spread all over India, because of their enterprise, and prospered. I have no doubt that they will continue to do so.

But I must say that I do not approve and can hardly understand the narrow-mindedness which many Hindus as well as many Sikhs have sometimes shown,

^{408.} Letter.

^{409.} A resident of Chandigarh.

^{410.} C.M. Trivedi was the Governor of Punjab, 15 August 1947-11 March 1953.

especially in the Punjab. I am sure they will get over this relic of a past age which has no relevance today in a modern society.

So far as I am concerned, I shall always endeavour to remove any grievances which the Sikhs or others may have, because I am anxious to build up a united India and an integrated nation.

Yours sincerely, Jawaharlal Nehru

167. To Mohanlal Sukhadia: Beas Dam and Displacement⁴¹¹

11 July 1960

My dear Sukhadia,

I enclose a copy of a confidential letter which the Chief Minister of the Punjab has sent me.⁴¹² This is in regard to the proposed Beas Dam and the displacement of cultivators that might be caused by this dam. The number is very large and very special efforts will have to be made to rehabilitate them.

The Chief Minister of the Punjab has written to our Minister of Irrigation & Power⁴¹³ on the subject.

Yours sincerely, Jawaharlal Nehru

168. Gian Singh Rarewala's Case414

This matter has been pending for a long time. It relates to the sale of a tubewell belonging to Sardar Gian Singh Rarewala, to the Punjab Government. The Chief Minister of the Punjab felt that some irregularities had been committed in this transaction and drew the attention of Sardar Gian Singh Rarewala to them. It was particularly alleged that the price paid for this tubewell was somewhat in excess of the real price.

2. The matter came to me, I think, at the instance of Sardar Gian Singh Rarewala who suggested that I should enquire into this matter further so that any

^{411.} Letter. File No. 17 (372)/59-69-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

^{412.} See Partap Singh Kairon to Nehru, 8 July 1960, Appendix 73.

^{413.} Hafiz Mohammed Ibrahim.

^{414.} Note to Partap Singh Kairon, Gian Singh Rarewala and Asoke K. Sen, 22 July 1960.

reflection on him in regard to this transaction might be removed. I agreed to refer this matter to our Law Minister, Shri Asoke Sen. The Chief Minister of the Punjab also agreed to this and sent me a note on the facts of the case. I forwarded this note to the Law Minister.

- 3. The Law Minister sent me his views on the basis of this note. His opinion was that some irregularities had been committed, though they were not of a major kind. He suggested that the best course would be for Sardar Gian Singh Rarewala to take back the tubewell from the Punjab Government.
- 4. I communicated this opinion of our Law Minister to the Chief Minister of the Punjab and Sardar Gian Singh Rarewala. Sardar Gian Singh, while expressing his willingness to take back the tubewell if this was considered necessary, stated that the Law Minister had come to his opinion on the basis of a note sent by the Punjab Government and without a fuller enquiry. He expressed a wish that he should be given an opportunity to place other papers and facts before the Law Minister and even to lead some evidence. The Chief Minister of the Punjab agreed to this procedure.
- 5. Unfortunately, there was great delay in taking any further steps in this matter. Partly this was due to the absence of the Law Minister from India, and partly to delays on the part of Sardar Gian Singh in presenting his case. At last, however, the witnesses and other facts were placed before the Deputy Law Minister, who went into this matter with some thoroughness, and wrote a report on it. The Law Minister subsequently considered what the Deputy Law Minister had written and saw the other papers connected therewith. He agreed with the conclusions arrived at by the Deputy Law Minister.
- 6. These conclusions, based on the evidence produced, were that the price of the tubewell, as paid by the Punjab Government, appeared to be a fair price, and that there appeared to be nothing improper in the transaction. Certain minor aspects might be open to criticism, but they were of no importance. Thus, the Law Minister came to the conclusion that there was no impropriety in this transaction.
- 7. This opinion of the Law Minister should be accepted, and the matter should end there.
- 8. In the course of his note, the Law Minister has, however, suggested that it might be advisable for an independent estimate to be made of the value of the tubewell. In case the value was found to be less than what the Punjab Government had paid for it, Sardar Gian Singh might pay the difference. I do not think it is necessary to go through this process at this stage as, broadly speaking, the Law Minister has found that the price was not an unfair one.
- 9. At one stage, as I have mentioned above, the Law Minister had suggested that Sardar Gian Singh might take back this tubewell. I do not think that this matter need be pursued any further. If, however, Sardar Gian Singh wishes to take back the tubewell, it should be open to him to do so.

- 10. While this disposes of the major points that had been raised, there is one aspect to which I should like to refer. This apparently was not raised before the Law Minister and, therefore, he has not said anything about it.
- 11. In any financial dealing between a Minister and the Government, as also between an officer of the Government and the Government, care should always be taken that there is no room for misunderstanding or subsequent complaint. Therefore, it should be a rule invariably followed that in any such transaction of the sale of personal property to Government, sanction of Government should be taken. This would particularly apply where the dealing is with a Department under the Minister concerned.
- 12. Apparently this permission for the tubewell transaction was not taken from Government. In future, it should be clearly laid down that all such transactions require the previous sanction of Government.
 - 13. This matter should be treated as closed now.
- 14. I am sending copies of this note to the Chief Minister of the Punjab, Sardar Gian Singh Rarewala and to the Law Minister of the Government of India.

169. To Amar Nath Vidyalankar: Two Languages in Punjab⁴¹⁵

24 July 1960

My dear Amar Nathji,416

Your letter of July 16th came to me some days ago. I have read it with interest, and I have been particularly impressed by the note attached to it. This note shows achievements in the Punjab in regard to languages. I think these achievements are considerable and should be given adequate publicity.

So far as the language question in the Punjab is concerned, this has got so entangled in political controversies that it is difficult to consider it purely on the educational level, which normally should be done. This is very unfortunate. One thing appears to me clear. If Punjab is to develop any kind of integration and unity, both Hindi and Punjabi (Gurmukhi) have to be learnt by everybody. I see no difficulty about it. At the most, there might be some timing as to when to start either language. Subject to this, any kind of agreement on this subject would be desirable.

As for the Language Departments in the Government, it would certainly be a good thing for both Hindi and Punjabi to be integrated as far as possible, and not to treat each other as rivals, but rather as sister languages. In the agreement arrived at previously, it was decided to have two separate Departments, one for

^{415.} Letter, copied to Partap Singh Kairon.

^{416.} Education and Labour Minister, Government of Punjab.

Punjabi, one for Hindi. We cannot easily go back on that agreement, as then we would be accused of breach of agreement. At the same time, it is certainly desirable to keep them as close to each other as possible. Perhaps, a good way out of this would be to have the two Departments, but both should be connected together by a common Board at the top, which would be selected from representatives of each.

Personally I am attracted to your viewpoint in these matters. But would it be possible to give effect to that viewpoint, in the manner suggested above, and yet not go against the regional formula? Certainly, the aim in view should be to keep these languages as close together as possible and allow them to grow in cooperation, thus helping in the unity of the Punjab.

Yours sincerely, Jawaharlal Nehru

170. To Bhimsen Sachar: Punjab Language Politics417

29 July 1960

My dear Sachar,418

Thank you for your letter of the 26th July about the Punjab language question. 419 I have read the papers you have sent me, with much interest.

It has always been a matter of wonder to me that the question of language in the Punjab, which is not at all a difficult one, should become a major controversial issue. But, obviously, it is not language that is the issue, but the politics behind it.

> Yours sincerely, Jawaharlal Nehru

171. To Partap Singh Kairon: Bhimsen Sachar Reminder⁴²⁰

29 July 1960

My dear Partap Singh,

Bhimsen has sent me, apparently at the instance of Dr. Radhakrishnan, a letter on the language issue in the Punjab. 421 With this, he has sent me some old papers too.

^{417.} Letter. File No. PB/47, Bhimsen Sachar Papers, NMML. Also available in JN Collection.

^{418.} The Governor of Andhra Pradesh and a former Congress leader of Punjab.

^{419.} See Appendix 97.

^{420.} Letter.

^{421.} See Appendix 97.

I have read all these with interest, and they brought back some past happenings to my mind.

Although you are familiar with all this, still thinking that these might interest you, I am sending these papers on to you.

Yours sincerely, Jawaharlal Nehru

(n) Uttar Pradesh

172. To Swami Ananda: Religious Endowments Enquiry Commission⁴²²

14 June 1960

Dear Swamiji, 423

Thank you for your letter of June 11th. I am glad to know that the Enquiry Commission on Religious Endowments has begun work satisfactorily.⁴²⁴

I do not know about the UP Bill to which you refer. I have, however, seen the Central Government's Bill on this subject. This, as you will have seen, deals with only one or two important aspects of the matter, chiefly relating to proper custody of funds. I think it is better for this bill to be proceeded with. We do not issue ordinances except very rarely and in an urgent matter when Parliament is not sitting. Even so, the ordinance has to be replaced immediately by a bill. Therefore, an ordinance cannot be issued. For us to withdraw the bill will lead to a great deal of delay.

If we pass a simple bill now, it will be much easier to add to it later.

^{422.} Letter.

^{423.} Secretary, Bharat Sadhu Samai.

^{424.} On 1 March 1960, the GOI appointed a Commission of Enquiry into the affairs relating to Hindu religious endowments. See also SWJN/SS/58/item 105.

173. To Damodar Swarup Seth: Occupy Yourself With Congress Work⁴²⁵

14 June 1960

My dear Damodar Swarup, 426
I have your letter of the 13th June.

When you ask me to tell you what to do, more especially in regard to the Congress organisation, you put me in a difficult position. I am not directly connected with either the All-India or the UP organisation. I know that there are many defects in them. If I know how to remedy them, I would do so. But the causes are deep. Certainly we should study them and try to better conditions.

Presumably you can do Congress work either in Uttar Pradesh or in connection with some central activities. I suggest that you discuss this matter again with Sadiq Ali. As for Uttar Pradesh, I am quite out of touch.

Yours affectionately, Jawaharlal Nehru

174. To Sampurnanand: Dehra Dun Circuit House⁴²⁷

15 June 1960

My dear Sampurnanand,

Thank you for your letter of June 13th about my suggestion to have a kind of water reservoir in the garden of the Circuit House at Dehra Dun. This is a matter entirely for you to decide. It is not my intention that a large sum of money should be spent over this. I thought that all that was necessary was to block up one side of it and allow the water to accumulate. It should not have cost more than a few hundred rupees or perhaps a thousand or two. Certainly, we should not spend a large sum.

I still do not understand why water should not be allowed to accumulate there without any clay-blanketing or any other complicated way of preventing seepage. If seepage occurs, it would not harm anybody very much.

^{425.} Letter.

^{426.} A Congressman from UP.

^{427.} Letter.

175. To Sampurnanand: Horrible Murder Story 428

22 July 1960

My dear Sampurnanand, 429

I am sending you a representation received by me about an alleged murder of a woman in Shahjahanpur. The story as recited is a horrible one, and it has apparently attracted much attention. I hope that this will not be left to the normal processes of the local police, but that some special effort will be made to get at the facts and punish the guilty.

Yours sincerely, Jawaharlal Nehru

176. To Algurai Shastri: UP Factional Politics 430

24 जुलाई 1960

प्रिय अलगूराय जी,431

आपका 30 जून का पत्र कुछ दिन हुए मिला था। कुछ तो काम में फंसे होने की वजह से और कुछ और वजुहात से मैं जवाब नहीं दे सका। अब भी कुछ लम्बा जवाब मैं नहीं दे रहा हूं क्योंकि व्यक्तिगत बातों पर कुछ लिखना आसान नहीं होता।

अपने पत्र में आपने पुरानी कहानी लिखी है। बहुत कुछ तो मैं अच्छी तरह से जानता हूं क्योंकि

तीस-चालीस वर्ष से साथ रहा है।

मुझे याद नहीं कि फिर से राज्यसभा में आने के सिलसिले में मुझसे क्या और कब पूछा गया था? शायद कुछ चर्चा हुया हो। और यह मुमिकन है कि मैंने उसके खिलाफ राय दी हो। मैं समझता था कि यह बिल्फुल उचित नहीं है कि एक दफा राज्यसभा में होकर और उसको छोड़ कर फिर वहां इस ढंग से वापिस आया जाये। दूसरी बात यह भी थी कि आपकी दलबंदी की काररवाई से मुझे परेशानी हुई थी। यही दो वजह थीं, और मेरी अब भी वही राय है। इस में किसी का विरोध करने का सवाल नहीं होता। मैं नहीं चाहता कि आप राजनीतिक जीवन से अलग हों। लेकिन जब कोई सवाल उठता है तो उसमें अपनी राय देनी होती है।

आपका जवाहरलाल नेहरु

^{428.} Letter.

^{429.} The Chief Minister of Uttar Pradesh.

^{430.} Letter.

^{431.} Algurai Shastri was elected to the Rajya Sabha in 1956 as a Congress MP, but resigned on 24 April 1958.

[Translation begins:

24 July 1960

Dear Alguraiji, 432

I had received your letter of the 30th June sometime back. I could not reply owing to preoccupation with work and for some other reasons.-Even now I am not giving a detailed reply because it is not easy to write about personal matters.

You have narrated the old story in your letter. I am well aware of it as it has

been with me over the past thirty to forty years.

I do not remember when and what I was asked about your re-election to the Rajya Sabha. Maybe there was some discussion and it is quite possible that I expressed myself against the proposal. I was of the view that having been in the Rajya Sabha once and then having left it, it was quite unbecoming to enter the Rajya Sabha again in this manner. Another thing that troubled me was your involvement in groupism. These were the two reasons, and I still have the same views. It is not a question of opposing anybody. I do not want that you should dissociate yourself from political activity. But when a matter comes up, I have to give my opinion on it.

Yours sincerely, Jawaharlal Nehru

Translation ends]

177. To V.R. Mohan: Lucknow Flood Relief 433

28 July 1960

Dear Mr. Deputy Mayor, 434

I have your letter of July 23rd informing me about the distress and damage caused by floods in Lucknow.

I am sending some money to the Chief Minister of Uttar Pradesh for relief.

I welcome the initiative you have taken in this matter. But it seems rather curious to me that a fund for relief should be started not by the Mayor, ⁴³⁵ as it normally is, but by the Deputy Mayor.

^{432.} See fn 431 in this section.

^{433.} Letter.

^{434.} V.R. Mohan, the Deputy Mayor of Lucknow.

^{435.} Raj Kumar was the Mayor of Lucknow.

178. To Sampurnanand: Funds for Lucknow Flood Relief⁴³⁶

28 July 1960

My dear Sampurnanand,

I spoke to you this afternoon about the Deputy Mayor of Lucknow Corporation opening a fund for relief work. You suggested that the money might be sent to you. I am, therefore, sending you a cheque for rupees ten thousand from the Prime Minister's National Relief Fund to be utilised for relief work in Lucknow.⁴³⁷

Yours sincerely, Jawaharlal Nehru

(o) Goa

179. To M.J. Desai: British Solicitors Unsatisfactory⁴³⁸

I have read these papers and, more especially, the letter of our Deputy High Commissioner dated May 24, 1960. When I was in London recently, the Deputy High Commissioner spoke to me on this subject on the lines of his subsequent letter. I entirely agree with him that we have been ill-served, in the cases mentioned, by our Solicitors (Downs). Further that our Counsels Soskice⁴³⁹ and Le Quesne have also functioned in a very unsatisfactory way. I told our Deputy High Commissioner then that we should change our Solicitors after they had finished some small work which was pending and that we should not in future engage Sir Frank Soskice or Mr. Le Quesne.

2. I see that the Law Minister agrees about the Solicitors. Therefore, clear instructions should be sent to our Deputy High Commissioner on the subject of Solicitors. No further work should be given to them. They may be permitted to finish some outstanding small cases. Also that Sir Frank Soskice and Mr. Le Quesne should not be engaged on our behalf in any future matter.

436. Letter.

438. Note to Commonwealth Secretary, MEA, 13 June 1960.

^{437.} Disagreement "over the operation of the Deputy Mayor's Flood Relief Fund" had led to a deadlock in the Lucknow Corporation when most of the members of the development and executive committees of the corporation "signed the 'authorisation' resolution required for opening a bank account, but two Jan Sangh members refused to sign it." However, a settlement was arrived at on 1 August whereby the fund would be known as the Deputy Mayor Corporation Fund and "operated by the Mayor or Deputy Mayor and, in the absence of both these persons, by Mrs. Sheela Kaul." National Herald, 2 August 1960.

^{439.} Frank Soskice, British lawyer and Labour Member of Parliament.

- 3. The question of appointing new Solicitors is referred to in the Law Minister's note and he has taken the trouble to ask for the advice of Lord Spens.⁴⁴⁰ Lord Spens' advice no doubt should receive our consideration. We might, however, write to our High Commissioner and tell her about Lord Spens' advice and enquire what she or the Deputy High Commissioner think about it. In this matter no decision should be made without full consultation with our High Commissioner.
- 4. Our Deputy High Commissioner also spoke to me in London about the high fees demanded by the Solicitors and our Counsel. I entirely agreed with him that he should take this matter up in the proper way and not submit to this kind of demand.
- 5. I must say this whole business has been an unpleasant eye-opener to me. Whatever arrangements we have to make in future should be on a much more solid basis after full thought.

180. To M.J. Desai: Goa Policy Neglect⁴⁴¹

I have gone through these papers again to refresh my memory of the Goa problem. I must confess that I have an unhappy feeling that we have not dealt with this problem as effectively and speedily as we should have done. I am certainly partly responsible for this. The real reason for these delays was the doubt in our own mind as to what further steps we should take. Also the case in The Hague Court became partly an excuse for delay. This anyhow is over, and there can be no further excuse left. 442

- 2. This entire problem of Goa requires full and careful thinking and discussion. For some months past, we have been wanting to place this before the Foreign Affairs Committee of the Cabinet. Shri S. Sen⁴⁴³ prepared a long note which is useful as giving a comprehensive view and background information. Even that note is somewhat out of date now as The Hague Court decision has been given.
- 3. I am afraid the Foreign Affairs Committee cannot meet for this purpose for perhaps another month. This meeting, when it takes place, should be a full one, and should discuss each separate matter carefully. As things are, several members of that committee will not be available for some weeks. The Home Minister has left Delhi and will not come back till early in July. The Finance Minister has gone abroad, and I am not quite sure of the date of his return. The

^{440.} Patrick Spens, Chairman of the Arbitral Tribunal.

^{441.} Note, addressed probably to M.J. Desai, 14 June 1960.

^{442.} The International Court of Justice gave its decision on 12 April 1960; see item 15, fn 90.

^{443.} Samar Sen, Joint Secretary, MEA, July 1957-October 1959, High Commissioner to Australia and New Zealand, December 1959-June 1962.

Defence Minister will be going abroad for about two weeks or so in connection with the celebrations of the Republic in Ghana. He is likely to visit some other places too and probably London. I intend going away for a week early in July. For all these reasons, it will be difficult to hold a full meeting of the Foreign Affairs Committee before the middle of July. It is important, however, that we should hold a meeting about that time. We must be clear in our own minds about the various policies we have to pursue and the steps we have to take well before the next session of Parliament.

- 4. We may divide the problems associated with Goa into separate categories. Some of these will relate to the basic policies. Another set will deal with the day to day measures we have to take, and the third will deal with Dadra and Nagar Haveli.
- 5. For the moment, we may leave out the basic policies. There can be little doubt about them, and all that may require consideration is a clearer enunciation. In some of the earlier notes, proposals have been made for some kind of an approach to Portugal for negotiations. I do not think that question arises at present or in the foreseeable future, unless there are internal changes in Portugal.
- 6. Thus we are left with two aspects of this question, (1) the multitude of small things which we have to deal with on the Goan borders, etc. and (2) Dadra and Nagar Haveli.
- 7. It should be possible for us in the Ministry to consider both these matters before the Foreign Affairs Committee meeting. Indeed this is desirable. Some changes could be made even without a reference to that committee. The fact that a new Commandant of the Border Police Force is going there offers us an opportunity to bring about some changes.
- 8. Then there is the question of our Special Officer in Bombay. Also of our Pensions Officer in Goa.
- 9. There can be little doubt that most of the steps we have taken in regard to Goa have not yielded results. We cannot go on as we have done thus far. We have to change the present practices in several directions. I think that these various matters to be considered should be carefully listed. Commonwealth Secretary has done so and perhaps his note might be revised after we have had a talk.
- 10. I think that Dadra and Nagar Haveli require special consideration. The present administration there does not appear to be at all satisfactory. Money is not lacking as the revenues of those areas are considerable. It is really a question of a competent man in charge.
- 11. There is some reference to a broadcasting unit. I do not know anything about this.
 - 12. I should also like to know how the Goan Political Convention 444 has

functioned and what the present position is.

13. To some extent, the question of Goa is tied up with the position in Portugal itself as well as in Portuguese African colonies. The upheaval in Africa is bound to affect Angola, etc. Another aspect of the main question is its being tied up with the policies of the Western nations—NATO, etc.

14. For the present, I think we should discuss all these matters in the Ministry so as to clear our own minds. We should be in a position to make recommendations to the Foreign Affairs Committee. In discussing these matters we shall have the advantage of having further talks with Purushottam Kakodkar⁴⁴⁵ as well as the new Commandant of the Border Police Force who, I take it, would be taking charge soon. He has to be given definite and specific instructions.

181. To M.J. Desai: Kakodkar's Reliability 446

I have read the notes which you have written after your talks with Shri Purushottam Kakodkar. Broadly, it seems to me that we cannot go back from the 1953-54 position; at the same time, we have progressively to liberalise our present position.

- 2. You have given your opinion about Purushottam Kakodkar. It is important that we should have clear ideas about him as these govern our general attitude to him in future. The very first question is as to how far we can trust his sincerity and bona fides. If we have doubts about this, then of course we cannot deal with him in any big way. If we consider him sincere and truthful in his efforts, then we can, and should, deal with him even though we may not accept his advice always.
- 3. Your view appears to be that he is sincere, but that he has been frustrated by the course of events. Because of this frustration, etc., his views are apt to be not quite objective and, therefore, not always correct. Perhaps there is something in what you say. As a matter of fact, every Goan is frustrated in varying degrees because of this deadlock and further, of course, there appears to be no easy way out of it in the foreseeable future. Indeed, to some extent all of us feel frustrated in regard to Goa, unless we take one view.
- 4. That measure of frustration or, perhaps, a little more certainly applies to Kakodkar. I rather think, however, that what you have stated about his frustration in his personal and domestic life perhaps is somewhat more than is actually the case.
- 5. I do not think that because of pressures by the Portuguese authorities Kakodkar or the others mentioned have succumbed to them and have to function,

^{445.} President, Goa Pradesh Congress Committee.

^{446.} Note. 20 June 1960.

to some extent, in line with Portuguese rules. What is more likely is that repeated consideration of the position as it exists today has led them to certain conclusions which they put forward. Most of the political minded Goans in Bombay, apart from quarrelling amongst themselves, take up irresponsible attitudes and indulge in tall talk. That may be a relief to them, but does not take them or us anywhere.

- 6. We really have no policy at present aimed at achieving success in the near future. We can only prepare the ground for it and wait for other events to happen. As a matter of fact, these other events in the world are slowly working against the present Portuguese regime.
- 7. I see that you have already issued orders about books being freely taken in and about khadi also being taken in by Kakodkar or on his behalf. Also about his two typewriters. He wants permission for khadi to be taken in by others also. What exactly the consequence of this would be on our other restrictions is not clear to me. But prima facie there should be no harm in small quantities of khadi and also village products being allowed to go in.
- 8. For the rest, we shall have to discuss all these various aspects with some care. That is, not only the general approach about specific issues that have arisen. Among these specific issues are those connected with Dadra and Nagar Haveli.
- 9. This morning Purushottam Kakodkar gave me a note as well as a copy of his letter to you. I am attaching them.

182. To M.J. Desai: A Request from Madagascar⁴⁴⁷

The attached paper was handed to me in Surat District. Apparently a request was made for Indian nationality and our Consul-General in Madagaskar turned it down as it did not fulfil the qualifications. The person who asked for this has all his family here. The question is really not of giving him Indian nationality but allowing him to come here to visit his family. I think you might have a letter to the Consul-General in Madagaskar telling him that if this gentleman wants a visa to come to India to see his family, there should be no difficulty about it.

183. To MEA: Parkinson's Law No. II at Nagar Haveli⁴⁴⁸

I have read this report of Shri H.K.L. Capoor about Nagar Aveli. 449 Although I have read it fairly carefully, I do not wish to offer any detailed criticisms or comments.

^{447.} Note, Surat, 21 June 1960. File No. 8/143/60-PMP, Prime Minister's Office.

^{448.} Note to M.J. Desai and V.H. Coelho, Joint Secretary, MEA, 14 July 1960.

^{449.} Titled "Report of the Review Officer on Dadra and Nagar Haveli" submitted on 2 July 1960. The spelling in Portuguese is Nagar Aveli.

- 2. There is one aspect of it which rather frightens me. This relates to the setting up of a much more elaborate machinery of administration, with all kinds of so called experts. There is too much of a tendency to copy the Indian model. No doubt, there are many good things about the Indian model, but the tendency here, as in other countries, is to increase the bureaucratic apparatus. We are constantly attempting to stop this process, without much success. It would be a pity if Nagar Aveli was made to move in that direction.
- 3. In the past, there has been an excess of receipts over expenditure. But expenditure has crept up. I do not understand how expenditure has gone up from rupees eleven lakhs in 1959-60 to nearly rupees seventeen and a half lakhs in 1960-61. This demonstrates what is now called Parkinson's Law No. II, that is, as revenue increases, expenditure creeps or jumps up to it and even tries to go beyond it. Evidently, as receipts went up with a big jump in 1959-60, it was thought desirable to push up expenditure in a big way. (It is not clear to me how the receipts went up by rupees nine and a half lakhs between 1958-59 and 1959-60).
- 4. I would, therefore, urge strongly that great care should be taken in not increasing the apparatus of personnel or administration, except where this is essential. Nagar Aveli is in a happy state of having an accumulated balance of rupees twentytwo lakhs, and apparently an increasing revenue. Nevertheless, Shri Capoor actually thinks of the necessity of financial assistance from outside in the future. That seems to me a wrong outlook.
- 5. There must be development, of course, of Nagar Aveli. But it would be unwise to try to copy what we are doing in India at a heavy cost. I am not sure that we are getting full results of what we spend in India. There is no need for us to go that way in Nagar Aveli. The real thing to aim at is progress of the human material. Therefore, education is important from the lowest stages upwards. Health follows. In education, apart from the primary stage, it would be desirable to provide for training in simple trades, crafts, etc.
- 6. I think it is a good idea to take advice occasionally from some officers from India, that is, from the neighbouring district of Gujarat, in regard to technical matters.
- 7. I am not impressed when I am told that people are illiterate and, therefore, cannot manage their own affairs. I think that they should be given every chance of managing them themselves, that is, through panchayats. I agree that the basic panchayat should be directly elected, adult franchise. The next panchayat, which will be for the whole area, should be indirectly elected from the basic panchayats. This superior panchayat should be given considerable powers. It is only by giving responsibility that a people grow.
- 8. Where does the Administrator come from? Surely he must grow out of the system itself, and not be imposed from above. To begin with, somebody somehow might be appointed. But, if the superior panchayat does not pull on

with him, he will have to go.

- 9. We have got rather a unique chance to build up panchayat raj, if I may so call it, in this small area, without a heavy apparatus of Government.
- 10. Is it proposed to extend our all India census operations to Nagar Aveli? Obviously, this should be done.
- 11. I am bound to be asked questions about Nagar Aveli in Parliament. In answering them, I should like to place Shri Capoor's report on the Table of both Houses and possibly in Parliament Library. Therefore, after it has been presented to the Nagar Aveli Administration, three copies should be prepared for parliamentary purposes.

(p) Bhutan and Sikkim

184. To B.V. Keskar: Radio Station in Gangtok⁴⁵⁰

25 June 1960

My dear Balkrishana, 451

I enclose a copy of a letter I have received from the Maharaja of Sikkim. ⁴⁵² Apa Pant ⁴⁵³ has also written stressing the importance of having a radio station in Gangtok. This station, of course, will be under our control.

What is the position? Please let me know so that I can send a reply to the Maharaja.

^{450.} Letter.

^{451.} Balkrishna V. Keskar, the Minister of State for Information and Broadcasting.

^{452.} See Appendix 37.

^{453.} Political Officer of India in Bhutan and Sikkim.

185. To Tashi Namgyal: Sikkim Radio must be under Indian Control⁴⁵⁴

30 June 1960

My dear Maharaja Sahib,

I received your letter of the 17th June⁴⁵⁵ a few days ago. I referred it to our Minister for Information & Broadcasting, Dr. B.V. Keskar, in order to find out what the position was. Dr. Keskar has now written to me on this subject of establishing a radio station in Sikkim.⁴⁵⁶

This business of radio broadcasting is a highly technical matter and is also allied to the international system of broadcasting. It is only within the limits of the frequencies agreed to internationally that a country can function. As you must know, radio broadcasting has developed in many foreign countries into television. This is even more intricate and complicated. We in India have not been anxious to go in for television because we thought that we should concentrate on other nation-building activities first. All we are doing is to try to put up a small experimental station in order to learn the technique to some extent for future use when this may be possible. We have thus been deliberately slow because, in our opinion, other matters were more important.

I mention this to bear out to some extent what you have yourself said in your letter to me. Radio broadcasting in Sikkim can only be undertaken with high technical skill and in conformity with international arrangements which have been agreed to between India and international organisations.

I understand that there have been some talks about this matter and even some detailed discussions between our Minister, Dr. B.V. Keskar, and the Maharajkumar. Apparently at that time no final arrangement was agreed to. Later, the Maharajkumar visited Delhi and had discussions on this subject with the Director-General of the All India Radio. It was then, I believe, pointed out that the All India Radio could only agree to the starting of a radio broadcasting station in Sikkim provided the control of the station and the policy to be followed was under the control of the Government of India, although there should of course be close collaboration with the Sikkim Durbar. There was another aspect to be borne in mind. Unless we could manage to get the agreement of the International Tele-Communications Union to a certain frequency for the radio-station in Sikkim by the middle of 1961, this offer would lapse and there would be little chance of getting this frequency later.

^{454.} Letter.

^{455.} See Appendix 37.

^{456.} See Appendix 52.

^{457.} Paldon Thondup Namgyal, the Maharajkumar of Sikkim.

^{458.} J.C. Mathur.

Dr. Keskar visited Sikkim in May last when he had a talk with the Maharajkumar on this subject. He gathered then that the Maharajkumar was agreeable to the proposal he had made. But apparently nothing further has been done in this respect.

I presume that it is in continuation of these last talks that you have been good enough to write to me now on this subject and that Your Highness is agreeable now to the starting of a radio station in Sikkim by the All India Radio on the conditions which have been already stated by the External Affairs Ministry. In your letter you mention that "for the present" your resources would not permit you to establish and undertake such a project and, therefore, you would like the Government of India to do so. I do not quite understand what the words "for the present" refer to. So far as we are concerned, we shall gladly endeavour to put up the radio station on the conditions which have already been stated, that is, the station will be under the control of the Government of India and the policy also would be determined by the Government of India. If these conditions are accepted then we shall take the necessary steps. I take it that Your Highness is agreeable to these conditions.

I have ventured to write to you at some length so that there might be a full understanding between us. If Your Highness or the Maharajkumar would be good enough to intimate your wishes in this matter to me or to the External Affairs Ministry, we shall convey your wishes to our Ministry of Information & Broadcasting.

I am happy that there is all round progress in the development activities of Sikkim.

I trust that Your Highness is keeping well. With all good wishes and regards,

Yours sincerely, Jawaharlal Nehru

186. To Subimal Dutt: Interpreting Bhutan Treaty⁴⁵⁹

(Question No. 218)

I agree with you. The Speaker might be requested to disallow this question. The question depends on the interpretation of certain Articles in our Treaty with Bhutan. We do not agree with the interpretation put on it in the statement made by the Prime Minister of Bhutan⁴⁶⁰ at a Press Conference. Our position is well known in Bhutan. We do not wish to enter into a controversy on this subject with Bhutan.

^{459.} Note, 8 July 1960.

^{460.} Jigme Palden Dorji.

as that can only be advantageous to those countries and others who desire to loosen the bonds of India and Bhutan. Therefore, we would request that this question be not allowed.

187. To M. Elias: Sikkim and Bhutan Borders 461

20 July 1960

Dear Shri Elias. 462

On the 6th July you sent me a cutting from the Bengali newspaper Jugantar dated July 4. I have had the article examined by our experts here and enclose a note on the subject. 463 You will see that although the area under consideration was ceded by Bhutan to India by the Treaty of Sinchula, 1865, the cession never became effective and the area did not become part of Indian territory. The British Government of India decided more than forty years ago to award a portion of the area to Sikkim and let the remainder remain with Bhutan.

> Yours sincerely, Jawaharlal Nehru

(q) Administration

(i) General

188. To A.V. Pai: President's Entourage for Soviet Visit⁴⁶⁴

9 June 1960

My dear Pai,465

I have just received a secret and most immediate telegram from K.P.S. Menon, our Ambassador in Moscow. 466 I am rather embarrassed by it. I could have kept it with me without more ado, but that did not seem to me quite right. I am, therefore, enclosing the telegram in original. I should like you to show it to the President. I do not want it to have larger circulation, though perhaps you might

^{461.} Letter.

^{462.} Mohammed Elias, CPI, Lok Sabha MP from Howrah, West Bengal.

^{463.} See Appendix 99.

^{464.} Letter, copied to Subimal Dutt.

^{465.} The Secretary to the President.

^{466.} See K.P.S. Menon to Nehru, 9 June 1960, Appendix 23.

show it to General Harnarain Singh⁴⁶⁷ also. You will notice that the telegram has not been circulated here.

Yours sincerely, Jawaharlal Nehru

189. To Shibbanlal Saksena: Procedures for Foreign Travel⁴⁶⁸

10 June 1960

My dear Shibbanlal, 469

Please refer to your letter dated May 30, 1960.

It is our established policy that all invitations to Indian nationals from foreign governments should go through the Ministry of External Affairs and should not be extended directly to the individuals concerned by foreign embassies. This policy we made clear to the Bulgarian Legation on two previous occasions. In spite of this they issued invitations directly to individuals again. This can only be considered as a deliberate bypassing of the procedure laid down by us. When the matter came up before our Ministry, the representative of the Bulgarian Legation was informed of this.

Our Ministry did not even know how far matters had proceeded and arrangements made.

There can be no question of our preventing Indian nationals having valid passports from proceeding abroad. Indeed no reference to Government is necessary in such cases. Nor was there any question of any restrictions being placed in the way of persons intending to proceed to East European countries. If you wish to have further facts about this matter, you can see the appropriate official in our External Affairs Ministry.

Yours sincerely, Jawaharlal Nehru

^{467.} Major-General Harnarain Singh, the Military Secretary to the President.

^{468.} Letter.

^{469.} Independent, Lok Sabha MP from Maharajganj, Uttar Pradesh.

190. To S.R. Das: Investigating Deshmukh's Charges 470

10 June 1960

My dear Shri Das,

On the 7th April you sent me a copy of a letter of that date which you were addressing to C.D. Deshumkh. This was in connection with the informal investigation of some charges that Deshmukh might put before you.⁴⁷¹ You had suggested certain procedures.

On the 12th April, I had acknowledged this letter and said that so far as I was concerned, I entirely agreed with what you had written.⁴⁷²

I do not know what happened subsequently. I was, of course, away for about a month from India and Deshmukh also went abroad for some weeks. Did he send you any of his charges or papers in connection with them and, if so, did you deal with them in any way?

I merely want to know how matters stand. I am in no hurry about this matter. 473

Yours sincerely, Jawaharlal Nehru

191. To K.P.S. Menon: President's Entourage⁴⁷⁴

13 June 1960

My dear KPS,

I received your telegram of the 9th June in which you suggested that the party accompanying the President to the Soviet Union might he reduced or, at any rate, that some other types of people might be included in it.⁴⁷⁵ As you will appreciate, this is a delicate matter. I had myself felt that the smaller the party accompanying the President, the better, and I had suggested this to him. In fact, some reduction was made in the party at my instance, though this was not much. We are in such a bad habit of carrying on with our past habits and procedures that it is difficult to get out of them. It is rather embarrassing for me to say much on this subject.

However, I thought that I should not allow your telegram to remain unattended to. I therefore sent it to the President who is in Simla. The reply I have received

^{470.} Letter.

^{471.} See also item 15, here pp. 82-83.

^{472.} See SWJN/SS/59/item 85.

^{473.} See also item 201.

^{474.} Letter, copied to Subimal Dutt.

^{475.} See Appendix 23.

is that when he comes to Delhi in two or three days' time, he will discuss this matter with me. I doubt if any marked change in the number of the composition of the party is likely to take place. You will have to exercise all your well-known tact and judgment in dealing with this visit. Subimal Dutt will, of course, be there and he will be of great help to you.

Yours sincerely, Jawaharlal Nehru

192. To K.R. Sambandam: Ramamoorthy's Petition⁴⁷⁶

13 June 1960

Dear Shri Sambandam, 477

I have your letter of the 9th June with which you have forwarded a petition from V.K. Ramamoorthy. I have read these papers. From the petition itself it appears that possession has been taken of some Government land without permission. Shri Ramamoorthy has appealed against this to various authorities and has lost. It is obvious that I cannot override the decisions of all these authorities and tribunals. Also that according to law the decision appears to be justified. I have every sympathy with Shri Ramamoorthy, but it would be improper for the law to be broken because of any sympathy. Whatever has to be done in this matter would have to be done by the Madras Government and it would not be proper for me to issue any directions to them.

Yours sincerely, Jawaharlal Nehru

193. To Kesho Ram: Journalists' Provident Fund⁴⁷⁸

Please reply to this letter from the Madras Union of Journalists. Say that it is not possible or proper for us to interfere in any way with the Provident Fund matter which is before the Madras High Court. As for the draft Price-Page Schedule, this has been considered in great detail for a long time past and numerous consultations have taken place in regard to it with the persons affected. I am, therefore, unable to deal with this matter afresh.

^{476.} Letter.

^{477.} Congress, Lok Sabha MP from Nagapattinam-SC, Madras.

^{478.} Note, 13 June 1960. File No. (103)57-62-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

So far as the two bills promoted by the Madras Government are concerned, I have not seen them. In any event, it is difficult for me to intervene in any matter within the jurisdiction of the Madras Government.

Their letter, however, is being forwarded to the Minister of Information & Broadcasting.

Please forward the letter accordingly.

194. To Kesho Ram: The Strange Case of Naik Gardhara Singh 479

This young man, Naik Gardhara Singh, met me this morning at my house and handed over this sum of Rs.1284/-. I was naturally a little surprised at this large donation from an Army NCO. I asked him about it and he said it represented one year's pay which he had been collecting for some years past. He had been wanting to see me for several years, but was unable to do so. I asked him as to how he would like this money to be used. He left this to my discretion.

- 2. Naik Gardhara Singh did not, of his own accord, say anything more. But naturally I was interested in this man and his unusual and rather extraordinary donation out of his small pay of Rs.107/- a month. In the course of my further talk with him, he told me something about himself. Thereafter I asked Shri Seshan⁴⁸⁰ to note down what he said and the above note is the result.
- 3. I hope that his coming to see me will not be held against him according to Army rules. He struck me as a fine young man and apparently he is technically competent. I would be very unhappy if he suffered in any way because he had come to see me. He did not come to complain and behaved with propriety. It is only when I cross-examined him that some facts came out about himself.
- 4. I do not quite know what can be done about him. It would be a pity to lose a man like him who was both competent and has certain urges which are good and is evidenced by the fact that he saved a large sum of money for public purposes.
- 5. You might consult the Defence Secretary⁴⁸¹ about him and ask him to have this matter looked into with favour wherever possible. I should like to be informed of what happens.

^{479.} Note, 13 June 1960.

^{480.} N.K. Seshan, Assistant Private Secretary to Prime Minister.

^{481.} O. Pulla Reddi.

195. To Vishnu Sahay: Arrangements During President's Absence⁴⁸²

I mentioned to you today that because of the President's absence from India, suitable arrangements should be made for essential work to be curried on. I do not think this was done previously when the President went abroad. But this tour of the President is a somewhat longer one and conditions in India might well require some urgent step for which the President's approval and signature are necessary. Therefore, I would like you, in consultation with the Home Secretary, to suggest what steps we should take. Presumably these will involve authorising the Vice President to function for any such urgent matters during the President's absence.⁴⁸³

196. To K.N. Katju: Helping a Widow in Distress⁴⁸⁴

14 June 1960

My dear Kailas Nath,

You may remember my writing and speaking to you about the case of the widow of S.N. Segal, Pilot Instructor to the Madhya Bharat Flying Club. S.N. Segal died in a flying accident in August 1958. In such cases it is our obvious duty to help the widow. A report reached me, however, that far from helping the widow, the Madhya Bharat Flying Club of Indore did not even have the courtesy or decency to express their sorrow at Segal's death. The poor widow is ignored completely.

Raja [of] Bhadri, ⁴⁸⁵ who, as you know, is himself a pilot, was distressed, as I was, at the way the widow of Segal was treated. He sent me Rs.500/- for the widow. To this I added Rs.1500/- and it was suggested to Bhandari, ⁴⁸⁶ President of the Madhya Bharat Flying Club, Indore, that a fund should be started to help the widow and that these two contributions should form the nucleus of that fund. ⁴⁸⁷ Bhandari replied that such a fund would be started and that immediate steps were being taken to provide Mrs. Segal with about Rs.21,000/-. We were informed, however, later that Mrs. Segal had only received, after much difficulty, a sum of Rs.17,000/- from the Club. This was on account of Rs.15,000/- Life Insurance of the husband and Rs.2,000/- which Bhadri and I had sent. Nothing

^{482.} Note, 14 June 1960, copied to B.N. Jha, the Home Secretary.

^{483.} See also item 198.

^{484.} Letter.

^{485.} Bajrang Bahadur Singh of Bhadri, the Lieutenant Governor of Himachal Pradesh.

^{486.} B.M. Bhandari.

^{487.} See SWJN/SS/45/item 360.

more was given by the Club or anyone else. Mrs. Segal wrote to me then that she had spent all this money to buy a house and the family was in great distress. Thereafter I sent her Rs.500/- more chiefly for the educational expenses of her children for some months.

The attitude and behaviour of Bhandari, President of the Madhya Bharat Flying Club, has been most extraordinary in this matter and I have come to the conclusion that he is not a proper or responsible enough person to hold the post of President of the Flying Club or indeed any other post. Any number of letters have been sent to him and he does not even take the trouble to reply.

It was really after all this business that I wrote to you and spoke to you also when I went to Indore. I have no doubt you must have taken some steps in this matter. Has all this resulted in anything or does Bhandari continue to behave improperly and poor Mrs. Segal is not helped in any way?

I shall be grateful to you if you will give some thought to this matter as I think it is a peculiarly objectionable and irritating instance of behaviour on the part of the Madhya Bharat Flying Club and more especially its President. I suppose this Flying Club receives subsidies from your Government as well as our Government. If that is so, these subsidies should be stopped for the reasons mentioned above.

As I have said above, Bhandari wrote at one time that he was going to give Mrs. Segal Rs.21,000/-. As a matter of fact only Rs.17,000 was given. What has happened to the remaining Rs.4,000/-?

[Yours affectionately, Jawaharlal]

197. To Jagjivan Ram: Help for Bahadur Shah's Descendant⁴⁸⁸

15 June 1960

My dear Jagjivan Ram,

I have a vague idea that I wrote to you once about Mirza Azam Qadar who is the great grandson of Bahadur Shah, the King of Delhi, and a descendant of the Moghul Emperors. Mirza Azam Qadar has been serving in the railways in some humble capacity. Now he is sixty and therefore due to retire. The question is whether he can be given an extension of two or three years. I think that in the rather special circumstances of this case it would be desirable to give him extensions. In any event, we cannot leave him astray and his family and we shall

have to help him. The best way to do so is to give him this extension.

I have received a large number of letters from all kinds of people recommending him to me. I am enclosing his own petition to me. I think it should be treated as rather a special case.

Yours sincerely, Jawaharlal Nehru

198. To Vishnu Sahay: Arrangements During President's Absence⁴⁸⁹

I am returning the papers you sent me about the arrangements being made to meet any emergency during the President's absence from India.⁴⁹⁰

- 2. I have had a talk with the President this morning on this subject and he entirely agreed that some such steps should be taken. It seems that such a step would have to be taken under Article 65, clause (2), of the Constitution. Please, therefore, arrange that this is done.
- 3. After I saw the President, I visited the Vice-President to inform him of our proposal to which the President had agreed. The Vice-President was agreeable.
- 4. The Chief Justice of India is probably not in Delhi. The senior judge of the Supreme Court, therefore, should be approached. 491
- 5. Copies of this note are being sent to the Home Secretary and Secretary to the President, Shri A.V. Pai.

199. To K.C. Reddy: A House and a Rajya Sabha Seat for V.T. Krishnamachari⁴⁹²

17 June 1960

My dear Reddy, 493

You will remember that the arrangement you had made to give a small house to V.T. Krishnamachari fell through and he has not got that house. He will keep on his present house for three or four months during which period he will be on

^{489.} Note, 17 June 1960. File No. 13/7/60-Pub. I, MHA.

^{490.} See Appendix 35.

^{491.} See also item 15, here p. 92.

^{492.} Letter.

^{493.} Minister of Works, Housing and Supply.

leave from the Planning Commission. 494 After that he wants to move into a small house in Delhi. I hope you will keep this in mind.

It has been and is our intention to get him a seat in the Rajya Sabha. When this can happen will depend on vacancy.⁴⁹⁵ But, in any event, so far as the house is concerned, we can treat him as we treat Members of Parliament. If there is any technical difficulty, I shall mention this in Cabinet.

Yours sincerely, Jawaharlal Nehru

200. To Sadiq Ali: Statement of Assets⁴⁹⁶

18 June 1960

My dear Sadiq Ali,

As desired by you, in accordance with the Working Committee resolution, I am sending a statement of my assets and income and expenditure.⁴⁹⁷ The list of assets does not include books and personalea which it is difficult to calculate. You will notice that far the larger part of my income has been from royalties on books. Much of this sum is received from foreign countries where my books or their translations have been published. Because of this considerable work on books, etc. the item of secretarial and personal assistance on the Expenditure side is also considerable.

Yours sincerely, Jawaharlal Nehru

^{494.} V.T. Krishnamachari, the Deputy Chairman, Planning Commission, was on four months' leave from 18 June preparatory to retirement. *National Herald*, 19 June 1960.

^{495.} V.T. Krishnamachari was nominated to the Rajya Sabha on 9 June 1961 and remained a Member until his death on 13 February 1964.

^{496.} Letter.

^{497.} On 30 June, N. Sanjiva Reddy disclosed at a meeting of Congress workers of Punjab at Samana, near Patiala, that Nehru was the first Congressman to submit a statement of his assets, income and expenditure to the AICC office in accordance with the resolution of the CWC, adopted in Poona on 3 June. *The Times of India*, 1 July 1960.

201. To S.R. Das: Deal With C.D. Deshmukh's Cases Freely⁴⁹⁸

19 June 1960

My dear Shri Das,

Thank you for your letter of the 15th June. So far as I am concerned, I am quite content with your dealing with any case sent to you by C.D. Deshmukh as you think best. I do not want any information sent to me unless at the last stage you so wish.

I wrote to you on the subject⁴⁹⁹ as I did not quite know what had happened or was happening. It was not my wish to hustle you in any way.

I hope you are having a good rest in Kalimpong.

Yours sincerely, Jawaharlal Nehru

202. To Vishnu Sahay: Find A Job for C.R. Sundaram 500

I am enclosing a letter I have received from Shri C.R. Sundaram⁵⁰¹ who was long associated with the Tatas. He left them some months ago because of some disagreement. He is a man of considerable ability and experience in the management of business undertakings. I think that there should be scope for such a man in our expanding public sector.

- 2. In his letter, he talks about the Administrative College in Hyderabad. But General Shrinagesh's place has, I understand, already been filled. ⁵⁰² In any event, that is a privately controlled institution.
- 3. I am merely sending this letter to you so that Shri Sundaram's name might be kept in mind.

^{498.} Letter.

^{499.} See item 190.

^{500.} Note, 19 June 1960. File No. 4 (20)/60-61-PMS.

^{501.} See Appendix 36.

^{502.} Brij Narayan succeeded Shrinagesh as Principal, Administrative Staff College of India.

203. To Lal Bahadur Shastri: Find a Job for C.R. Sundaram⁵⁰³

19 June 1960

My dear Lal Bahadur,

You will remember I spoke to you about C.R. Sundaram, the son of C.P. Ramaswami Aiyar.⁵⁰⁴ Sundaram worked with the Tatas for many long years but left them some time back. He is a man of ability and great experience in the management of industrial concerns.

He has just sent me a letter,⁵⁰⁵ copy of which I enclose. In this letter, he has suggested that we might consider him for the Administrative College in Hyderabad. That cannot be done because I understand someone has already been appointed in General Shrinagesh's place as Principal. Also, that College is a private one and Government cannot interfere.

Nevertheless, I am sending you Sundaram's letter so that you might keep him in mind.

Yours affectionately, Jawaharlal Nehru

204. To C.R. Sundaram: Trying to Find a Job for You⁵⁰⁶

19 June 1960

My dear Chinni,

I have your letter of the 16th June. So far as the Hyderabad Administrative College is concerned, it is a private institution entirely outside the control of Government. I think that C.D. Deshmukh is the Chairman of the Governing Body of the College. I gather that they have already appointed someone to take General Shrinagesh's place. The person appointed has been a Secretary of Government.

I have spoken to our Commerce & Industry Minister about you, and he has informed me that he will keep your name in mind as he would like to take advantage of your experience.

[Yours sincerely,] Jawaharlal Nehru

^{503.} Letter. File No. 4 (20)/60-61-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

^{504.} Former Dewan of Travancore and former Vice-Chancellor of BHU and Annamalai University.

^{505.} See Appendix 36.

^{506.} Letter. File No. 4 (20)/60-61-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

^{507.} See Appendix 36.

205. To Kesho Ram: Allow Tariq Abdullah to Study Law Abroad⁵⁰⁸

I think it is right for the Reserve Bank not to encourage people going to England for purely legal courses or to become Barristers-at-Law. But I think that we might stretch this rule in the case of Shri Tariq Abdullah⁵⁰⁹ for reasons which I need not mention. Therefore, I hope that the Reserve Bank will relax their condition in this case if this is necessary.

206. To Dharanidhor Basumatari: No Place in Ghana Delegation⁵¹⁰

24 June 1960

Dear Shri Basumatari,511

I have just received your letter of the 24th June about going to Ghana. I am afraid it is not possible to include your name in our Delegation to Ghana for the Republic Day celebrations. We are, in fact, sending only our Defence Minister. There is no party as such. He has already gone. Apart from deciding to send only one person to represent us, apart from our High Commissioner there, ⁵¹² we cannot add names without informing the Government of Ghana and going through various procedures here, Cabinet, etc.

Yours sincerely, Jawaharlal Nehru

207. To Vishnu Sahay: M.T. Joseph Suicide Case⁵¹³

I have seen these various papers relating to Dr. Joseph's case⁵¹⁴ which you have sent to me. As you have pointed out, certain general rules and proposals for the future have been agreed to.

- 508. Note, 20 June 1960.
- 509. Second son of Shaikh Abdullah.
- 510. Letter.
- 511. Congress, Lok Sabha MP from Goalpara-ST, Assam.
- 512. Khub Chand.
- 513. Note, 25 June 1960.
- 514. For previous references to the case of the suicide of M.T. Joseph, a scientist at the IARI, see SWJN/SS/57/items 60-64. See also *Malayala Manorama*, Sunday, 16 March 2014, for a biography and information on the family with photographs.

- 2. Then there is the question of fixing responsibility for what happened. You say that the routine administration in the Institute is poor and add that the fault lay rather in this poor organisation than in individual negligence. Apparently, you are of opinion that taking any departmental action against minor officials concerned is not worth while as the malady is deeper.
- 3. The principle laid down by Dr. Bhabha with which you agree is to put the scientist at the top of a scientific institute and give him an administrator of sufficient status to relieve him of most of his administrative work. I agree with this and also agree that the organisation of our institutes should be re-examined from this point of view. Further that the staffing of the institute's office and their procedures should be enquired into. I note that you have asked the O&M Division to get such a study made.
- 4. As you have gone so thoroughly into this case, there is little that I can say. It does seem unfortunate, however, that we cannot consider anyone even partly responsible for this tragedy. It is the system that is supposed to be bad. Let us by all means try to improve this system in the way suggested. It might, however, be desirable to express our displeasure in the case of those officials who have been held to be responsible for unnecessary delays.
- 5. You point out that the Under Secretary in the Ministry of Finance acted properly in turning down the application for an advance increment. If I remember rightly, Dr. Joseph's Ministry had recommended this. The broad rule, with which Dr. Bhabha, Prof. Thacker⁵¹⁵ and Dr. Kothari have agreed, may be correct. But I am still unable to accept this as an adequate justification for the way Dr. Joseph's application for an increment was dealt with. Procedure was correct and, I suppose, no one can be blamed for it. But in the result procedure turned out to be wrong from the human and other points of view. I suppose the real difficulty came in because Dr. Joseph was originally appointed in a very low grade with a low salary. From there he could only advance very slowly and with painful halts. The only Ministry that could judge of Dr. Joseph's capacity was his own Ministry which recommended him. For the Finance Ministry to turn down this recommendation on the basis of rule and without further enquiry seems to me to be wrong. How is merit to be recognised in this way?
- 6. Suppose Dr. Joseph had done work of outstanding merit which deserved high recognition. His Ministry or his superior officer recommends him. Some official in the Finance Ministry totally unacquainted with Dr. Joseph or his work and incapable of understanding merit of that work would on the basis of the rule referred to overrule the senior officer of Dr. Joseph's Ministry. This means he applies the rule regardless of circumstances and this cannot be commended.

208. To Panjabrao Deshmukh: Ministers Travelling Abroad Too Much⁵¹⁶

26 June 1960

My dear Panjabrao, 517

Your letter of the 25th June. I am getting a little worried about our Ministers going abroad too often on tours. There has been some criticism of this in the Press also. Recently, there have been quite a number of Ministers outside India at the same time. Normally, Ministers should not go abroad except on very special goodwill tours or on special business, some important conference etc. Merely sight-seeing tours should be avoided.

This has become particularly necessary because of some kind of a competition between a number of countries to invite our Ministers and other prominent persons. I am quite surprised at the number of invitations that are coming from the U.S.S.R., the U.S.A., the U.K., Western Germany as well as some of the East European countries. I am trying to check this business. It would almost appear that one of the chief functions of our Ministers is touring abroad, and their work at home was very limited.

I would, therefore, suggest to you not to accept these invitations from Poland, Bulgaria and the German Democratic Republic. As a matter of fact, in any event, you should not go to the German Democratic Republic. No Minister should go there as we have not given diplomatic recognition to it. We have some trade relations and for purposes of some trade agreement, an official might go there. We have, in fact, not even agreed to a trade representative of the German Democratic Republic to function in India.

This particular objection does not apply to Poland or Bulgaria. But I think that on the whole it would be better for you or for any other Minister not to go to Poland and Bulgaria in the near future. Our Finance Minister has just been to Poland and others have gone there also.

Who are going in the delegation to Russia next month?

Yours sincerely, Jawaharlal Nehru

^{516.} Letter.

^{517.} Minister of State for Food and Agriculture.

209. To Homi J. Bhabha: Restrict Using Air-Conditioners⁵¹⁸

26 June 1960

My dear Homi,519

Your letter of June 23 about air conditioning. Of course, there can be no absolute ban on air conditioning and, it is obvious, that in certain scientific and like institutions this is quite essential. What we intended pointing out was that the extravagant use of air conditioning in Government offices must be avoided. It was rather difficult to say all this in a brief directive which was chiefly meant for the new big offices being built in Delhi and elsewhere. But broadly speaking I agree with what you have said and I am sending on your letter to our Cabinet Secretary.

Yours sincerely, Jawaharlal Nehru

210. To Vishnu Sahay: K.C. Neogy and the Transport Committee⁵²⁰

I enclose a letter from Shri K.C. Neogy. 521 Shri Neogy has been working very hard in his Committee on Transport Policy Coordination. 522 In fact, most of the burden has fallen on him as the others are part-time members. After a good deal of work having been done, it does seem to me unfortunate that the other members should suddenly leave the committee and be replaced by new persons representing the respective Ministries. While some of these members represent their Ministries, this does not mean, surely, that they merely repeat the views of their Ministries. They have to take part in the committee's work and see the question as a whole.

2. Therefore, it is unfortunate that any of these important members should be taken away from the committee. I do not see why K.B. Mathur should leave the committee because he has taken up a new post. 523 He could well have continued

^{518.} Letter. Records of the Atomic Energy Commission, GOI, Bombay. Also available in JN Collection.

^{519.} Secretary, Department of Atomic Energy, GOI, and Chairman, Atomic Energy Commission.

^{520.} Note, 27 June 1960. File No. 27 (51)/59-70-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

^{521.} See K.C. Neogy, Chairman, Committee on Transport Policy and Coordination, Planning Commission, to Nehru, Appendix 48.

^{522.} The committee was set up in July 1959; see SWJN/SS/50/item 85.

^{523.} Former Chairman of the Railway Board; later became Chairman, Bharat Heavy Electricals Limited.

in that committee. Even if somebody else has been appointed to take his place in the committee, I think Mathur should continue or should be an additional member so that the committee may have the advantage of all the experience he has gained in the committee's work.

- 3. This applies to R.L. Gupta⁵²⁴ also.
- 4. Will you please look into this matter and suggest what should be done now so that we may have the advantage of continuing cooperation of these members who have been there so long?

211. To M.C. Chagla: Remain in Washington 525

28 June 1960

My dear Chagla,

I received your letter of the 15th June⁵²⁶ a few days ago. In this, you refer to your previous suggestion that you might return to India in November after finishing two years of your present assignment.

Wherever you may be, whether in India or abroad, I have no doubt that you will be performing useful service to our country. But I confess that I do not like the idea of your returning to India in the near future. You have done such excellent work in Washington that naturally I would like this to continue. Also, frankly speaking, it is not an easy matter to find a suitable person for Washington.

I can understand your desire to return to India. Probably, if I was in your position, I would feel the same way. And yet, I would suggest that you should stay on for some time longer.

I do not know if you have in mind entering the political field in India, which means I suppose standing for elections etc. to Parliament. Undoubtedly, you would be an acquisition to Parliament. We would all welcome you there. The general elections will take place in January-February 1962. Even from that point of view, there is no need for you to return to India this year. You might return, let us say, a few months before the elections, say in August 1961. That would give you ample opportunity to fit in here again before the elections. I hope, therefore, that you will agree to stay on in Washington till about August 1961.

I realise your difficulty about a house in Bombay. Can you suggest some way of my being able to help you in this matter? I can write to the Chief Minister of

^{524.} The Transport Secretary.

^{525.} Letter. M.C. Chagla Papers, NMML. Also available in JN Collection.

^{526.} See Appendix 33.

Maharashtra, Chavan, about it if you so wish, and indicate to him what you would like to be done. 527

Yours sincerely, Jawaharlal Nehru

212. To Mohanlal Sukhadia: Salivati's Allegations False 528

29 June 1960

My dear Sukhadia,

About the allegation made against you, I have looked through my old papers. As I wrote to you, this was made in a private letter to me by N. Salivati who produces what he calls the Salivati Newsletter. He did not refer to this allegation in his Newsletter.

On hearing from you, a letter was sent to Salivati stating that the allegations were completely false and I was surprised that such vague and unjustified allegations should be made without enquiry. I do not think it is worthwhile pursuing this matter any further.

Yours sincerely, Jawaharlal Nehru

213. To G.B. Pant: Allegations Against an IAS Officer 529

1 July 1960

My dear Pantji,

You are very busy, more especially at present, and I have hesitated to add to your burdens. But on fuller consideration I thought that I might send you the enclosed bunch of papers which might be examined by your Ministry.⁵³⁰ As they referred to an IAS Officer serving in Madhya Pradesh,⁵³¹ I thought at first of sending

528. Letter.

529. Letter. File No. 7 (209)/60-66-PMS.

530. An article in *Blitz* had made allegations in respect of some purchases made for the Madhya

Bharat Roadways. File No. 7 (209)/60-66-PMS.

^{527.} M.C. Chagla replied to this letter on 7 July 1960; see Appendix 65.

^{531.} According to a notification of 25 January 1964, published in *The Gazette of India*, No. 5 Part I Section I dated 1 February 1964, J.M. Kochar, an IAS officer of the Madhya Pradesh Cadre, was compulsorily retired from service with immediate effect. File No. 7 (209)/60-66-PMS.

these papers direct to Kailas Nath Katju. But I imagine it will be better for your Ministry to examine them first. If you so wish, you can later send them to Kailas Nath Katju.

Attached to the papers is a long note by my PPS.

Yours affectionately, [Jawaharlal]

214. To the Ministry of Defence: Ensure Better Amenities for Pilots⁵³²

I spent some time at Srinagar aerodrome today with our young pilots and others. As you know, they have grown in numbers. Compared to my previous visits, I found that they had some more conveniences and huts had been built for various purposes. Nevertheless they lacked a good rest room with books and papers etc. They were using some kind of a tent for this purpose but this was very inconvenient. I think that a good wooden hut should be erected for this particular purpose. They told me that there were some rules and regulations which came in the way as Srinagar was not supposed to be a permanent station for them. I think that this is not an adequate excuse. These boys are doing hard work which involves a great deal of nervous strain. They have to get up every morning before 4 o'clock and go out flying. They come back tired and wanting some rest. Often, because of the weather, they have to wait for hours doing nothing. Therefore, it seems to me very necessary that they should have a proper resting place at the aerodrome and that they should be supplied with papers and books. This is not an expensive matter. We are spending very large sums of money and some attention to the comfort of our young airmen is desirable.

215. To Vishnu Sahay: Tivary for Yojana 533

I am forwarding a letter to you from an M.P.⁵³⁴ This is about Shri Venktesh Narayan Tivary⁵³⁵ who was a member of the last Parliament. I do not wish to interfere with the judgment of those who run the Yojana magazine and I do not

532. Note to V.K. Krishna Menon and O. Pulla Reddi, Srinagar, 3 July 1960.

534. From Munishwar Datt Upadhyay, 28 June 1960.

^{533.} Note to the Secretary, Planning Commission, Srinagar, 6 July 1960. File No. 43 (98)/57-70-PMS. Vishnu Sahay, Cabinet Secretary, was also Secretary, Planning Commission.

^{535.} Congress, Lok Sabha MP from Kanpur District (North) cum Farrukhabad District (South), UP.

know what the position is at present. But Shri V.N. Tivary is a noted Hindi writer of a scholarly kind. It might be worthwhile to associate him in some way with Yojana. 536

216. To Lal Bahadur Shastri: A Job for C.R. Sundaram 537

11 July 1960

My dear Lal Bahadur,

You will remember my writing to you about C.R. Sundaram (C.P. Ramaswami Aiyar's son who was with the Tatas and who subsequently resigned).⁵³⁸ I had indicated to you that he had considerable experience and ability which might be utilised in some State undertaking.

The other day be came to see me and said that he was not anxious to have what is called a full time job. What he would like is an opportunity for working towards the bringing about of friendly and mutually supporting circumstances as between the public and private sector industries as well as their large and small units. He had in mind especially what is done in Japan, that is, he wanted to be associated, perhaps as a Director, with some of these industries. More especially, he had in mind the Bharat Electronics where he felt that he could be useful as a Director in producing small radios on a cottage scale, etc. as in Japan.

But I need not write to you much on this. I am just enclosing a paper he gave me. Bharat Electronics, of course, is connected with the Defence Ministry, and I think Sundaram has met the Defence Minister.

Yours affectionately, Jawaharlal Nehru

^{536.} The same day Nehru wrote to Upadhyay: "As for the Yojana magazine, this I believe is entirely run by the Planning Commission and I have had no contact with it. I am however drawing the Planning Commission's attention to your proposal."

^{537.} Letter. File No. 4 (20)/60-61-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

^{538.} See item 203.

217. To Mohanlal Sukhadia: Medical College at Bikaner⁵³⁹

12 July 1960

My dear Sukhadia,

Someone has written to me from Jodhpur to say that no progress at all has been made in the Medical College building at Bikaner of which you asked me to lay the foundation stone last year. 540 Is this so? I am sorry if this is a fact, because it gives a very bad impression when a first step is not followed by others. 541 Indeed, at one time, I made it clear that I would not lay any foundation stone unless some guarantee was given that this would be pursued immediately.

There is also a feeling that enough attention is not being paid to some parts of Rajasthan by the present State Government. It is not good for such feelings to spread.

Yours sincerely, Jawaharlal Nehru

218. To G.B. Pant: Raja Mahendra Pratab Estate⁵⁴²

I have read these various notes as well as the annexures at 'R' and 'S'.

2. The main argument of the Attorney General⁵⁴³ is that Amrit Pratab Singh cannot be divested of the property he is holding in favour of Raja Mahendra Pratab Singh,⁵⁴⁴ as this would be against the principles laid down in the Constitution.⁵⁴⁵ I suppose we have to accept this.

3. The Attorney General suggests a grant to Raja Mahendra Pratab Singh.

That, I think, is not feasible.

- 539. Letter. File No. 3 (34)/60-PMP, Vol. II, Prime Minister's Office. Also available in JN Collection.
- 540. Nehru laid the foundation stone of the Bikaner Medical College on 1 April 1959. See SWJN/ SS/48/item 87.
- 541. Sukhadia replied on 1 September 1960 that work costing Rs 3,86,180/- had so far been done on the medical college building; and during the current financial year administrative sanction for Rs 37,73,200/- had been accorded for it.
- 542. Note, 13 July 1960.
- 543. M.C. Setalvad.
- 544. Mahendra Pratap Singh, Independent, Lok Sabha MP from Mathura, UP.
- 545. The Mahendra Pratab Estates Act (Act XXIV of 1923), passed by the Council of State in March 1923, and by the Central Legislative Assembly in July 1923, provided for the forfeiture of the estates and other properties of Raja Mahendra Pratap Singh, and for their grant to his son, Prem Pratap Singh. On Prem Pratap Singh's death in 1947, the estate passed to Amrit Pratab Singh. For previous references, see SWJN/SS/57/items 235 and 238 and SWJN/SS/58/item 65

4. The other point, which is treated by the Attorney General as a subsidiary one, is the repeal of the previous Act XXIV of 1923. Apparently (but I am not quite sure) the Attorney General thinks this Act can be repealed. But obviously this cannot be done by the Bill before the Lok Sabha as that Bill contains many other provisions which cannot be enacted.

5. If I am right in thinking that this Act can be repealed, I think that this step should be taken. Even though it has no other consequences, it will be in consonance with public sentiment. It would be rather an extraordinary position for an Act of the old Legislature being incapable of repeal by Parliament today even though it may be utterly repugnant to our ways of thinking now and almost an insult to our nationalist sentiments.

6. I would suggest that the Law Ministry might consider this point. Further, that the Attorney General's opinion and any other relevant note might be sent to the U.P. Government for their further views.

7. Home Minister might see this note.

219. To Mohanlal Sukhadia: Ministers on Pleasure Tours Abroad⁵⁴⁶

14 July 1960

My dear Sukhadia,

I understand that your Minister for Agriculture, Nathu Ram Mirdha, is going to the USSR as a member of a delegation leaving India on the 26th July, 1960. Thereafter, he wants to visit most of the countries of Europe in order to, so he says, study the development of agriculture, animal husbandry and cooperation in all these countries. The countries mentioned are Sweden, Denmark, Germany, Holland, England, France, Switzerland, Italy, Greece and Egypt.

The question has come up before me because of the request for the release of foreign exchange for Rs. 5,000/-, apart from Rs. 400/- which have been

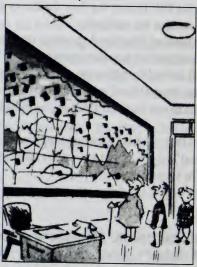
allowed for the journey to the USSR.

It is not customary or quite proper for our Ministers to go to other countries unless they are invited to go there. Also I do not understand why this grand tour of eleven countries is necessary for him to study agriculture, etc. Is he going to study these subjects in visits of two or three days to each country? In any one country this subject would require some months' study.

The impression one gets is that he is going on a pleasure tour to most of these countries. This kind of thing should not be encouraged. Indeed, we have stopped it sometimes in other places. So both from the point of view of conserving

[STUDY AGRICULTURE IN THE INDUSTRIALIZED WORLD]

You Said It



You are really clever indicating the countries of the world which have extended their inviation to me to visit them!

(From The Times of India, 13 June 1960, p. 1)

foreign exchange and to avoid a tour which, on the face of it, does not appear desirable, I would suggest your advising your Minister to confine his present tour to the Soviet Union only.

Yours sincerely, Jawaharlal Nehru

220. To K.L. Shrimali: Virendra Agarwala at the World University Service⁵⁴⁷

16 July 1960

My dear Shrimali,548

I enclose some letters and papers which I have received from Virendra Agarwala. ⁵⁴⁹ He came to see me also for a few minutes this morning. Probably you know him.

547. Letter.

548. The Minister of Education.

549. Secretary-General of the Indian National Committee of World University Service.

I have met him from time to time during the last few years though I have not been in any kind of close touch with him. He struck me as a competent person with some capacity to get things done. I suppose his experience in the World University Service specially is all to the good. He also seems to me a person who might be able to do good work among students. Perhaps it might be worthwhile for you to send for him and talk to him.

Yours sincerely, Jawaharlal Nehru

221. To Nathu Singh: Stop Your Threats 550

16 July 1960

Dear Nathu Singh,551

I have your letter of the 11th July. I thought that I had made it quite clear to you that I do not propose to accept your suggestion about what you call a Government review of the Defence machinery, more especially by old and retired officers. I have nothing to add to that. Defence is a subject which should always be under review as the conditions governing Defence are constantly changing, both in their scientific and technological context and their political bearings. Therefore, a continuous review is essential and we have endeavoured to have such reviews from these points of view and we have gone by the advice of experts.

Your letter is almost in the nature of a threat which is highly improper. I cannot carry on correspondence with you on this subject any further.

Yours sincerely, Jawaharlal Nehru

222. To V.K. Krishna Menon: M.S. Chopra for Border Roads⁵⁵³

16 July 1960

My dear Krishna,

I had a visit again today from Major-General M.S. Chopra, who has been waiting for a job for the last eighteen months, ever since he came back from the Philippines

550. Letter.

551. Lieutenant-General Thakur Nathu Singh, former GOC-in-C, Eastern Command.

552. For previous correspondence with Nathu Singh, see SWJN/SS/49/item 355, SWJN/SS/55/item 63 and SWJN/SS/57/item 218.

553. Letter. File No. 35 (11)/56-70-PMS.

where he had functioned as our Ambassador.⁵⁵⁴ I do not think we can fit him in the Foreign Service. But he is active and fit (he is 52 years old) and might be useful in some capacity. He was supposed to be good at athletics and dealing with people. Do you think it is possible to give him some work in connection with border roads scheme? He is, of course, not an engineer.

Yours affectionately, Jawaharlal Nehru

223. To G.B. Pant: Governors Should Not Go On Pilgrimages⁵⁵⁵

21 July 1960

My dear Pantji,

I enclose a letter from the President's Secretary and a copy of a letter from Sri Prakasa to the President.⁵⁵⁶ What do you advise?

I do not particularly fancy a Governor going for three weeks on a pilgrimage. I did not know that this question had been raised last year and the President had given his permission. If, however, Sri Prakasa is terribly keen, I would not like to come in his way.⁵⁵⁷

Yours affectionately, [Jawaharlal]

224. To P. Subbarayan: Suggestions for Post Offices⁵⁵⁸

21 July 1960

My dear Subbarayan,559

I enclose a letter I have received from Joachim Alva⁵⁶⁰ in which he gives his experiences as a postman in the Bombay G.P.O. This makes interesting reading,

- 554. In fact, M.S. Chopra was Minister, Legation of India, Manila, Philippines.
- 555. Letter.
- 556. Sri Prakasa had asked for the President's permission to visit Badrinath in UP.
- 557. Rajendra Prasad wrote to Sri Prakasa on 24 July that there was no objection to his visiting Badrinath and asked him to keep the duration of the visit as short as possible. See Valmiki Choudhary (ed.), *Dr. Rajendra Prasad*, Vol. XXI (New Delhi: Allied Publishers, 1995), pp. 68-69.
- 558. Letter.
- 559. The Minister of Transport and Communications.
- 560. Congress, Lok Sabha MP from Kanara, Mysore.

and I think that some of his suggestions could well brighten up our Post Offices and lead to more efficient work.

Yours affectionately, Jawaharlal Nehru

225. To Y.D. Gundevia: Major Bloomfield561

As I noted last year, I did not react favourably to our paying large sums of money to Major Bloomfield. My reaction is the same this year, even though what they want to pay him is a little less. I do not know him or about him, and therefore it is very difficult for me to judge. At the same time, it is equally difficult for me to reject a proposal strongly put forward by the Irrigation & Power Ministry who are dealing with this matter. Therefore, if that Ministry is really anxious to send him and considers his presence very important, I shall quietly, though reluctantly, submit to their views.

226. To Gulzarilal Nanda: Deputy Chairman, Planning Commission⁵⁶³

22 July 1960

My dear Gulzarilal.564

For sometime past I have been wanting to talk to you about the Planning Commission, but we have been so much taken with important matters that the occasion for such a talk did not come. I hope that we shall be able to meet for this purpose.

Meanwhile, Secretary Vishnu Sahay tells me that some difficulties are arising because no one is functioning as Deputy Chairman. Feb Pending such formal appointment as might be made may I request you to function as Deputy Chairman of the Planning Commission? I wanted to ask you to do this some two or three

Note to Y.D. Gundevia, Special Secretary, MEA, 21 July 1960. File No. 32 (4)-CWD/59,
 I.T. Section, Ministry of Irrigation. Also available in JN Collection.

^{562.} Major Louis M. Bloomfield. See Gundevia's note, 19 July 1960, Appendix 90. For previous reference, see SWJN/SS/48/item 150.

^{563.} Letter, copied to Vishnu Sahay. File No. 17 (189)/60-65-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

^{564.} Minister of Labour & Employment and Planning.

^{565.} V.T. Krishnamachari was at this time on leave preparatory to retirement. See item 199, fn 494.

weeks ago, but realising the heavy work that fell on you because of the general strike I refrained from doing so.

Yours sincerely, Jawaharlal Nehru

227. To Swaran Singh: Cabinet Foreign Affairs Committee 566

23 July 1960

My dear Swaran Singh,567

I should like you to join our Foreign Affairs Committee of the Cabinet. I had mentioned this to the Cabinet Secretary two or three days ago and I had hoped that you would attend today's meeting of this Committee. But Vishnu Sahay thought that I was going to write to you, and so he did not let you know.

Will you please come to the next meeting which is being held on the 25th July at 5 p.m. in my office? This is particularly considering the Naga question.

Yours sincerely, Jawaharlal Nehru

228. To D.P. Karmarkar: Medical College in Allahabad⁵⁶⁸

24 July 1960

My dear Karmarkar,

The other day, some people from Allahabad came to see me and discussed the starting of a Medical College in Allahabad, to be named after my father. This proposal has been there for some years past. I told them that I knew nothing about it and anyhow I could do very little. In fact, because my father's name was proposed to be associated with it, I would have still less to do with it. Of course, if such a hospital was started in Allahabad, it would be a good thing. This was largely a matter in which the State Government had to take the initiative. ⁵⁶⁹

Now I have received letters about this matter. I am merely forwarding them to you. But you must not consider this as any particular request from me.

Yours sincerely, Jawaharlal Nehru

566. Letter, copied to Vishnu Sahay.

567. The Minister of Steel, Mines and Fuel.

568. Letter.

569. Rajendra Prasad laid the foundation stone of the Motilal Nehru Medical College in Allahabad on 5 May 1961.

229. To Gulzarilal Nanda: Keep Things Stable 570

24 July 1960

My dear Gulzarilal,

I have your letter of the 24th July.⁵⁷¹

There can be no doubt that the problems facing the Planning Commission, that is facing the country, are of tremendous importance and great intricacy, more particularly what you have mentioned in your letter. Nevertheless, one has to face them with such competence as we may have.⁵⁷²

As for the Labour Ministry, it is obvious that at this present juncture, there should be no sudden change. We have taken up some big matters as a result of the strike, and we have to see them through.

Yours sincerely, Jawaharlal Nehru

230. To Hafiz Mohammed Ibrahim: Bari and the UN Delegation⁵⁷³

29 July 1960

My dear Hafizji,574

Your letter of the 28th July about Bari. He is a good man, but I rather doubt if it will be possible to include him in the UN Delegation. This Delegation consists of persons who have been Members of our Delegations in the past and, therefore, are conversant with its particular procedures and the problems there. Usually one or two MPs are added. We are trying to keep the numbers down as far as possible. The problems before the UN become more and more specialised. They have practically nothing to do with industry and the like.

Yours sincerely, Jawaharlal Nehru

^{570.} Letter. File No. 17 (189)/60-65-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

^{571.} See Appendix 95.

^{572.} Nanda started to function as Deputy Chairman of the Planning Commission from 22 July 1960, see item 226.

^{573.} Letter.

^{574.} Minister of Irrigation and Power.

231. To B.V. Keskar: Marie Seton 575

29 July 1960

My dear Balkrishna,576

R.R. Diwakar⁵⁷⁷ came to see me this morning. He spoke to me about Marie Seton⁵⁷⁸ and expressed his displeasure at some of her activities. I said to him that as she had made some serious charges of corruption against a particular individual, I hoped this matter would be fully enquired into. He appeared to be satisfied that the charges were baseless and added that Marie Seton had proved unfit for her work and they proposed to ask her to go.

I have no means of knowing what the facts are or what Marie Seton is and, therefore, I have no business to interfere. But she did leave an impression on my mind about someone, whose name I forget, that he lacked integrity completely.

Curiously, this evening, I have had a note from her, which I enclose. I cannot make much of it, but, perhaps, you can understand it more. I think that if she makes any serious charges, they should be enquired into.

Yours sincerely, Jawaharlal Nehru

232. To G.B. Pant: Kalyanam's Philanthropy⁵⁷⁹

30 July 1960

My dear Pantji,

You sent me a letter on April 13th, 1960, about V. Kalyanam, an Assistant Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. This was in answer to an enquiry I had made about him.

On a previous occasion he had sent me some money for the Prime Minister's Relief Fund. He had then stated that he had made it a rule to send all the money he could save for some public purpose. Today he came and gave me a cheque for rupees one thousand for the Edwina Mountbatten Memorial Fund.

^{575.} Letter. File No. 43 (155)/60-63-PMS, Vol. I. Also available in JN Collection.

^{576.} The Minister of Information and Broadcasting.

^{577.} Chairman, Gandhi Smarak Nidhi; chairman, University Film Council, New Delhi; and a former Minister of Information and Broadcasting.

^{578.} Actress; art, theatre and film critic; and biographer of Jawaharlal Nehru.

^{579.} Letter.

I am merely writing to inform you of this. It is rather unusual for a person to give such considerable contributions. Personally, I have been rather impressed by him.

Yours affectionately, [Jawaharlal]

233. To N.V. Gadgil: Nasser's Invitations⁵⁸⁰

30 July 1960

My dear Gadgil,581

Your letter of the 28th July.

President Nasser has been rather lavish with his invitations, especially to Governors in India whom he has met. Thus, he has invited the Governors of West Bengal, Madras, Mysore apart from you. I do not think that Governors should leave their charge for visits abroad unless there is some marked necessity. I suggest, therefore, that you might reply thanking him for the invitation and saying that you hope to be able to take advantage of it sometime later.

Yours sincerely, Jawaharlal Nehru

(ii) Central Government Employees' Strike

234. To G.B. Pant583

8 June 1960

My dear Pantji,

For the last two or three months or more there have been vague talks about strikes by the Central Government employees on the basis of their not agreeing with the Pay Commission's Report⁵⁸⁴ and our decisions on it. What is called a "Joint Council of Action of Central Government Employees" has been formed⁵⁸⁵ and V.G. Dalvi⁵⁸⁶ is its Chairman.

580. Letter.

581. The Governor of Punjab.

582. Bisnuram Medhi.

583. Letter.

584. The Second Central Pay Commission was set up on 21 August 1957 under B. Jagannath Das, a Judge of the Supreme Court. It reported on 24 August 1959.

585. Formed in February 1960 by the representatives of various Central Government employees.

586. President of the National Federation of Posts and Telegraph Department.

About two months ago Dalvi asked for an interview from me on behalf of his Joint Council. He was informed in reply that I could not give an interview as I was busy with various matters including the visit of Premier Chou En-lai⁵⁸⁷ and my subsequent tour abroad. In the reply sent to him it was also pointed out that I was astonished that Government employees should take up this attitude after all that we had done through the Pay Commission, etc.

Dalvi has again written to me asking for an interview with him and representatives of his Joint Council of Action in order to discuss and negotiate with me on six major demands specified in the resolution passed at a convention on April 2nd and 3rd. The question is whether I should give them an interview or not. Evidently, the Ministers concerned have already been approached and they have made it clear that they cannot go beyond the four corners of the Pay Commission's Report. Hence their approach to me.

Although I usually give interviews when asked for, I feel that on this particular occasion it will not be proper for me to meet representatives of this Joint Council of Action. I should like your advice in the matter.⁵⁸⁸

What is much more important is how we propose to meet this threat of a strike. See This would affect Posts & Telegraphs, Railways, Civil Defence, Income-Tax, Customs, Central Excise, Civil Aviation, Central P.W.D. and probably some other departments also. Obviously it would be desirable to have some kind of a common policy. It is not good enough for each Ministry to be left to its own resources.

Perhaps, it might be worthwhile my mentioning this matter at the Cabinet meeting tomorrow when other Ministers concerned will be there. 590

Yours affectionately, [Jawaharlal]

235. To V.K. Krishna Menon⁵⁹¹

8 June 1960

My dear Krishna,

I find that a request has come to me for interview from what is called a "Joint Council of Action of Central Government Employees". Presumably, this includes civil employees of Defence. As at present advised, I do not propose to grant them

^{587.} The visit took place from 19 to 26 April 1960.

^{588.} For Nehru's reply to Dalvi, see item 239.

^{589.} The Joint Council of Action had called an all-India strike from 11 July 1960.

^{590.} See item 240.

^{591.} Letter.

an interview. But the question raised is a bigger one than a mere interview. These people are threatening some kind of a big strike. Whether they would finally decide on this or not I do not know. But we should give some thought to this matter. The various principal Ministries concerned apparently are the Ministry of Communications, Railways, Defence, P.W.D. and Finance. Thus far, every Ministry has dealt with this matter separately. It would be desirable to have some kind of a coordinated approach to the question.

I am thinking of mentioning this matter at the Cabinet meeting tomorrow. This is not for discussion so much as to draw attention to find out what the

position is.

In this connection our attitude to INTUC has also to be considered. INTUC wants to prevent such strikes and to deal with any matter in dispute through the normal channels. I think that they have to some extent succeeded with the Railways on this subject. I wrote to you some time ago about Dr Melkote who is the President or Secretary of the Union of Defence workers⁵⁹² associated with INTUC. I think it will be desirable to encourage him and his union in this matter.

Yours affectionately, [Jawaharlal]

236. To P. Subbarayan⁵⁹³

8 June 1960

My dear Subbarayan,

There have been vague talks about strikes of Central Government employees on the question of the Pay Commission Report and our decisions on it. A Joint Council of Action of Central Government Employees has been formed. It is obvious that we cannot go beyond the Pay Commission. It seems to me highly improper for this kind of move on the part of some of these employees.

The question, however, is how we are going to deal with this situation. There are many Ministries concerned. Among them is yours, Posts & Telegraphs and

Civil Aviation.

I should like to mention this matter at the Cabinet meeting tomorrow just to know how things stand with each Ministry.

Yours affectionately, Jawaharlal Nehru

593. Letter.

^{592.} G.S. Melkote, Congress, Lok Sabha MP from Raichur, Mysore, was the President, Indian National Defence Workers' Federation.

237. To Jagjivan Ram⁵⁹⁴

8 June 1960

My dear Jagjivan Ram,

As you must know, there are vague talks about strikes of Central Government employees who do not accept the Pay Commission's award. A Joint Council of Action of Central Government employees has been formed. This council wants to meet me, but I do not think I shall agree to this.

I understand that Railways have come to some agreement with the INTUC Union about some matters being referred to a tribunal. Anyhow, a number of Ministries are involved and I should like to know where matters stand. I intend, therefore, mentioning this in the Cabinet tomorrow, not for discussion, but to draw attention.

Yours sincerely, Jawaharlal Nehru

238. To S.R. Vasavada 595

8 June 1960

My dear Vasavada,596

I am writing to apologise to you for a strange lapse on my part and on the part of my office in dealing with some of your letters sent to me. My attention was drawn to this by Dr Melkote who wrote to me and whom I saw today. When your letter of the 6th February, 1960, came to me I was heavily occupied and I am sorry to say that I did not pay enough attention to it. I glanced through it and I did not notice that at the end of that letter you had asked for an interview. Later, two letters came from you: one of the 7th March and the other of the 8th March. With the 8th March letter was a memorandum which you had sent to the Labour Ministry which, I think, was acknowledged. I thought the 7th March letter was about the same matter. Anyhow, owing to this lapse of mine I did not realise that a proper answer had not been sent to you and, in particular, that your suggestion for an interview had escaped me. I would, of course, have gladly met you.

Now Dr Melkote has told me that you wrote a letter to me on the 3rd June. So far as I can find out, the original of this letter has not reached me, but

^{594.} Letter.

^{595.} Letter. The letter was sent to S.R. Vasavada at Gandhi Majoor Sevalaya, Bhadra, Ahmedabad, and a copy to him at 17, Janpath, New Delhi.

^{596.} General Secretary, INTUC, and President, National Federation of Indian Railwaymen.

Dr Melkote was good enough to give me a copy of this letter which I have read. I am grateful to you for having written to me on this subject because it is an important one and we appreciate greatly the steps that are being taken by INTUC in this matter.

I shall, of course, be very glad to meet you at your convenience. I am in Delhi till the 21st of June. I shall be away from the 22nd to the 24th and then return to Delhi. You can therefore come on any day when I am in Delhi and I shall find time to meet you. 597

Meanwhile, I am getting into touch with some of my colleagues also here to find out from them what the situation is.

Yours sincerely, Jawaharlal Nehru

P.S

Your letter dated 3rd June has just been delivered to me as it was sent by registered post and took a little longer to reach here.

239. To Kesho Ram⁵⁹⁸

I have not got the papers with me—the telegram and letter—asking me to give an interview to the representatives of the Council of Action of Central Government Employees. 599 However, after referring to those papers, please reply as follows to Mr. Dalvi, who I think sent me the letter:

The Prime Minister has received your letter dated ... and your telegram dated ... asking for an interview for representatives of your Council of Action. He regrets he is unable to give this interview as he thinks that it will serve no useful purpose. He cannot discuss the revision of the Pay Commission's recommendations and the Government's decisions on them. This would he an improper way of dealing with the result of the labours of a high-powered Commission which gave a good deal of time and thought to the matters that came up before them and then again their considered opinion. Government, for their part, considered these recommendations as almost tantamount to an award and accepted them almost in toto even where they might have had a different opinion. They do not propose to go back on those decisions.

The Prime Minister is distressed to learn that some of the Central Government employees should endeavour to open this matter again and even organise some

^{597.} Vasavada met Nehru on 18 June.

^{598.} Note, 9 June 1960.

^{599.} See also item 234.

kind of a "Council of Action". This action would further come in the way of his meeting any deputation on this subject.

Where, however, there is any doubt or uncertainty about the implementation of the decisions already made on the basis of the Pay Commission's Report, this can certainly be examined in cooperation with the Ministry concerned.

The Prime Minister is concerned with the well-being of Government employees and with their taking their full share in the improvement of living standards in India. He deeply regrets, however, that at a moment when the country has to face grave issues and, more especially, when the whole question of our economic advance is being considered in connection with our Five Year Plans, any person in India and more especially Government employees should forget or ignore larger issues and take up attitudes which are unbecoming. He hopes that they will appreciate the conditions prevailing in the country today and give their full support to the fulfilment of the Plans for the nation's advance which will inevitably also lead to their own betterment.

240. At the Cabinet 600

Case No. 285/27/60

Unrest among Central Government Employees

Prime Minister mentioned that he had received representations from certain organisations of Government employees expressing dissatisfaction with the recommendations of the Pay Commission or the decisions of Government on those recommendations. A Council of Action of Central Government employees had been formed and certain unions had wanted to interview him. Prime Minister had expressed his disapproval of the course which was being adopted by these unions and suggested that, while it would not be desirable for Ministers to give interviews to this Council of Action, the Ministries concerned should give concerted thought to the problems arising from these developments.

The Railway Minister and the Minister of Transport & Communications stated that they had taken the attitude that while they were prepared to correct anomalies or take up for rectification minor points, they were not prepared to discuss the decisions of Government on the Pay Commission's Report.

Cabinet approved this line of action and agreed that the Ministries concerned should keep a careful watch on the situation.

^{600.} Minutes of Cabinet meeting, 4.00 p.m., 9 June 1960, chaired by Nehru. File: Cabinet Meetings from 1960, Confidential Section, Planning Commission.

241. To A.B. Vajpayee⁶⁰¹

13 June 1960

Dear Shri Vajpayee,602

I have your letter of the 11th June about Central Government employees and the Pay Commission's recommendations. As you know, the Pay Commission was a high powered one, they went very carefully into various demands and the general situation and, as a result, they made certain recommendations which Government practically accepted in toto. If we are to treat the recommendations of such a Pay Commission as having no great importance, then there is no point in having a Pay Commission. There has to be some stability about this business. As a matter of fact, we did not like some of the recommendations of the Pay Commission, but we decided to treat their decisions more or less as an award.

Our present position is that we cannot go back on this and reconsider the recommendations of the Pay Commission. To do so would be to reopen the entire field. As it is, the burden of the Pay Commission's recommendations is a fairly heavy one on the Central Exchequer. At a moment like this, when we are struggling with our Five Year Plans, this has made a good deal of difference. If we were to increase this burden, then indeed it would be difficult for us to carry on.

Thus it is not possible to review the recommendations of the Pay Commission which have already been accepted. But I can understand the question of implementation and it may be that some aspects which are not clear might be considered. I am sure that the Railway Ministry will gladly give this consideration to these aspects. Indeed, I am told that they are doing so.

I have every sympathy with Government employees as such and the station masters and assistant station masters etc. more especially. But we cannot allow our sympathy to run away with us regardless of facts and conditions.

Normally I am always glad to meet representatives of organisations, but it would not be proper for me to give any interviews for reconsideration of the Pay Commission's decisions. I have already expressed my inability to give such interviews to other like associations.

I am, however, sending your letter and copy of this reply of mine to the Railway Minister.

Yours sincerely, Jawaharlal Nehru

^{601.} Letter.

^{602.} Jan Sangh, Lok Sabha MP from Balrampur, UP, and Secretary, All India Jan Sangh.

242. To Gulzarilal Nanda 603

18 June 1960

My dear Gulzarilal,

Vasavada came to see me today. After seeing me he sent me a letter and also issued a press note. I am enclosing his letter.

I do not quite know how to deal with it. You as Labour Minister might take the initiative in making any suggestions to our other Ministries.

The whole point, as far as I can see it, is that we stand completely by the Pay Commission and are not prepared to discuss its recommendations which we adopted. But we are always prepared to discuss any matters of interpretation or implementation. If such discussions about implementation, etc. take place and there is a difference of opinion, Vasavada said, they should be referred to a tribunal. I am not quite clear about this matter, but I see no objection to some such procedure.

Vasavada said to me that many of the recommendations of the Pay Commission have not yet been adopted by us.

Yours sincerely, Jawaharlal Nehru

243. To G.B. Pant 604

24 June 1960

My dear Pantji,

I returned yesterday from Gujerat. We had a Cabinet meeting today which dealt chiefly with deputations and the like. But I mentioned all this talk of a general strike, and we discussed this for some time, I had done so previously also, and I have had a talk with Jha, 605 the Home Secretary.

I fear we are rather casual about all this and always wake up too late. Quite apart from the present situation that has arisen, I am beginning to think that our broad approach to labour or employer-employee problems is rather out of date. I am comparing this, for instance, to the British approach, where a Conservative Government has to deal with such problems. They are constantly in touch with developments and take steps at the earliest moment. We wait till the end more or less, and then are rather casual about it. We have no proper machinery to deal

603. Letter.

604. Letter.

605. B.N. Jha.

You Said It



Sorry, gentlemen—no lunch! It's a strike notice they've served! (From The Times of India, 1 July 1960, p. 1)

with it. We discussed some time ago the question of Whitley Councils, 606 but nothing much came of it.

Then also, we considered some of these matters in what might be called a narrow logical way, forgetting the psychology behind human relations and human reactions. Thus, we agreed to the Pay Commission's Report in regard to all the big issues, but varied some very minor matters. Probably, we were right about these minor matters, but we did not realise that thereby we were putting ourselves in a slightly false position. We cannot say that we have adopted the Pay Commission's Report as a whole. Take even a very small matter of half holidays. We made a change which I think was for the right. But it meant going outside the recommendations of the Report. Possibly, we could have made this change after some discussion with the people concerned.

The result is that over very minor matters which have not brought us any gain, we have weakened to some extent our basic position of accepting the full Report as some kind of an award. But my main and growing concern is that we have no particular machinery which should deal with these matters at the earliest moment. Separate Ministries carry on in their different ways. The Home Ministry which is most concerned with Government employees, usually comes into the picture when some emergency seems to arise. So also the Labour Ministry. Could we not consider some more practical and speedy approach to all these problems?

However, this is for the future. For the present, we have to consider the existing and the growing situation. We have fixed a meeting of the Cabinet for Wednesday, the 29th June, at 11.00 a.m. and have asked Gulzarilal Nanda to prepare a paper in consultation with your Ministry and others concerned. We fixed this date because we were told you are likely to come back in another two or three days. If the time does not suit you, we can have the meeting in the afternoon on the 29th, or even on the 30th if you prefer.

I am glad to learn that the climate of Naini Tal is suiting you and you are feeling well. As I think I have told you, I intend going to Kashmir and Leh on the 2nd July and shall be away for about six or seven days.

Yours affectionately, [Jawaharlal]

244. To Khandubhai K. Desai⁶⁰⁷

27 June 1960

My dear Khandubhai, 608

Thank you for your letter of the 25th June. 609 I have noted what you have written. I entirely agree with you that speedy action should be taken in implementing the decisions we had taken.

I am sending copies of your letter to Pantji and Gulzarilal Nanda, both of whom are dealing with this matter.

Yours sincerely, Jawaharlal Nehru

607 Letter

608. Congress, Rajya Sabha MP from Maharashtra.

609. See Appendix 46.

245. To Peter Alvares 610

27 June 1960

Dear Shri Alvares, 611

I have received today your letter of the 25th June with which you have sent me

a copy of a resolution.

In this letter you express your resentment at my giving an interview to Shri S.R. Vasavada when I found myself unable to give an interview to your representatives. I might inform you that Shri Vasavada had asked for an interview a long time before to discuss the labour situation generally. I had agreed to give him this interview as I would have agreed to such an interview with anyone else. My difficulty in not agreeing to give your representatives an interview was, as stated, that they wished to discuss with me the basic decisions of the Pay Commission. I pointed out that I could not do so and therefore an interview on that subject could not be helpful. If your representatives had wished to see me about other matters, I would gladly have met them.

I think that the action taken by your Joint Council is very irresponsible and unfortunate. It has nothing to do with the normal trade union approach to such questions. At the instance of Government employees, a high-powered Pay Commission was appointed. That Commission went very carefully into all aspects and presented certain proposals to Government. Government accepted all their principal proposals even though they thought differently in regard to some of them. Some minor matters were varied by Government.

To go into the basic proposals of the Pay Commission would mean that the appointment of this Commission was of little or no use. It would strike at the very base of such Commissions and it is doubtful if in future any responsible persons would agree to be appointed to such Commissions. It is for this reason that we thought the action of the Joint Council undesirable and harmful. Any minor matters relating to implementation etc. could always be discussed.

To threaten a general strike and thus cause great inconvenience to the public and injury to the economy of the nation is something which I cannot appreciate or even understand. Some of the demands being made would upset the Third Five Year Plan. I am afraid I must come to the conclusion that those who are responsible for this action have not paid any attention to the good of the nation or the public.

> Yours sincerely, Jawaharlal Nehru

^{610.} Letter, copied to G.L. Nanda, together with the letter under reply in original.

^{611.} Secretary, Joint Council of Action of Central Government Employees.

246. At the Cabinet 612

Case No. 346/32/60

Unrest Among Central Government Employees

Cabinet considered the notes dated June 28, 1960, from the Ministries of Labour & Employment and Finance (Department of Expenditure).

2. At the outset Prime Minister observed that recent events had emphasized the necessity of having a really effective machinery for dealing with the grievances and demands of government employees. In dealing with such matters, it is not

[GENERATING GRIEVANCES THROUGH REDRESS]

You Said It



I've half a mind to close down this department—we seem to receive nothing but complaints!

(From The Times of India, 22 June 1960, p. 1)

612. Minutes of Cabinet meeting, 11 a.m., 29 June 1960, chaired by Nehru. File No. KS-25/60, MHA.

enough merely to see whether a decision taken by the Government is just or uniust, fair or unfair. A proper appreciation of the psychological factors which influence the workers is essential. It is necessary to remember that in most trade unions only a few members are active. But they manage to create psychological situations where the rest of the members feel that they have to line up with them. From the Government's point of view, it is, therefore, of the greatest importance that the circumstances and considerations leading to any decision against which agitation is being organised should be clearly known and understood by all government employees and also by the members of the public. The present gap between the Government and its employees should be bridged, as it has been done even in the big capitalist countries of the world, where there is constant contact and consultation between the Governments and their employees at all levels, and decisions are taken before disputes reach a critical stage. This, however, is a long-term objective. The immediate problem to be faced is the situation created by the threats of strike given by the Railwaymen's unions, the Post and Telegraph workers, the Defence civilian employees, etc.

[YIELDING FROM A POSITION OF STRENGTH]

You Said It



Remember, I am not yielding to your threats!

But I am granting your demands as a gesture of goodwill!

(From The Times of India, 2 July 1960, p. 1)

- 3. The demands made by the employees were generally discussed. Cabinet agreed that, so far as the basic recommendations of the Pay Commission were concerned (i.e. the recommendations relating to the linking of dearness allowance with the cost of living index and the acceptable level of the national minimum wage), there could be and should be no modification of the decisions already taken by the Government. Any concessions on those issues would have serious effects on the economy of the country. On the minor issues, however, the attitude to be taken up by the Government might be more flexible; but at no stage should any impression be created that concessions were being given because of weakness or because of inability to face the situation.
- 4. Cabinet decided that a Committee should be appointed, consisting of the Minister of Home Affairs, the Minister of Finance, the Minister of Railways, the Minister of Labour & Employment, the Minister of Works, Housing & Supply, the Minister of Defence and the Minister of Transport & Communications, to coordinate the steps to be taken to meet the threatened strike. It was also decided that a Secretaries' Committee should be constituted, consisting of the Cabinet

[ANTI-STRIKE BUREAUCRACY] You Said It By LAXMAN



Go ahead—we are not afraid of the strike! We will call for a committee immediately to set up a sub-committee to form an action committee to watch the situation!

(From The Times of India, 8 July 1960, p. 1)

Secretary, the Secretaries of the Ministries of Home Affairs, Finance (Department of Expenditure), Labour & Employment, Works, Housing & Supply, Defence and Transport & Communications and the Chairman, Railway Board, the Member (Staff), Railway Board, ⁶¹³ and the Director-General, Posts and Telegraphs, ⁶¹⁴ to examine immediately what legislative measures are required for dealing with the threatened strike and what organisational arrangements will have to be made for carrying on essential services such as the Railways, the Posts & Telegraphs, Civil Aviation, civilian Defence installations, etc. The Committee should also consider what approaches should be made to members of the public and to public organisations for voluntary assistance in the maintenance of essential services. The Committee should submit its first report to the Cabinet Committee within a day or so. The Committee might co-opt other officers as members whenever necessary.

- 5. Cabinet decided that the Minister of Labour, acting in close co-operation with the Cabinet Committee and the Secretaries' Committee, might hold discussions, on the lines indicated in paragraph 3 above, with the employees' representatives in respect of their various demands and report the results to the Cabinet at its next meeting which will be held on July 1, 1960, at 4 p.m.
- 6. The importance of securing public support for the decisions taken by the Government was again emphasized. It was decided that the Secretary, Ministry of Home Affairs, in consultation with the Secretary, Ministry of Finance (Department of Expenditure)⁶¹⁵ and the Member (Staff), Railway Board, should prepare, for the consideration of the Cabinet, a draft Statement setting out all the relevant facts and explaining the Government's side of the case. The Statement should be drawn up in the form of a hand-out to the Press, to be issued at the appropriate time.

247. To Chief Ministers⁶¹⁶

30 June 1960

My dear Chief Minister,

I am writing to you today about the threat of having a general strike by employees of the Central Government. This raises a number of important issues, and we have to give immediate thought to the steps we should take to meet this strike.

^{613.} D.C. Baijal.

^{614.} V. Shankar.

^{615.} N.N. Wanchoo.

^{616.} Letter, also sent to the Prime Minister of Jammu and Kashmir. This letter has also been published in G. Parthasarathi (ed.), *Jawaharlal Nehru: Letters to Chief Ministers* 1947-1964, Vol. 5 (New Delhi: Jawaharlal Nehru Memorial Fund, 1989), pp. 385-392.

- 2. A general strike is always a serious affair if it comes off. A general strike of Government employees is very unusual and, so far as India is concerned, I believe it is the first time that such a proposal has been made. I must say that I am amazed at the irresponsibility of the promoters of the strike.
- 3. Such a strike has no resemblance to a normal trade union strike. The only common link among those who are urged to strike is the fact that they are all employed by the Central Government. Thus, we have the Railways, the Posts and Telegraphs Department, the civil employees of our Defence organisation, the Civil Aviation and a host of others employed in Central Government offices in Delhi and all over India. Should such a strike come within any measure of success, this would paralyse not only Government, but all our industry and most of our other activities.
- 4. What is this proposed strike about? It expresses dissatisfaction with the Pay Commission's recommendations which were, by and large accepted by Government. The Pay Commission was appointed in response to a demand made by Government employees. It was a Commission of high calibre, presided over by a Judge of the Supreme Court. This Commission went into the complicated questions of pay and allowances, amenities, etc. with great care and at considerable length. As a result of our accepting most of their recommendations, a heavy burden has been cast on our economy. Nevertheless, we thought it right that we should accept the recommendations of this high class Commission. It is true that in regard to some minor matters, of no great consequence, we varied the recommendations. Perhaps, it might have been wiser to accept even these minor recommendations. But, anyhow, the fact remains that we accepted the major recommendations of the Pay Commission.
- 5. The question thus arises: how far is it justifiable to upset the whole structure of the Pay Commission's recommendations and start considering these matters afresh? Obviously, if we do this, then the question of appointing a Pay Commission in future will hardly arise, and no eminent person would be prepared to serve on it. To reject the Pay Commission's recommendations, therefore, is to reject the whole conception of having such Commissions.
- 6. The main demands made on us now are for a minimum wage of about Rs. 125-00 fixed for everyone and for the dearness allowance to be linked with the price index. To accept these demands would mean an addition to our annual expenditure of anything from rupees eighty crores to a hundred crores and if, as would be natural, this is reflected in the States in regard to their employees, then the increase in annual expenditure might be rupees one hundred and fifty crores. For our Five Year Plan period, this would mean rupees seven hundred and fifty crores. It would also mean the collapse of all attempts at drawing up a Third Five Year Plan. It is manifestly impossible for us to accept these demands both on grounds of policy and for practical considerations. Why these demands have been advanced by any person considering himself responsible is difficult for me

[DEAR OLD MOTHER HUBBARD]

You Said It

By LAXMAN



Remember, before we agreed to link D.A. with the cost of living we used to keep money in this?

(From The Times of India, 7 July 1960, p. 1)

to understand. I can only arrive at the conclusion that this is some manoeuvre in a political game, as it must be known to those who make the demands that their acceptance is out of the question.

- 7. I do not personally believe in taking up rigid attitudes, and we should normally always be prepared to negotiate when such controversies arise. But we can only negotiate when a matter is negotiable. We could discuss some of the minor matters contained in the Pay Commission's report or the question of proper and speedy implementation of our decisions on these issues. But to throw the Pay Commission's report into the wastepaper basket and to negotiate about fantastic demands which would break the economy of the country, is something which is inadmissible.
- 8. I do not propose to go into the merits of some of these various matters, as you must be fully acquainted with them. For the present, we have to decide as to how to deal with this situation. It may well be that the promoters of the strike might realise the folly of their ways and the harmful results of their proposals to the nation. But, very probably, they will persist, and we shall have to meet this situation. We must, therefore, prepare for it.

[A FAMILY, NOT A STRIKE ASSEMBLY]

You Said It



Oh, it's your family? Sorry to have stopped you, Sir. I thought you were leading an unlawful procession?

(From The Times of India, 16 July 1960, p. 1)

- 9. This preparation means, first of all, the maintenance of law and order, and adequate protection to loyal workers who do not join the strike. It means arrangements to carry on the essential services such as railways, posts and telegraphs, ordnance factories, civil aviation, and the like.
- 10. Some three years ago, there was a well organised threat of a general strike in the Posts and Telegraphs all over India. He made then fairly adequate preparations to meet this threat. We appealed to the public and we received a very satisfactory response from them. We organised groups of people in every city in India for postal deliveries. If the P&T strike had occurred then, I think that we would have succeeded in carrying on this essential service adequately in spite of the strike. It was largely because of this preparation on the part of the Government and the public that the idea of the P&T strike was given up at almost the last moment.
- 11. State Governments will of course make all arrangements within their power to carry on various essential utility services. But it is essential that the full
- 617. Following the announcement of the appointment of the Second Pay Commission, the proposed strike from 8 August 1957 did not take place.

help and cooperation of the public should be invited. For this purpose not only should the circumstances leading to this totally unjustified strike be fully explained to the public, but popular organisations should be invited to cooperate in an organised way. Those trade unions who are opposed to the strike (and there are many such) will of course cooperate. The local Congress organisations should also give their full support and should organise Mohalla Committees for this purpose wherever possible. Other organisations, like the Bharat Sevak Samaj and many social welfare organisations would no doubt help. The Lok Sahayak Sena, Home Guards, Pranthiya Raksha Dal and like organisations should also be brought into this picture. Government authorities should realise that to meet such a threat the widest popular basis has to be organised. This is not a mere governmental affair. We have to deal not only with the conveniences of the public, but their daily life which will be completely upset by such an irresponsible strike. Therefore, there has to be the closest cooperation between governmental authorities and the public.

12. There should also be this cooperation and liaison between the local Governments and the military authorities. The Chief Secretaries should establish such a liaison with the highest local military authority in the state.

13. I have indicated very briefly above the type of approach we should make to organise the people to meet this threat. I should like to lay stress on the fact that essentially this should be a popular movement and that it should not be looked upon as purely governmental work. Indeed there has to be full cooperation between Government and the people.

14. We considered the embodiment of the Railway and Posts & Telegraphs Territorials. Under normal conditions it is necessary that thirty days' notice should be given for this embodiment, but in an emergency the period of notice can be

reduced. We propose to give ten days' notice for this.

15. It will of course be necessary for the State Governments to keep in constant touch with the Central Government. We have appointed a special Committee of the Central Cabinet to deal with this situation from day to day. We have also appointed a committee of senior Secretaries to Government to help the Cabinet Committee. I suggest that your Government might also have a special committee for this purpose.

16. The purpose of this letter is not to give an exhaustive list of the steps we have to take, but rather to indicate what should be done. You will no doubt elaborate these general indications so as to fit in with the circumstances prevailing in your

particular state.

17. Some of the State Police forces are on deputation in certain disturbed areas or frontiers, such as, Kashmir, Assam, Naga Hills, and Manipur. In view of the emergency, you might perhaps think of asking for these forces to be sent back to your State. But this would not be a proper course and all these forces should remain where they are for the present till at least the threat of the strike is over.

18. For the present we have to deal with the situation as it will arise. But we shall soon have to give thought to a more basic question, that is, the relations of the Government with the vast number of its employees. It is absurd for our national activities to be held up for ransom from time to time. Indeed a general strike such as is envisaged is opposed to the whole concept of the democratic functioning of a State. It must be remembered that such a strike is not the normal trade union approach, but is meant to strike at the very roots of any administration or government. The government apparatus is a machinery to help in the carrying out of the nation's principal activities. If the government apparatus cannot function adequately, then the nation's activities also dry up. If the railways stop, our industries may soon stop too and most other activities will also be affected. A strike of this kind is, therefore, an attack on the life of the nation and of scores of millions of people. At any time this would be undesirable; at a moment like this when we face difficult and dangerous situations on our frontier and on the eve of drawing up our Third Five Year Plan, which will demand a tremendous effort from us, a strike of this kind can only be called not only the height of folly, but

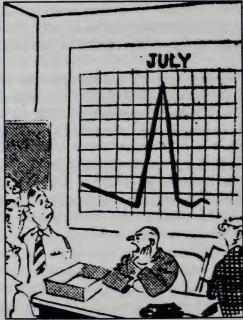
You Said It



As far as my department is concerned it is functioning normally. (From *The Times of India*, 14 July 1960, p. 1)

[STRIKE MEANS ALL WORK AND NO PLAY]

You Said It



What a silly question! Of course I am very happy you are all back to work! (From The Times of India, 20 July 1960, p. 1)

even criminal folly. I cannot understand how any person in India can lend his support to a move which endangers India and which may do grievous injury to all our plans of economic development. The prosperity of our people and our attempts to give them better standards of living may well be powerfully affected. Thus the strike may actually result in lowering standards all round.

19. I wish well to our Central Government employees but it is well-known that they are much better off than State employees. Compared to the normal standards in India, all Government employees are much better off. It is true that we cannot compare our standards with those in the more prosperous countries. The only way to raise our standards is to work hard and to produce more. It is an unfortunate fact that the general standard of work in India is lower than that of most advanced countries. We have far more holidays than other countries have and the intensity of work here is less. Even our attempt to reduce some of these holidays and bring them more in line with other countries is objected to. It is a little difficult to understand how anyone expects India to make rapid progress if our people are not prepared to work hard.

- 20. All this is one aspect of the question. There is another aspect which we must keep in mind. We have thus far not evolved any adequate machinery for the rapid settlement of disputes of this type. The Government way of dealing with such matters is a leisurely way and months and even years pass sometimes before we come to grips with problems. A problem which perhaps could have been solved with greater ease becomes more and more difficult, frustration takes place and passions are roused. All this leads to conflict which is ultimately good for no one.
- 21. Therefore, we must evolve a machinery for the prompt consideration and settlement of any such problem that arises. This of course applies to all kinds of disputes, industrial or other. It applies even more so to disputes between Government and its employees. The machinery should be such as can work almost automatically.
- 22. There is another aspect of this. We talk about the socialist pattern which inevitably involves the growth of public sector. In Communist countries, where the public sector embraces almost everything, no strikes are permitted. In capitalist countries, the public sector is limited and most disputes come under the normal industrial disputes. What then are we to do with our increasing public sector? We cannot proceed along the authoritarian lines of the Communist countries. We must find other ways of settling these disputes as they arise. That means close cooperation of the employer and the employee and a spirit of harmony that must subsist between them. Such a spirit of harmony is difficult where interests clash, as in the employer-employee relations in private industry. In State undertaking there is or should be no such clash of interests. Therefore, it should be easier to build up that psychological and emotional bond which should subsist in all grades of people working for a common cause. Difficulties no doubt will arise, but those difficulties should not be in the nature of class conflict which occurs in landlord-tenant relationship or in a private employer-employee relationship.
- 23. On a proper solution of these problems depends our future growth. Unfortunately in India at present there is a good deal of the spirit of violence. Even petty conflicts or controversies tend to lead to violence. We have to fight this tendency, for out of it only disaster can come. We can only fight it not from a superior governmental point of view, but by the development of the cooperative approach and by spreading the idea of joint work in great endeavours which are common to all. The old boss complex has to be changed.

Yours sincerely, Jawaharlal Nehru

248. To the Council of Ministers 618

Cabinet Secretariat New Delhi, the 4th July, 1960

The undersigned is directed to circulate to Members of the Council of Ministers, the undernoted message received from the Prime Minister:

"The weather here has not been too kind to me and I have thus far not been able to carry out my programme. But I hope to have a chance in the next day or two. I shall return as arranged on the 7th of this month.

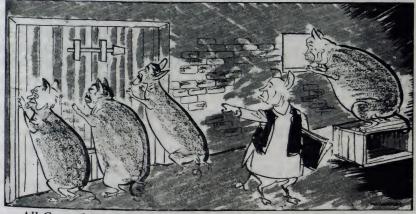
I am rather sorry to be away from Delhi just at this time, but in the balance I thought I ought to keep my engagements. On my return I shall make no further engagements to go out of Delhi.

I would suggest to you to request on my behalf all our Ministers to avoid any touring engagements just at this rather critical period. If they have any such engagement, it would be better to cancel them.

This applies to Secretaries also who should be at their post in Delhi. If they are on leave, they should be asked to come back immediately."

(D.P. Chopra) for Secretary to the Cabinet.

[HUNKERING DOWN] 'Who's Afraid of the Big Bad Wolf!'



All Central Ministers have been instructed to be in headquarters, in view of the threatened Govt. servants' strike.—Report.

[From left: S.K. Patil, Jagjivan Ram, G.L. Nanda, Nehru, G.B. Pant]

(From Shankar's Weekly, 10 July 1960, p. 7)

618. Message, sent from Srinagar; copied to all Secretaries and Additional Secretaries to the GOI. The date of the message is probably 3 July 1960. File No. KS-25/60, MHA.

249. At the CPP⁶¹⁹

Firm Stand by Govt Nehru Explains Policy (From our Correspondent)

New Delhi, July 7.

Prime Minister Nehru, it is learnt, strongly condemned the threatened strike of the Central Government employees when he addressed the Congress Parliamentary Party meeting here to-day. He characterised the strike move as "anti-national", because it would paralyse the country unlike any other strike in industrial enterprises.

Mr. Nehru is understood to have said that Government had taken a firm stand because they were convinced that it was a right stand. But even if the employees were convinced that the Government was wrong, it was not the proper time, when the country was facing serious political and economic problems, for Government staff to go on strike which threatened to paralyse the entire administration. 620

Mr. Nehru, who returned from Kashmir this morning, said that he found the Defence arrangements in the northern borders quite satisfactory and that the morale of the armed forces was excellent.

A note outlining the benefits given to the Central Government employees was circulated to the members of the Party at the meeting. The note points out that about seven lakhs of Central Government employees constituting 40 per cent of the total strength of Central Government employees stood to benefit from Government's decision to accept the recommendations of the Pay Commission.

About 40 members of the Congress Parliamentary Party present in Delhi attended the one-hour meeting which discussed preparations to meet the threatened strike.

Mr. Nehru was present at the meeting for less than half an hour. After he left the Chair was taken by the Union Labour Minister, Mr. Gulzarilal Nanda.

^{619.} Speech, 7 July 1960. The Hindu, 8 July 1960.

^{620.} For discussion in the Cabinet on 1 and 7 July 1960 on the unrest among Central Government employees, see Appendices 55 and 68.

250. To the Nation⁶²¹

भाइयों और बिहनों, आज मैं कश्मीर से वापस आया। मैं वहां कोई सेहत के लिए या आराम के लिए नहीं गया था, यह नामुनासिब होता, जबिक देश के सामने बड़ी कठिन समस्याएं हैं। मैं वहाँ गया था ख़ासतीर से लद्दाख़ जाने को, तािक मैं खुद वहां के लोगों को देखूँ और ख़ासकर हमारे जो फ़ौजी लोग वहां हैं और किस तरह से वो वहां रहते हैं। मैं वहां से वािपस आया हूँ और दो तस्वीरें अपने दिमाग में लेकर। एक तो तस्वीर है हिमालय पहाड़ की बर्फ से ढकी हुई चट्टानें और चोटियां जो कि हमारी सीमा पर, युगों से एक सिपाही की तरह से खड़ी हैं। बहुत सारी ऐसी चोटियां मैंने देखीं जिनको मैं पहचानता था, बहुत सारे ग्लेशियर और बर्फ के मैदान, और ऐसे भी बड़े-बड़े पहाड़ जहां कुछ भी नहीं था, न पेड़, न दरख्त, खाली एक शान थी, एक शक्ति थी, और एक सौंदर्य था। एक बड़ा हिस्सा इस इलाक का बड़े हिमालय के उस पार है और इस वजह से बादल बारिश के बादल रुक जाते हैं, वहां नहीं जाते हैं, उधर पानी नहीं बरसता। और इतनी ऊँचाई है कि कोई दरख्त भी नहीं निकल सकते। कहीं कहीं दरिया होता है तो कुछ घास या कोई और ऐसी छोटी चीज निकल आती है, नहीं तो वो एक नंगा देश है, सख़्त, और जरा डरावना सा देखने में, लेकिन फिर भी जो लोग उसको एक दोस्त की निगाह से देखें. उनके लिए उसमें कोई डर नहीं है।

इन पहाड़ों में हमारे फौज के और पुलिस के लोग रहते हैं और हिन्दुस्तान की सीमा की हिफाजत करते हैं। अगर सड़क-सड़क वहां कोई जाये तो हफ्तों या महीनों में वहां पहुंचे। लेकिन हर चीज हमें जो वहां भेजनी पड़ती है वो हवा से, और हमारे हवा के पाईलट्स रोज हिम्मत से इन खतरनाक पहाड़ों में उड़कर वहां सामान पहुंचाते हैं। बहुत कम जगह वहां हैं जिसमें वहां उतर सकें। इन पहाड़ों में उड़कर और घंटों तक उनके साथ रहकर उस बर्फ में एक अजीब मेरे दिल पर और दिमाग पर असर हुआ। कहीं कहीं मैं उतरा और वहां अपनी फौज और एयरफोर्स के लोगों से और पुलिस और मिलिशिया वालों से मिला। अक्सर जगह वो पंद्रह हजार फीट के ऊपर उनका कैम्प था और उनके जो और सिपाही बाज सिपाही जो जो पहरा देते थे, वो तो और भी आगे थे। जहां से वो जो हमारे मुखालिफ सिपाही थे उनको देख तक सकते थे। तो अपने सिपाहियों से मैं मिला वहां, बातचीत की और जितना मैं उनसे मिला हूँ मुझे गरूर हुआ। क्योंकि यह ऐसे नौजवान थे कि जिससे अच्छे आपको कहीं दुनिया में नहीं मिलेंगे। एक शिकायत का लफ्ज नहीं उनके मुँह से निकला और मैंने उनको देखा अपना काम खुशी से और अच्छाई से करते हुए। मैं वापिस आया हूँ इस तस्वीर को लेके अपने लोगों की, जो कि हर हिन्दुस्तान के हिस्से से आये थे और दक्षिण से भी और मुझे इस बात का इत्मीनान हुआ कि जो मुश्किल से मुश्किल काम उन्हें दिया गया है यानी हिन्दुस्तान की रक्षा करना, उसको वो शान से और अच्छी तरह से करेंगे। कहा गया है कि आजादी की कीमत हमेशा होशियार रहना है। अगर यह बात सही है तो, जो कि है, तो मैंने देखा होशियारी, हर वक्त की तैयारी और एक हिम्मत और मजबूती से काम करना।

यह तो एक तस्वीर थी, और तस्वीरें दूसरे किस्म की थीं। वो यह जो एक धमकी जनरल स्ट्राइक की दी गयी है, सेंट्रल गवर्नमेंट के कर्मचारियों की तरफ से। यह दो तस्वीरें कुछ मेरी समझ में नहीं

^{621.} Broadcast from All India Radio, 7 July 1960. AIR tapes, NMML. Nehru spoke in Hindi and English.

आयीं क्योंकि मिलती जुलती नहीं थी। एक तरफ हिम्मत और मौत का सामना करना, और दूसरी तरफ एक कोशिश, या तो जानकर या अनजान, जिसका नतीजा यही हो, कि हमारी फौज का काम कमजोर हो जाये, हमारी रक्षा मुल्क की ठीक नहीं हो सके। और जो बड़े काम हम देश में करना चाहते हैं वो भी न हो सकें। मैंने सोचा कि किस तरह से ऐसे खतरनाक वक्त में कोई आदमी इस बात को सोच सकता है। क्या वो भूल गये कि क्या खतरे हैं हिन्दुस्तान के सामने? और जो हम जबर्दस्त कोशिश कर रहे हैं सारे मुल्क में कि किसी तरह से गरीबी के दलदल से निकलकर हम आगे बढ़ें और एक नये भारत को बनायें। क्या वो भूल गये कि असल में इस वक्त हिन्दुस्तान के और हिन्दुस्तान के रहने वालों के लिए बड़ा सवाल है कि वो आज़ादी कायम भी रहे कि नहीं? मुझे यकीन नहीं आया कि कुछ लोग ऐसी बुनियादी बातों को भूल जायेंगे। शायद उन्होंने सोचा न हो लेकिन फिर उनके जो लीडर हैं, नेता हैं, उनको तो सोचना चाहिए था। हो सकता है कुछ लोग ऐसे हों जिनमें कोई मातृभूमि का कोई प्रेम न हो और कोई राष्ट्रीयता न हो और जो कि शायद यह भी पसंद करें कि हिन्दुस्तान कमजोर हो जाये, लेकिन आमतौर से ऐसा तो नहीं लोग समझते, क्योंकि जहां एक देश के भविष्य का प्रश्न हो वहां कोई दुकानदारी नहीं हो सकती है। बहुत कुछ कहा गया है इस जनरल स्ट्राइक के बारे में, मैं उसको दोहराना नहीं चाहता क्योंकि मेरी राय में जहां इतने बड़े सवाल भारत के भविष्य के हमारे सामने हों, तब कोई बहस नहीं उठती है। इसलिए मेरी राय है कि अगर हमारी गवर्नमेंट ने गलतियां भी की हैं अपने फैसलों में, तब भी कोई ऐसी बात न हुई है, न हो सकती है, जो कि एक जनरल स्ट्राइक को ठीक कह सके। क्योंकि ऐसी जनरल स्ट्राइक से एक खतरनाक धक्का मुल्क को पड़ता है। जरा आप सोचें, एक तरफ हमारे सिपाही ऊँचे पहाड़ों पर खतरों से भरी हुई जगह खड़े हैं। क्या हम उनको उनका खाना जो उनका ज़रूरी सामान है उसको भेजना बन्द कर दें? यही नतीजा होगा इस स्टाइक का अगर वो कामयाब हो। क्या हम खाने का सामान मुल्क में एक जगह से दूसरी जगह न भेजें जहां उसकी जरूरत है। यह हमारे लोगों के लिए कोई खिदमत होगी? क्या हम जो कोयला वगैरह जो चीजें भेजी जाती हैं, ताकि हमारे कारखाने चलें या खेती का सामान भी जिसकी जरूरत है, भेजा जाता है, क्या हम उसको रोक दें? क्या कोई भी बहस इन बातों को बेज़ा कह सकता है?

अभी हमारी तीसरी पंचवर्षीय योजना का एक मसौदा निकला है। आप देखेंगे इसको कि एक कोशिश है मुल्क को आगे तेजी से ले जाने के लिए, और इस गरीबी की मुसीबत से निकाल कर और अंधेरे से एक खुशहाली की रोशनी में ले जाना। क्या हमारा जवाब इस पंचवर्षीय योजना के मसिवदे का यह हो कि हम इस सारी कोशिश को खराब करने की कोशिश करें? और जो हमारा ख्वाब है उसको और भी दूर कर दें। मैं चाहता हूँ कि आप काफी गौर से इन मसलों पर गौर करें। यह कोई छोटी बात नहीं है या न यह मामूली स्ट्राइक है, या जो किसी इंडस्ट्री में उद्योग धंधों में बहस होती है। जनरल स्ट्राइक इस किस्म की, यह सारे मुल्क पर एक हमला है सारी कौम पर, सब लोगों पर और कभी भी इस किस्म की स्ट्राइक ठीक नहीं हो सकती। इसलिए जैसे मैंने आपसे कहा अगर गवर्नमेंट ने गलतियां भी की हैं, तब भी इस बात को याद रखना है, क्योंकि यह जनरल स्ट्राइक एक इंडस्ट्रियल डिसप्यूट जो ट्रेड यूनियन डिसप्यूट्स होती हैं वैसी नहीं है, उससे बिल्कुल अलग है दूसरे किस्म की है और गालिबन उसके पीछे जो नीयत है वो दूसरी है। अगर वो कामयाब हो तो उससे किसी को फायदा न हो, खाली मुल्क भर में एक झगड़ा फसाद हो, और काम कोई ढंग से न हो सके। इसलिए जो लोग झगड़ा फसाद चाहते हैं और जो लोग नहीं चाहते कि मुल्क की

तरक्की हो भविष्य में, जहां तक हम देख सकते हैं वही उसको पसंद कर सकते हैं। अगर आप इन सब बातों को अपने सामने रखें, तो यकीनन आप इस के खतरे को समझ जायेंगे।

क्या बहसें पेश होती हैं इस जनरल स्ट्राइक के लिए? एक तो यह है कि कम से कम तनख्वाह 125 होनी चाहिए और यह dearness allowance जो है मंहगाई की उसको price index से जोड़ देना चाहिए। आप जानते हैं कि एक बड़े ऊँचे दर्जे का Pay Commission मुकर्रर हुआ था जिसके चैयरमैन सुप्रीम कोर्ट के एक जज थे, और उन्होंने इन मसलों पर बहुत गौर किया। हमारे लिये या किसी के लिए नामुनासिब हो कि हम ऐसे बड़े Commission के फैसलों को ठुकरा दें। इसलिए हमने उन्हें मंज़ूर किया है, जितने उनमें बड़े बड़े फैसले हैं, और हम तैयार हैं कि और भी जो उनकी बातें हैं, उस Pay Commission के दायरे में जो हैं, उनकी रिपोर्ट में जो उन्होंने सिफारिशें की हैं, उन पर भी हम गौर करें, करके मंज़ूर करने को तैयार हैं। Dearness allowance तक के बारे में Pay Commission ने चंद एक शरायत रखी हैं, वो शरायत पूरी हो जायें तो हम तैयार हैं उनकी राय को मंज़ूर करने के लिए और उसकी जांच पड़ताल करने को।

Pay Commission ने आपको मालूम हो कि कम से कम तनख्वाह को दस रुपये से बढ़ाया यानी अस्सी रुपये कर दिया, और बहुत सारे और फायदे भी कर्मचारियों के लिए उन्होंने स्वीकार किये हैं। इनके मंज़ूर करने से हमारी गवर्नमेंट का सालाना खर्चा चालीस-पचास करोड़ तक बढ़ गया है। अगर हम जो नयी मांगें पेश हो रही हैं अब, जनरल स्ट्राइक के सिलसिले में, उनको मंजूर करें तो अस्सी से सौ करोड़ सालाना और हमारा खर्च बढ़ जाये। और अलावा इसके इसका असर हो जो राज्यों के कर्मचारी हैं, और जिनकी तनख्वाहें केन्द्रीय हुकूमत के कर्मचारियों से कम हैं। इस तरह से हो सकता है खर्चा करीब डेढ़ सौ करोड़ रुपये सालाना बढ़ जाये। अगर पांच बरस को आप जोड़िये तो हमारे पंचवर्षीय योजना के लिए सात सौ करोड़ का खर्चा बढ़ जाये। यह कहीं हो सकता है, मुमिकन है? आप ग़ौर करें। सारी हमारी योजना बनाना खत्म हो जाये। कोई भी गवर्नमेंट हो, इसको मंज़ूर नहीं कर सकती। हम समझते हैं कि गवर्नमेंट का फर्ज है कि अपने कर्मचारियों की भलाई करे और उनका फायदा करे। लेकिन उसी के साथ यह भी आप याद रखें कि गवर्नमेंट का यह भी फर्ज है कि देश का कोई नुकसान न हो। कर्मचारियों के अलावा लोग भी गवर्नमेंट के सामने हर वक्त रहे हैं और खाली गवर्नमेंट को नहीं, जो गवर्नमेंट के कर्मचारी हैं उनको भी सोचना है कि आखिर हम सभों को मिलकर सारे देश की सेवा करनी है। जहां वो अपने को और देश को अलग कर लें और खाली अपने लाभ को सोचें चाहे देश का नुकसान भी हो, तब वो गलत रास्ते पर हैं। इसलिए मैं कहता हूँ कि यह जनरल स्ट्राइक का ख़्याल बिल्कुल गैर जिम्मेदाराना है, और हानिकारक है। और अगर वो सिलसिला चला तो जाने क्या क्या शक्तियां खुल जाएं जिससे मुल्क को नुकसान हो, खासकर आजकल जो हमारे सामने ऐसे पेचीदा मसले हैं। मेरी समझ में नहीं आता कैसे कोई शख़्त ऐसे कदम को उठाने की सोच भी सकता है। क्योंकि यह कदम बनाने का नहीं है, तरक्की का नहीं है यह बिगाड़ने का और तोड़ने का है और मैं चाहता हूँ कि आप गौर करें कि कितना फायदा Pay Commission की तजवीज से हो चुका है। हमने उसकी असली तजवीजें मंज़ूर कर लीं और हम तैयार हैं कि और भी बातें जो उनकी कोई भी सिफारिश हो उस पर गौर करें उसको मंज़ूर कर लें अगर उसके दायरे में हैं। कई बातें और भी हैं जो हम मंज़ूर कर चुके हैं, gratuity, छुट्टियां सफर के बारे में, मकान के किराये के बारे में और उस बात पर भी हम गौर करने को तैयार हैं। और बातों पर भी हम गौर करने को तैयार हैं कि कैसे इन बातों पर अमल हो, सलाह मशवरे से। गवर्नमेंट चाहती है कि कोई ऐसा तरीका निकले, जिससे जब कोई बहस हो उसको सलाह मशवरे से तय किया जाये, बजाय इसके कि झगड़े फसाद उसमें हों। इस पर हम गौर करेंगे।

मैं आपसे आखिर में प्रार्थना करता हूँ कि आप इस बड़ी तस्वीर को हमारे मुल्क की देखें, मुल्क की तकलीफ, मुल्क की कोशिशें और जो यात्रा पर वो निकली है। अगर आप यह करेंगे तो मुझे यकीन है कि आप स्ट्राइक के ख्याल को छोड़ देंगे। और हमेशा याद रखिए वो हमारे सिपाही जो पहाड़ की चोटियों पर बैठे हैं, मुल्क की हिफाजत करते हैं। जय हिन्द। 622

Friends and Comrades,

I returned today from Kashmir. I did not go there for a holiday or for reasons of health. That would have been improper when difficult and vital problems face the country. I went there chiefly to visit various areas in Ladakh and to see for myself how our people there, and especially our Defence forces, were faring in these distant and difficult parts of our country. I have come back with two vivid pictures in my mind.

One of these pictures is of the mighty Himalayas and their snow-covered and rugged peaks which have stood as sentinels on our borders for long ages past. I saw many a well-remembered and friendly peak and glaciers and snowfields, as well as mighty mountains bare of almost everything except their dignity and strength and beauty. Part of this territory was across the great Himalayan range which effectively stopped the rain clouds from going across. And so we reach an area dry and almost rainless and above the altitude where trees grow. At the most, where there is a river, there is some grass or shrubs, otherwise it is bare land, stern and forbidding in its aspects, but friendly to those who look upon it with a friend's eyes.

In these mountain ranges and passes, there stand the men of our army and our police forces ever on guard, defending India's borders. The normal journey to them by land may take weeks or even months. Every kind of food or other supplies have to be sent to them by air, and our intrepid airmen carry these daily, braving every hazard of these high mountain regions, where it is not possible to land except in very few selected places.

It gave me a thrill to go with these airmen, flying sometimes at 19,000 feet over many snow-covered mountain peaks and keeping company with this magnificent scenery for hours.

I came down in some places and met the men of our Army and Air Force and Militia and Police. They were camped at various altitudes up to nearly 15,000

^{622.} The following is Nehru's speech in English. Newspapers do not mention whether Nehru spoke first in Hindi or in English.

feet. Often, their outposts were within sight of unfriendly outposts on the other side. I talked to many of our people there and the more I saw of them the more I admired them, for they were as fine a body of young men as you would find anywhere in the wide world. Not a word of complaint came from them, and I saw them doing their work with efficiency and good humour. I came hack proud of those countrymen of mine who had been drawn from every part of India even the far South and I felt convinced that they were worthy of the great tasks allotted to them for the defence of India. If eternal vigilance is the price of liberty, as it is, here was vigilance, efficiency, determination and calm courage.

That was one picture. The other was of a very different kind. It was a threat of a general strike by some of the employees of the Central Government in various activities. I could not reconcile these two pictures for they contradicted each other. There was high courage even unto death on the one side, and there was on the other side an attempt, deliberate or unwitting, which could only lead to weakening our defences and our economy and in [sic] darkening the future for which we are labouring.

How could it be, I wondered, that this should be so at a moment of trial and danger to our motherland? Have we forgotten the basic issues of our time, the dangers that threaten our country, and the mighty effort that our people are making to get out of the rut of poverty and build a new India, the struggle for survival that is before us all? I could not believe that many of our people could be careless of these basic issues. It must be through thoughtlessness that they have drifted into wrong courses. But, surely their leaders and advisers ought to realize the consequences of what they were saying. We know that there are some amongst us who, perhaps, feel little the passion that is called patriotism or nationalism, and who would even welcome the weakening of our country. But others surely do not feel that way. There can never be any question of bargaining when the country's future or even existence is at stake.

Much has been said about the proposed general strike. I do not wish to repeat it here because, in my opinion, where the interests and the safety and the future of India are concerned, no argument can outweigh them. And, therefore, I believe that even if our Government was wrong in any decisions that it may have made, even so, nothing that has happened, or can happen, can justify such a general strike which may well deal a dangerous blow to our country.

Think of it. There our soldiers stand in the high mountains, braving the elements and human dangers. Are we to stop sending food and supplies to them? That would be the result of a successful strike. Are we to stop movement of food grains across our country to places where they are needed? Would that be a service to our people? Are we to stop or delay the movement of coal and many other articles which are necessary for the functioning of our industry, or even our agriculture? How can any argument justify this attack on our people and our country as a whole?

Only the other day, the draft of the Third Five Year Plan was issued for public comment. Here is a plan aiming high and demanding the utmost effort of all our people so that we may emerge from the valley of the shadow of poverty to the bright sunlight of welfare. Is the response to this to be to sabotage this whole effort and to delay indefinitely the realization of our dream?

That is what I would earnestly beg of you all to consider. For, this is no small matter and it has nothing to do with the normal industrial disputes and strikes. A general strike of this kind or any kind is a blow at the nation and at the community as a whole and can never be justified. Even if, as I have said, the Government has committed mistakes or errors, let us be clear about it. The proposed general strike is not a normal industrial dispute but something different in quality and different in intent. The success of it would bring no betterment for anybody, but only chaotic conditions. Only those, therefore, who want to bring about these conditions in the country and thus to delay any progress in the foreseeable future can welcome it. I am sure if all these facts are kept in mind, all of us will realize the danger and the infinite harm of such a step.

But what are the reasons advanced for such a strike and what are the demands made? The principal demands are for a minimum wage which may go up to Rs 125 and a linking of the dearness allowance with the price index. You know that a high-powered Pay Commission under the chairmanship of an eminent judge of the Supreme Court was appointed, and they considered these matters at great length. It would in any event have been unbecoming of the Government or of anyone to discard the recommendations of this Pay Commission. We have accepted them, or their main recommendations, which have a financial bearing. Within the limits of the Pay Commission's recommendations, we are always prepared to consider other matters too. Even in regard to the dearness allowance, the Pay Commission has laid down certain conditions for a review, and we accept their advice in this matter.

According to the Pay Commission's advice, the minimum wage has been raised by Rs 10 to Rs 80, and many other benefits have also been conferred in regard to annual increments, etc. The acceptance of these recommendations of the Pay Commission is going to add Rs 40 to 50 crores a year to the Central Government's expenditure. If we were to accept the demands being made upon us now, this would mean an additional 80 to possibly 100 crores of rupees per annum. Not only that, but it would have inevitable repercussions on the employees of state Governments whose salaries and emoluments compare unfavourably with those of Central Government employees.

In effect, therefore, the additional expenditure might well be Rs 150 crores per annum, apart from what we have already agreed to. Thus, in the Five Year Plan, this would mean about Rs 700 crores or more. Is this feasible? Is it even just from the point of view of the nation and the community? What would happen to all our planning and all our development if we agreed to this? Remember also

[THE TIGER IN THE ROOM]



[From left: Nehru, G.L. Nanda] (From *The Times of India*, 10 July 1960, p. 1)

that if we went beyond the recommendations of the Pay Commission in major matters, this might well involve us in the risk of starting an inflationary spiral which would take away any benefit which might come from a wage increase and would gravely impair the capacity of the country to implement the Third Plan.

Manifestly no government, whatever its texture, could agree to such demands. We recognize fully that the Government must be a good employer and that our employees must be given a fair deal and conditions of life which enable them to work effectively and happily. We have tried our best to ensure this and we shall go on doing so in the future. Ultimately, however, what we can afford depends on the expansion of our economy and the growth of our production and wealth. It depends on the hard work we put in. It is for this reason that we draw up our Five Year Plans, which will bring increasing welfare to Government's employees as well as to the people at large.

Government has a duty to their employees; they have also a duty to the community at large. So indeed, have the employees of Government, for they are not merely salary and wage earners, they have the privilege of being engaged in the high task of building a new India. They have to look upon their work in this light, and they have to consider their own welfare in terms of the welfare of the whole country. The moment they isolate themselves from the rest of the country

and its growth and think only narrowly of some immediate benefit even at the cost of the nation's growth they have misconceived their work and they have ultimately done injury even to themselves.

I do feel, therefore, that this proposal for a general strike is irresponsible and harmful. It may well let loose forces which will do great injury to our nation. More particularly, at this time when we have to face crucial problems, I cannot understand how any person can lightly think of a step of this kind, for it is a step not for construction or progress, but one which can only lead to destructive forces being let loose.

I should like you to consider the benefits that come from the recommendations of the Pay Commission. We have already accepted the major ones, and we are prepared to accept a number of other recommendations which will be of considerable help to Government's employees, thus, in regard to gratuities, leave, travel concessions, house rent and other matters. Indeed, we are prepared to give favourable consideration to any of the Pay Commission's recommendations involving financial consequences. We are also anxious that there should be a proper method for the implementation of the decisions made and that arrangements should be made for joint consultation and negotiation between representatives of Government and employees in regard to implementation.

Government is anxious to give a fair deal to its employees and to confer and consult them through appropriate machinery. Indeed, I think that this business of strikes in regard to services which are of essential importance to the public is wholly out of date and improper. Government and its employees are the servants of the public and none of us has a right to inconvenience or do harm to the great public whom we are supposed to serve. Therefore, we should devise adequate machinery for the quick and satisfactory settlement of any disputes that may arise from time to time, and not rely on these out of date methods of strikes or lockouts. We talk of peace in the world. It would be an irony of fate if we cannot keep peace in our own country and settle our points of difference in a civilized and peaceful manner.

I appeal to you, therefore, to look at this broad picture of our great country in travail, trying with all its might to march forward to prosperity. Do not do anything which might come in the way of this great adventure. And remember always those countrymen of ours who stand as sentinels on these high mountain peaks, relying on us here to back them up and to give them all the help and support that we can. Let this idea of a general strike be given up. Let us adopt other methods of peaceful consultation to settle such problems as may arise.

Jai Hind.

251. To B.C. Roy⁶²³

7 July 1960

My dear Bidhan,

I returned today from Kashmir and I have just made a broadcast on the AIR.624

We are having daily meetings of our Special Cabinet Committee and some times of the Cabinet itself to consider the strike situation. As you know, there are a number of Central Government offices in Calcutta as in some other cities. We felt that in the emergency that is arising, we should try to coordinate the work of these Central Government offices. It may well be that communications are very limited in future. We have, therefore, decided to send some of our senior officers to some of the principal State capitals where there are many Central Government offices. I want to make it clear that the officers we are sending will not in any way interfere with the State Government's administration which, of course, is wholly the responsibility of the State Government. Their primary duty is to coordinate the activities of the Central Government Departments and to maintain liaison with the State Governments, more especially when communications are interrupted.

With this end in view, we are sending to Calcutta one of our senior men, S.S. Khera, Secretary of our Ministry of Steel, Mines & Fuel. He is a good and efficient man. He will keep in touch with your Chief Secretary and will, no doubt, call on you.

Yours affectionately, [Jawahar]

252. To K. Kamaraj⁶²⁶

7 July 1960

My dear Kamaraj,627

In view of the possibility of communications being dislocated because of the general strike, we are sending some of our senior officers to some of the principal State capitals with a view to coordinating the activities of the Government of India offices and Departments there, and to advise them where necessary. For

^{623.} Letter.

^{624.} See item 250.

^{625.} See Appendix 69.

^{626.} Letter.

^{627.} The Chief Minister of Madras.

^{628.} See Appendix 69.

this purpose, we are deputing one of our Secretaries, S. Ranganathan, ⁶²⁹ to keep in touch with Central Government offices in Madras and Hyderabad and to keep in touch with the State Governments on behalf of the Government of India. He will, of course, not interfere in any way with the work of the State Government. I hope you will find his presence there useful.

Yours sincerely, Jawaharlal Nehru

253. To Y.B. Chavan⁶³⁰

7 July 1960

My dear Chavan,

In view of the possibility of communications being dislocated because of the general strike, we have felt that we should depute a senior officer to some of the principal State capitals where there are a large number of Central Government organizations. Bombay has many such, and their activities should be coordinated. Such an officer will not, of course, interfere in any way in the work of the State Government, but he should keep in touch with that Government.

In Bombay, we have already got one of our senior men, P.N. Thapar, who is functioning in the Atomic Energy Department.⁶³² We are asking him to keep in touch with all the Central Government offices there as well as with your Government.

Yours sincerely, Jawaharlal Nehru

254. To Sampurnanand⁶³³

7 July 1960

My dear Sampurnanand,

It is just possible that communications might be dislocated because of the general strike and we will not be able to send proper directions to Central Government offices situated in State capitals. We have, therefore, decided to send senior

629. Secretary, Ministry of Commerce and Industry.

630. Letter.

631. See Appendix 69.

632. Member for Finance and Administration, Atomic Energy Commission.

Secretaries to some of these State capitals to coordinate the activities of the Government of India offices there. I want to make it quite clear that they are not meant to interfere in any way with the State Government's work, but of course they should keep in touch with it. We are deputing Shankar Prasad, one of our Secretaries, to Lucknow and Patna with this object in view. I hope you will find his presence useful.

Yours sincerely, Jawaharlal Nehru

255. To D. Sanjivayya 636

7 July 1960

My dear Sanjivayya,

As there is a possibility of communications being dislocated and our not being able to keep in touch with Central Government offices in State capitals, we are sending some of our senior officers to those State capitals. They are supposed to coordinate the activities of the Central Government offices and advise them as the need arises. Of course, they will keep in touch with the State Government, but they will not interfere in any way with the activities of the State Government.

We are deputing S. Ranganathan, one of our Secretaries, to Madras and Hyderabad for this purpose. I hope you will find his presence useful.

Yours sincerely, Jawaharlal Nehru

256. To Sri Krishna Sinha⁶³⁸

7 July 1960

My dear Sri Babu, 639

As there is a possibility of communications being dislocated because of the general strike and our not being able to send directions to Central Government offices elsewhere, we have decided to send some of our Secretaries to State capitals to

^{634.} See Appendix 69.

^{635.} Secretary, Kashmir Affairs.

^{636.} Letter.

^{637.} See Appendix 69.

^{638.} Letter.

^{639.} The Chief Minister of Bihar.

coordinate the activities of the Central Government offices there and, of course, to keep in touch with the State Government.⁶⁴⁰ They are not supposed to interfere in any way with the State Government's work or responsibility. We are deputing Shankar Prasad, one of our Secretaries, to Lucknow and Patna for this purpose. I hope you will find his presence useful in the troubled times ahead.

Yours sincerely, Jawaharlal Nehru

257. To Mohanlal Sukhadia⁶⁴¹

7 July 1960

My dear Sukhadia,

The general strike may well result in dislocation of communications. The Central Government has many offices in State capitals. We have, therefore, decided to send some of our senior officers to State capitals to help in coordinating the work of the Central Government offices and to give them advice where necessary.⁶⁴² They will not, of course, interfere in any way with the State Government's work or responsibility, but we hope they will keep in intimate touch with the State Government.

For this purpose, we are sending M.R. Sachdev,⁶⁴³ one of our Secretaries, to Rajasthan. He will also keep in touch with the Punjab from this point of view. I hope you will find his presence useful.

Yours sincerely, Jawaharlal Nehru

258. To Partap Singh Kairon⁶⁴⁴

7 July 1960

My dear Partap Singh,

As you know, Central Government offices are spread out all over India, many of them being in State capitals. In the event of dislocation of communications because of the general strike, we have decided to send some of our senior officers to State capitals to coordinate the activities of the Central Government offices and

640. See Appendix 69.

641. Letter.

642. See Appendix 69.

643. Secretary, Ministry of Works, Housing and Supply.

to advise them where necessary.⁶⁴⁵ Such officers will, of course, keep in touch with the State Government, but will not interfere in any way with the work or responsibilities of the State Government.

For this purpose, we are deputing M.R. Sachdev to Rajasthan and the Punjab. You may know him well.

Yours sincerely, Jawaharlal Nehru

259. To B. Shiva Rao⁶⁴⁶

9 July 1960

My dear Shiva Rao,

Thank you for your letter of July 9th. 647 I am anxious that adequate machinery should be established for the settlement of any problems that might arise. I think you are right in saying that we have delayed this matter. As a matter of fact, some time ago, we referred a recommendation of the Pay Commission in regard to Whitley Councils and the like, to a Committee for their report. We shall now expedite this matter. If necessity arises, we shall send for a person who has experience of the working of Whitley Councils.

Yours sincerely Jawaharlal Nehru

260. To Kesho Ram⁶⁴⁸

Please write to the District Magistrate of Meerut saying that I have received a letter from the District Congress Committee of Meerut offering the services of 1200 more or less trained Seva Dal people to help in the present emergency created by the strike. 649 The District Magistrate might get in touch with the District Congress Committee and discuss with them how to utilise these services.

^{645.} See Appendix 69.

^{646.} Letter. B. Shiva Rao Papers, NMML. Also available in JN Collection and File No. 35 (42)/57-66-PM, Prime Minister's Office.

^{647.} See Appendix 74.

^{648.} Note, 12 July 1960. File No. 26 (9)/60-H, Prime Minister's Office.

^{649.} In his letter of 1 July, Kedarnath Vaidya, Organising Secretary, Meerut DCC, offered the services of 1,200 Congress Seva Dal volunteers to assist in postal arrangements in rural areas during the threatened strike. He also stated that even one lakh volunteers could be arranged at short notice to do any kind of work.

2. Please also write to the District Congress Committee and request them to get in touch with the District Magistrate in this matter.

261. To B. Shiva Rao⁶⁵⁰

13 July 1960

My dear Shiva Rao,

Thank you for your letter of July 12th⁶⁵¹ and the papers you have sent. I have no doubt that these papers will be helpful, but I am afraid it will not be easy for us to look into them very soon. As you will realise, we are heavily occupied at present with various developments.

I am sending your letter with papers to the Cabinet Secretary. 652

Yours sincerely, Jawaharlal Nehru

262. To Gulzarilal Nanda⁶⁵³

13 July 1960

My dear Gulzarilal,654

I have your letter of today's date with which you have sent me a letter from P.K. Vasudevan Nair. I think you should send him a reply, if you have not already done so. You may point out that all kinds of social organisations, women's organisations, etc. who have nothing to do with political parties, have offered to help in carrying on essential services in view of the strike. This was not strictly a political matter, although it may have political implications. It was to keep in line

- 650. Letter. B. Shiva Rao Papers, NMML.
- 651. See Appendix 80.
- 652. Forwarding Shiva Rao's letter and its enclosures to Vishnu Sahay, Nehru wrote: "These relate to Whitley Council procedures. They will be useful to us in considering these questions. For the present, we are, of course, much too busy with other matters. Still, it would be desirable to deal with this question before long."
- 653. Letter.
- 654. Minister of Labour & Employment and Planning.
- 655. Vasudevan Nair, CPI, Lok Sabha MP from Thiruvella, Kerala, and Secretary of the Communist Parliamentary Group, in a statement issued in New Delhi on 9 July, had condemned the promulgation of the Essential Services Maintenance Ordinance.

with this that the Bharat Sevak Samaj also decided to do so in order to serve the public when they were being gravely inconvenienced.

Yours sincerely, Jawaharlal Nehru

263. To B.K. Chandiwala 656

13 जुलाई 1960

प्रिय ब्रजकृष्ण,

तुम्हारा 13 जुलाई का पत्र मिला ।⁶⁵⁷ मैंने सुना है कि भारत सेवक समाज ने इस हड़ताल के सम्बन्ध में अच्छा काम किया। मुझे खास फिकर है कि चीजों के भाव न बढ़ें और इसलिए मैं चाहता हूँ भारत सेवक समाज के लोग इधर खास ध्यान देते रहें।

और जो तुमने लिखा है वह बात बिल्कुल ठीक है। इस हड़ताल के बाद भी इस काम को जारी रखना चाहिए और लोगों से सम्पर्क बढ़ाना चाहिए।

> तुम्हारा जवाहरलाल नेहरु

[Translation begins:

13 July 1960

Dear Brij Krishen,

I have your letter of the 13th July.⁶⁵⁸ I am told that the Bharat Sevak Samaj has done good work during the recent strike. I am especially concerned that the prices of commodities should not rise, and therefore I want that the volunteers of the Bharat Sevak Samaj should continue to pay special attention in this regard.

What you have written is quite correct. This work should be continued even after the strike and contacts with the people should be developed.

Yours sincerely, Jawaharlal Nehru

Translation ends]

^{656.} Letter. B.K. Chandiwala Papers, NMML. Also available in JN Collection..

^{657.} See Appendix 84.

^{658.} See fn 657 in this section.

264. To Sampurnanand⁶⁵⁹

16 July 1960

My dear Sampurnanand,

Your letter of July 13th. There has been no compromise over the strike. I have just learnt that the strike has been completely called off.

I agree with much that you say in your letter. But the old approach of high officials or Ministers being far above the common level does not fit in with modern conditions. Ministers of the U.K. Government are constantly conferring with trade union leaders in England. In fact, in the Whitley Councils, the procedure of consultation has been laid down.

There has been no announcement on the part of the Government accepting the principle of a basic pay of Rs. 125/-.

Yours sincerely, Jawaharlal Nehru

[STRIKES CANNOT BE CALLED OFF]

You Said It



They have been pretty firm this time—let us ask them if we could at least withdraw our strike notice! (From The Times of India, 15 July 1960, p. 1)

265. To P. Subbarayan⁶⁶⁰

21 July 1960

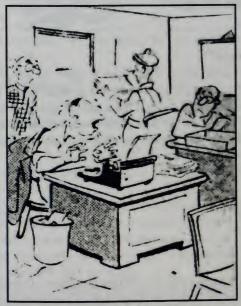
My dear Subbarayan,

I enclose a letter I have received from the National Federation of P.&T. employees. Could you kindly deal with this matter and have the letter acknowledged in terms of our decisions? We have, of course, absolutely no desire to victimise people, but at the same time where serious breaches of discipline occurred, it would be wrong on our part to ignore them.

Yours affectionately, Jawaharlal Nehru

[NO VICTIMIZATION, ONLY WORK]

You Said It



We were assured there wouldn't be victimisation—and yet it has been nothing but work, work, work since returning to duty!

(From *The Times of India*, 26 July 1960, p. 1)

266. To Sham Nath⁶⁶¹

22 July 1960

My dear Mr. Mayor,

Thank you for your letter of July 22 sending me a copy of a resolution adopted at a meeting of the citizens of Delhi on the 19th July.⁶⁶²

I should like to express my warm appreciation of the efforts of the citizens committee that you formed to meet the threat of the general strike. Your committee, and indeed the citizens of Delhi, are to be congratulated in meeting this emergency with enthusiasm and goodwill.

It has struck me that it would be an admirable thing if we could use this enthusiasm of our citizens for effective constructive work for the good of Delhi.

Yours sincerely, Jawaharlal Nehru

267. To Darbara Singh⁶⁶³

23 July 1960

My dear Darbara Singh,664

I have your letter of July 22nd. I am glad to learn of the good work done by members of Congress Committees during this general strike period. I wish that this energy could be shown in normal tines also in doing constructive work.

I was very sorry to learn of the death of five of your volunteers while patrolling the rail track. I hope you will convey my deep sympathy to their families.

Yours sincerely, Jawaharlal Nehru

661. Letter.

^{662.} The Times of India reported on 20 July 1960 that the Citizen's Committee formed by Sham Nath, the Mayor of Delhi, to meet the challenge of the general strike had prescribed certain do's and don'ts for the citizens. The Do's were: "Keep the peace in your area; Address your letters correctly; Help volunteers in your area; Help in protecting public property: Economise in the use of fuel and water; and Travel only when necessary." The Don'ts were: "Do not increase the prices; Do not purchase articles unnecessarily; Do not gather just for fun; and Do not spread rumours."

^{664.} President, Punjab Pradesh Congress Committee.

STOP! STRIKE!

[STRIKING IN THE WRONG DIRECTION]

(From The Times of India, 13 July 1960, p. 1)

268. To Vishnu Sahay⁶⁶⁵

You spoke to me at the Cabinet meeting today about the disciplinary action that was being taken against a large number of Government employees on account of the strike. I think that it is necessary that we take this action. But it is equally necessary that we do not over-do this. Also that whatever has to be done should be done quickly.

- 2. Our general approach has been indicated. But it makes a great deal of difference as to how such instructions are implemented. Broadly speaking, we should punish the people who really have done mischief, and we should avoid the punishment of large numbers. Even in cases of conviction, where this is for a technical offence, a review may be made.
- 3. I suggest that you write to the Heads of Departments to deal with this matter with sympathy and expedition and not wait for reports from State Governments, unless this is considered absolutely necessary.
- 4. It is a bad thing for thousands of persons being kept in jail for indefinite periods.

^{665.} Note, 25 July 1960, copied to G.B. Pant and G.L. Nanda.

[THERE IS MISCHIEF IN THE WORDING]

You Said It



You are worrying without reading it fully—"Those who are guilty of having done wrong against the nation will be punished..." ... is not a general policy, it applies only to those strikers!

(From The Times of India, 23 July 1960, p. 1)

5. I enclose a letter I have received today from the Central Jail, Delhi. I cannot give an interview to him, but I do want all these matters to be expedited.

269. To V.V. Giri666

25 July 1960

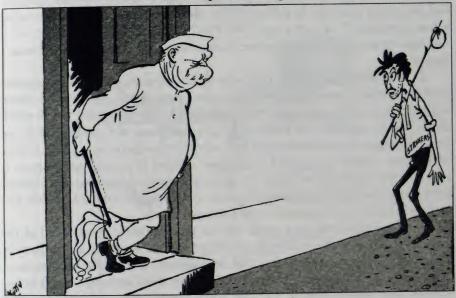
My dear Giri,667

I have just received your letter of the 23rd July. I can assure you that none of us here wants to be vindictive in this matter of the general strike, and I should like a sympathetic approach to be made. Those who were responsible for sabotage or violence, of course, have to be dealt with. Some others also have misbehaved

666. Letter.

667. The Governor of Kerala.

[A SYMPATHETIC WHIPPING] Return Of The Prodigal



[On the left: G.B. Pant] (From Shankar's Weekly, 31 July 1960, p. 7)

badly. For the rest, there is no desire to punish them. But it takes a little time to sort out things and, to some extent, State Governments are responsible.

Yours sincerely, Jawaharlal Nehru

270. CWC Resolution⁶⁶⁸

1. The Working Committee have⁶⁶⁹ noted with regret that certain organisations issued a call for a general strike of all employees of the Central Government on the ground that they were dissatisfied with the decisions of the Pay Commission. This Pay Commission, presided over⁶⁷⁰ by a Judge of the Supreme Court, had

^{668.} Resolution adopted by the CWC, 28 July 1960. Congress Bulletin, July-August 1960, pp. 342-344. For changes from Nehru's draft of the previous day, see below.

^{669. &}quot;has" instead of "have."

^{670. &}quot;presided" instead of "presided over."

considered all aspects of the salaries and allowances of Government employees and given a well considered report which Government had, in the main, accepted and are giving effect to. In the opinion of the Committee, the challenge to the recommendations⁶⁷¹ of such a high level Pay Commission was not proper, and it was right for the Government to adhere to decisions based on the Pay Commission's Report.

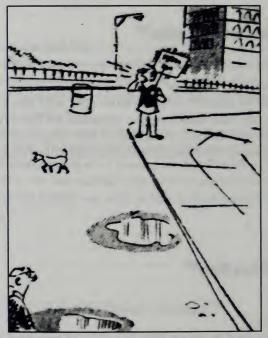
- 2. The general strike was, in its very nature, not a normal industrial dispute, but had a political aspect and inevitably caused great inconvenience to the public and heavy loss to the exchequer. Such a general strike raises vital issues which affect the Government, the public generally and those who participate in the strike. Because of such widespread and harmful consequences, a general strike of this kind cannot be accepted as a proper method of settling any dispute. It was, therefore, right and inevitable for the Government to declare the strike illegal. Even though the strike lasted only five days, it caused great loss to the public and to the employees of Government who participated in it.
- 3. The Committee have noted that the general public disapproved of the strike, and that a number of employees' organisations, as well as a considerable majority of Government employees, did not participate in the strike and continued to discharge their duties with loyalty and efficiency. The Committee would like to express their appreciation of all such organisations and employees for their adherence to duty in spite of pressures exercised against them. The Committee further express their gratification at the large numbers of volunteers from the public all over India who offered their services during the strike period and thus enabled the essential services to be carried on. Congressmen and Congress women throughout India deserve special credit for the way they served during this period of emergency.⁶⁷²
- 4. In the course of the strike, there were many acts of sabotage and misbehavior, and it is necessary that adequate action should be taken by the Governments concerned to punish such acts. At the same time, any large scale punishment of employees who were misled into participating in the strike, should be avoided. It should always be the policy of Government to develop harmonious relations in the Government services and to promote the well-being of its employees. But Government employees have also to remember that they have certain special obligations to the public which demand loyal and efficient service.

^{671. &}quot;to challenge the recommendations" instead of "the challenge to the recommendations."

^{672.} Instead of this paragraph, the paragraph 3 in the draft resolution read: "The Committee realises that a considerable majority of government employees did not participate in the strike and continued to discharge their duties with loyalty and efficiency. The Committee would like to express its appreciation of all such employees as well as of the large numbers of volunteers from the public all over India who offered their services during the strike period and thus enabled the essential services to be carried on."

[THE PEACE OF THE AGITATION]

You Said It



'Where's everybody? I did insist on a peaceful agitation but not that peaceful.'
(From The Times of India, 28 June 1960, p. 1)

By virtue of their service, they cannot be placed in the same category as normal industrial employees. Any step that is harmful to the public and is injurious from the point of view of the general good, is a denial of those obligations and should not be permitted. A general strike which is meant to paralyse the life of a nation must necessarily be ruled out as a type of action even for the redress of grievances. Essential Government services, as well as other essential services necessary for the normal life of the community, have to be maintained, and no interference with them can be permitted.

5. It should be clearly laid down that such stoppages of work in essential services are not permissible. At the same time, steps should be taken to evolve a machinery for the settlement of such disputes as may arise. The objective aimed at should be to create conditions which are conducive to the maintenance and improvement of discipline and efficiency; and which provide adequate means for consultation, negotiation, redress of grievances and settlement of disputes.

6. The Committee recommend this approach to Government so that public work may be done with efficiency, the well-being of the employees properly attended to, and harmonious relations established in all Government services.

271. To Mohanlal Sukhadia 673

29 July 1960

My dear Sukhadia,

I have your letter of July 27, which I have read with much interest. I must congratulate you and your administrative apparatus for the way they dealt with the strike situation with efficiency. I am particularly interested to learn from your letter of the response of the Panchayat Samitis and Zilla Parishads and the help they gave.

Yours sincerely, Jawaharlal Nehru

272. To B. Shiva Rao⁶⁷⁴

30 July 1960

My dear Shiva Rao,

Your letter of July 30. I do not propose to make any statement on the subject of the strike in the Lok Sabha. The Home Minister is likely to make this statement. The matter, of course, will probably come up on more than one occasion before Parliament.

I am sending your letter with its enclosure to Pantji.

As for inviting Mr. Houghton, if necessity arises, we shall do so. But I do not think there is much point in his discussing this matter with our High Commissioner in London or in his coming here suddenly. We are ourselves giving a good deal of thought to these questions, and there is an abundance of information here about the British practice in these matters.

Yours sincerely, Jawaharlal Nehru

^{673.} Letter. File No. 17 (398)/60-62-PMS. Also available in JN Collection. 674. Letter.

(r) Social Groups

273. To Kushak Bakula: Buddhist Vihara in Delhi⁶⁷⁵

9 June 1960

Dear Shri Bakula,

I have your letter of the 2nd June.

On enquiry I found that the construction of the rest house for Budhhists has already begun and indeed is now about four feet above the plinth level. There is thus no question of laying the foundation stone. When the building is ready, we can have an opening ceremony.

As was explained to you, our Government's funds are not used for putting up temples and the like. Therefore, although the plan we approved of includes a temple, the actual construction is at present confined to the other parts of the building only. I think you told me that some other arrangements will be made for collecting funds for the temple. As soon as this is done construction of this will also begin. ⁶⁷⁸

Yours sincerely, Jawaharlal Nehru

274. To B.C. Roy: Rehabilitation Strains⁶⁷⁹

11 June 1960

My dear Bidhan,

You will remember that soon after I met you here in Delhi I went abroad and was away for about a month. On my return I was in Delhi for about three days or so and then went to Poona for the AICC meeting. Since my return I have been trying to pick up old threads.

I find from a talk I have had with Asoke⁶⁸⁰ that the situation in regard to rehabilitation of displaced persons in Bengal has deteriorated and the relations between the West Bengal Government and our Ministry of Rehabilitation are, to put it mildly, strained. Further, that you are much put out by various things connected with this matter.

^{675.} Letter. File No. 2 (314)/59-67-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

^{676.} A rest house and temple in Delhi for the Buddhists of Ladakh.

^{677.} Nehru declared open the Buddhist Vihara in Delhi on 24 February 1963.

^{678.} See also items 277 and 285.

^{679.} Letter.

^{680.} Asoke Kumar Sen.

I am much distressed to learn this. I had no particular indication of this when you met me at the end of April and gave me an account of your visit to Dandakaranya. In the nature of things, this subject of displaced persons is a difficult and delicate one and the burden of it chiefly falls upon you and your Government, although necessarily this is also the responsibility of the Government of India.

My broad approach to this question has been more or less as follows and I think that that represents the Government of India's approach:

(1) It is very harmful for the people concerned to keep them in camps on the dole. This kind of thing has to be done for a while because help has to be given. But the longer such camps with doles are carried on, the more psychological harm is done to the people living there. Therefore, it is of the utmost importance to make other arrangements of rehabilitation etc. and not to carry on with these camps. This is not merely a question of saving money, but much more so of saving people. I would not mind spending more money on more positive ways of rehabilitation.

I have not closely followed what has been done during the last many years for rehabilitation, even though I have kept in touch with it. I have no doubt that we have made many mistakes and wasted a good deal of money without obtaining adequate results. Those results can only be measured in terms of effective rehabilitation.

(2) It seems to me obvious that we cannot throw out people on the street. Our responsibility continues till we do something for them. But in view of expressions from people who are interested in the continuation of the camps and the consequences of this continuation on the displaced persons themselves, there grows a great resistance to a closure of the camps. We should, therefore, take up a fairly strong line that the camps have to be closed. Otherwise, nothing will move and the problem will become more and more difficult. But always it has to be remembered that we cannot rid ourselves of these responsibilities by merely throwing people out.

(3) The Government of India cannot deal with this problem of the East Bengal displaced persons except with the full cooperation and goodwill of the West Bengal Government. Indeed, I would hesitate to take any step there unless it had your approval. That is not merely for personal reasons, but the fact that you and your Government have to face the consequences of any step that is taken.

These have been my basic approaches to this problem. Perhaps, some of us did not apply our minds to each aspect of this problem as much as we might have done. We were busy enough otherwise and there was a natural attempt at escapism which sought justification in the thought that it was being dealt with by your Government as well as our Ministry of Rehabilitation.

Apart from the day to day problems, Dandakaranya became the chief symbol

of rehabilitation. There was trouble there and probably much mishandling. Nevertheless, when you went there and told us of your impressions, I felt happier. In spite of the difficulties and possible delays, Dandakaranya was a suitable place. The problem before us was then how to remove these difficulties and expedite the work that was being done there.

During the very few days I was here after my return from Europe and before I went to Poona, there was a meeting of the Rehabilitation Committee of the Cabinet where some broad questions were brought up. At that meeting I think that we agreed to what had been previously decided upon, that we should make every effort to close these camps. No precise date was given. In fact, it was hinted that if necessary the previous date should be extended. The main stress was that we should aim at closing them rapidly. As for the Dandakaranya, we accepted what we thought were your proposals and that the matter should be finalised after consultation with you.

The whole object of this approach was to strengthen your hands in dealing with the situation and to remodel Dandakaranya in accordance with your own wishes. I do not know what has been done in this matter, but my talk with Asoke Sen today has disturbed me and it seems to me that there is a great deal of misunderstanding somewhere. I can assure you that I would be no party to decisions which are opposed, in any basic way, to your thinking in the matter because necessarily it is you who has to carry this burden.

It would be a good thing if you could come over to Delhi for a day or two so that we might have a talk about these matters. When you came last, i.e. at the end of April, you only mentioned to me of your visit to Dandakaranya and said nothing about other questions. I shall be in Delhi, I think, almost continuously for the next two weeks except for the 21st, 22nd and 23rd June.

Yours affectionately, Jawaharlal Nehru

275. To B.C. Roy: Dandakaranya⁶⁸¹

11 June 1960

My dear Bidhan,

This morning I wrote to you about the rehabilitation of displaced persons from East Bengal. 682 I have now received your letter of the 6th June about Dandakaranya.

681. Letter.

^{682.} See item 274.

Broadly speaking, I agree with your approach. I do think that we should make every effort to push this scheme forward.

Yours affectionately, Jawaharlal Nehru

276. To Mehr Chand Khanna: Improve Dandakaranya Rehabilitation⁶⁸³

11 June 1960

My dear Mehr Chand,684

I had earlier today sent you a copy of a letter I had addressed to Dr. B.C. Roy. 685 I got rather an alarming report about public reactions and more especially Dr. Roy's feelings in regard to rehabilitation and what we were doing. I thought, therefore, that I should write to him frankly and invite him to come here if he can.

Apart from the other issues involved, one thing is quite clear—Dandakaranya scheme has to be proceeded with efficiently and with drive. It appears that some progress has been made there under the new conditions. Even so, I do not know if the speed of work is fast enough. A scheme like this requires the biggest type of executive administrators with a large measure of autonomy. It cannot be merely dealt with as a side issue. Among other things I have found a general complaint about lack of water which comes in the way of developments and rehabilitation. That means a concentration of water supply through tube wells or whatever other means may be available.

It would be a good thing if you could have a note on Dandakaranya prepared.

Yours sincerely, Jawaharlal Nehru

683. Letter.

684. The Union Rehabilitation Minister

685. See item 274.

277. To K.C. Reddy: Buddhist Vihara 686

15 June 1960

My dear Reddy,

I paid a visit today with your Engineer to the Rest House that is being built for the Ladakh Buddhists etc. on the banks of the Jumna. I am glad I went there because that gave me a much better idea of the structure than maps and charts could give.

I am convinced now that it would not be right to put up this structure in phases. The whole thing must be taken in hand and finished in one phase. If we do not do this, we shall have this half-finished building giving little accommodation and rather unsightly as unfinished buildings are. Also, to leave out the central part, which includes a temple, would also give a bad look to the whole place. Once we deal with the so-called first phase only, there is bound to be considerable delay in starting afresh.

Therefore I am quite clear that this entire building should be completed as soon as possible, both the double storeys and temple, hall, library, etc. The money involved is not much.

The question of the cost of the temple arises as we had said that this should not come out of Government funds. Looking at the building and the charts, I find that what you have included in the temple is also a big hall, library and another room. These are no essential parts of the temple and even if there was no temple, you would have these halls and library. Therefore you should exclude the cost of these from that of the temple. I asked the Engineer how much this would be. He replied that roughly it would be fifty-fifty, that is, the temple itself would cost about half the sum. The estimated cost of the temple has been given to me as Rs. 1,04,540/-. Roughly, therefore, if you exclude the hall, library etc., the actual cost of the temple would be about Rs. 50,000/- or, say, Rs. 55,000/-, certainly not more. We have to raise this sum of fifty or fifty-five thousand from sources other than those of Government. I shall do that and I can give you an assurance or guarantee. If you want a part of that money previously, I can send that to you also within two or three weeks.⁶⁸⁸

Therefore, please issue orders that the whole structure should be dealt with at one and the same time and there should be no phasing. This should include the double-storeys as well as the temple etc.

Yours sincerely, Jawaharlal Nehru

^{686.} Letter. File No. 2 (314)/59-67-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

^{687.} See also item 273.

^{688.} See also item 285.

[IT'S ALL IN THE CENSUS]

You Said It

By LAXMAN



May be it looks odd—but the instructions are that every house should be numbered for purposes of taking census.

(From The Times of India, 6 June 1960, p. 1)

278. To G.B. Pant: Language and Census⁶⁸⁹

16 June 1960

My dear Pantji,

I enclose a copy of a letter I have received from Dr. Gopichand Bhargava, in which he suggests that in the coming census, column giving information about the mother tongue should not be included. Last year Partap Singh Kairon had written to us on the same subject. So had Giani Kartar Singh. Your Ministry had sent them replies that it would be undesirable to treat the Punjab as a special case by leaving out this column. For various purposes, knowledge of the mother tongue was considered as an essential part of the information to be collected by the Census.

689. Letter. File No. 2 (316)/59-66-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

690. See Appendix 30.

691. See SWJN/SS/50/item 79.

I suppose that this answer was the only one that could be sent, though I realise that in the existing state of affairs in the Punjab the information obtained is likely to be grossly exaggerated. However, I am sending this letter to you for your consideration.⁶⁹²

Yours affectionately, Jawaharlal Nehru

279. To Gopichand Bhargava: Retain Language Column in Census⁶⁹³

16 June 1960

My dear Gopichandji,

I have your letter of June 14th about the column "Mother Tongue" in Census Rolls. 694 Last year Partap Singh Kairon also wrote on this subject. 695 So also Giani Kartar Singh.

The answers sent by the Home Ministry then, after consulting the Census Commissioner, were that it was difficult to omit this column especially for Punjab. Normally speaking, this information is considered necessary for various purposes and the census would be incomplete without it.

I realise fully the importance of what you have written and the danger of inflated figures being given and communal feelings being aroused at the present moment in the Punjab. I am sending your letter to our Home Minister, Shri Govind Ballabh Pant.

Yours sincerely, Jawaharlal Nehru

280. Rehabilitation of Displaced Persons⁶⁹⁶

Note on talks about rehabilitation of displaced persons from East Pakistan and, more particularly, about the Dandakaranya Scheme

A meeting was held in the afternoon of June 16, 1960 in the Prime Minister's room. Apart from the Prime Minister, those present were:

692. See G.B. Pant's reply, 22 June 1960, Appendix 42.

693. File No. 2 (316)/59-66-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

694. See Appendix 30.

695. See SWJN/SS/50/item 79.

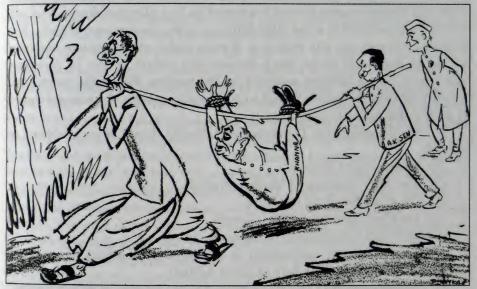
696. Note, 17 June 1960.

Dr. B.C. Boy, Chief Minister of West Bengal, Shri P.C. Sen, Minister, West Bengal, Shri Asoke K. Sen, Union Law Minister, and Shri Mehr Chand Khanna, Union Minister of Rehabilitation.

In the course of these discussions, the under-mentioned points were referred to and the recommendations herein made were agreed to.

- 2. The problem of rehabilitation of East Bengal refugees, more especially those who are at present in camps, is an urgent one and every attempt should be made to expedite its solution. Every delay is harmful to the displaced persons and involves heavy expense. This problem has been tackled in the past few years and a great deal of work has been done towards rehabilitation. In many cases that rehabilitation has not been complete, and it may be said that some of these persons are only partly rehabilitated, even though the Rehabilitation Departments have discharged their primary duty in regard to them.
- 3. The case of those still in camps stands on a separate footing. Till now these people have lived, sometimes for years, in these camps on assistance in the shape of doles, etc. and apparently they have done no or very little productive work of any kind. Even where some work may have been done, this was done privately by individuals, while they continued living in camps and were assisted fully by Government. This long residence in camps without proper work is demoralising for those who have to suffer it and creates grave social problems for them as well as for the State. The general principle in the case of such camps should have been that some productive work should be given to them. Such work keeps up morale to some extent and reduces expenditure. However, for various reasons, this was not found possible in the past except perhaps to a very small extent. It is now urgently necessary that the people in these camps should be rehabilitated. That process of rehabilitation will take some time before it is completed, but the beginnings of it should be made very early. Indeed, the population of the camps has been reduced considerably in the last year or so. The aim should be now to transfer these people to productive work leading to rehabilitation and the closure of all such camps.
- 4. While it may be possible to rehabilitate some of them in other ways and at other places, the major opportunity for doing this is provided by the Dandakaranya Scheme. This is dealt with later in this note. The final completion of full rehabilitation of all displaced persons may still take some considerable time, but with the closure of all camps as they exist today and the full working of the Dandakaranya Scheme, the work of the Central Ministry of Rehabilitation will be largely completed. This Ministry should, therefore, aim at completing this major work within a year or, at the most, fifteen months. The various activities of this Ministry which may still remain uncompleted then should then be transferred to other Ministries or Departments of the Government of India or the Government of West Bengal, as found suitable.

[CARRYING MEHR CHAND KHANNA TO DANDAKARANYA] Big Game



The high-level decision on the implementation of the Dandakaranya scheme envisages among other things greater and closer consultations with the W. Bengal Govt.

[From left: B.C. Roy, Mehr Chand Khanna, A.K. Sen, Nehru] (From Shankar's Weekly, 26 June 1960, p. 11)

- 5. In regard to the rehabilitation of displaced persons from East Pakistan in West Bengal, the Central Ministry of Rehabilitation will seek the cooperation of the West Bengal Government and work in concert with that Government. In furtherance of this, the Chief Minister of West Bengal should be requested, whenever possible, to attend the meetings of the Rehabilitation Committee of the Central Cabinet. The Rehabilitation Ministry will further keep in full touch with the Rehabilitation Dept of the West Bengal Government.
- 6. Dandakaranya. This project was started specially to provide opportunities for the rehabilitation of displaced persons from East Pakistan. The project, however, is a very big one and involves the development of a large area. Although this area is sparsely populated, there is a considerable local population, about half of whom are Adivasis. Their interests have to be safeguarded, whatever further developments might take place.
- 7. Apart from this protection of Adivasi interests, the first priority in Dandakaranya is the rehabilitation of displaced persons, more particularly those at present in camps. Later, as the scheme develops, others may also come in. Indeed, long after the problem of displaced persons has been settled, the

Dandakaranya Scheme will still be progressing and developing. At present the administrative control of this scheme is under the Union Ministry of Rehabilitation. When that Ministry ceases to exist in a year or so, this administrative control will have to be transferred to some other Ministry of the Government of India. It is desirable, however, for this project to develop under an autonomous authority and not be dependent on too much departmental control. It may be necessary later even to have a statutory authority for this purpose. But for the present this does not appear to be feasible though a considerable measure of autonomy should be given to the authority controlling it.

- 8. The Dandakaranya Development Authority should be reconstituted as follows:
 - (1) A whole time Chairman.
 - (2) The Chief Secretary of Madhya Pradesh.
 - (3) The Chief Secretary of Orissa.
 - (4) The Chief Secretary of West Bengal.
 - (5) The Chief Administrator of the Authority.
- (6) A representative, particularly in charge of tribal affairs (this will be nominated by the Central Ministry of Home Affairs).
 - (7) A representative of the Government of India (Ministry of Rehabilitation).
- 9. The Chairman should be chosen with care and should be a person of outstanding ability in regard to the problems facing the Authority. The Authority should have a measure of autonomy granted to it and should prepare a broad Five Year Plan for the development of the area. Further, it should prepare a more detailed and specific Plan for the year. The Authority should also prepare its own budget which should be approved of by the Government of India. The Authority may make minor adjustments within the allocations made in the budget. Major changes in the budget will, however, require the prior approval of the Government of India.
- 10. The Plan of the Authority should aim at the general development of the area and the rehabilitation of the displaced persons. Every attempt should be made to utilise these displaced persons in the work of development so that they may begin to earn in the process of rehabilitation. As their earning power may be limited to begin with, maintenance subsidies to the extent necessary may be provided for a certain initial period. These displaced families may be employed on all development work in the area and, more particularly, on such work as is connected with their own rehabilitation.
- 11. The first priority of persons taken to Dandakaranya for rehabilitation will be of those who are at present in camps in West Bengal. These people will be provided with shelter, necessary amenities and work pending full rehabilitation. This rehabilitation will be chiefly of agriculturists on land, but in order to build up an integrated community, skilled workers, artisans, etc. should also be invited and provided for. Where such skilled workers, artisans, etc. are not available

among those at present in camps in West Bengal, other displaced persons who are skilled workers may be brought to Dandakaranya and employed there. Such other displaced persons should not exceed ten per cent of the total brought over, till the full number in camps has been provided for.

12. After the camp population has thus been provided for and settled in Dandakaranya, the case of other displaced families who have thus far been only partially rehabilitated, will be considered for settlement in Dandakaranya. At a future stage, there may be opportunities of settling even people who are not displaced persons in Dandakaranya. But this will have to be considered at a later stage. To repeat, the first priority in Dandakaranya will be for those displaced families who are at present in camps in West Bengal. Later other displaced persons will be considered. And later still, such others for whom there may be room and opportunity there. The object should always be to build up integrated communities which can develop both agriculturally and industrially and meet their own needs.

13. The work of rehabilitation involves, in addition to the official approach, a human approach. It can only be satisfactorily done with the cooperation of all concerned, including specially the displaced persons themselves. Officers employed should thus be specially chosen from the point of view of this human

approach, apart from efficiency.

14. The Dandakaranya Project covers two States, those of Madhya Pradesh and Orissa. The West Bengal State is intimately concerned because people from that State will be sent to Dandakaranya. It is necessary, therefore, that there should be full cooperation between these three States as well as the Government of India. It is for this purpose that the three Chief Secretaries have been included in the Dandakaranya Development Authority. It is hoped that the three Chief Ministers of these States will also meet from time to time to give their advice to the Development Authority.

281. To Mehr Chand Khanna: Experts for Dandakaranya 697

18 June 1960

My dear Mehr Chand,

I enclose a letter I have received from Ila Palchoudhuri, M.P.⁶⁹⁸ In a sense, we have made provision now for non-camp people also to go to Dandakaranya in certain small numbers if they are required there as technicians, experts, etc.

There is one point that Ila Palchoudhuri says, which does require attention. If we are to build an integrated community anywhere, we have to provide it not

697. Letter.

^{698.} Ila Pal Choudhuri, Congress, Lok Sabha MP from Nabadwip-SC, West Bengal.

only with some people knowing special trades etc., but also a sprinkling of people who might be called leaders, that is, educated men. Not many are needed, but a few might make a difference.

Yours sincerely, Jawaharlal Nehru

282. To G.B. Pant: Adivasis in Dandakaranya Scheme⁶⁹⁹

20 June 1960

My dear Pantji,

Your letter of June 19th about the Dandakaranya scheme. I want to confirm that the previous decision to the effect that 25% of the reclaimed land should go to Adivasies holds. This, in fact, was mentioned in the course of our talks and no one challenged that position.

I am glad that Nainital is suiting you. I am going tomorrow to Surat in Gujerat and am returning on the evening of the 23rd. On the 2nd July I shall go to Srinagar and Ladakh, etc., for about a week.

The President left this morning for the Soviet Union and soon after the Vice-President was sworn in to perform the duties of the President. Dr. Radhakrishnan has informed us that he does not wish to take advantage of the provision in the Constitution about emoluments, etc., for this period.

Yours affectionately, Jawaharlal

283. To N.R. Pillai: Welfare of Tibetan Refugees⁷⁰⁰

I have had a talk with Mrs. Freda Bedi⁷⁰¹ this evening about the Tibetan refugees' camps. While on the whole we have done a good piece of work there, some things she told me have rather disturbed me. These relate to some recent developments or instructions sent from our Ministry.

2. One is the order that all the new refugees, without any screening, should be sent on somewhere for road-making etc. This seems to me unwise and

699. Letter. File No. 13/7/60-Pub. I, MHA. Also available in JN Collection.

700. Note, 24 June 1960.

701. Social worker, associated with the Central Social Welfare Board; worked for the rehabilitation of Tibetan refugees in India. impracticable. These refugees differ greatly, and to treat them as if they were all alike, is not at all wise. There are, I suppose, senior Lamas, junior Lamas, people totally unused to any physical work etc. Apart from this, I suppose, some kind of screening has always to be done to find out if they are real refugees or bogus ones.

- 3. Sending people for road-making when they are entirely opposed to it, will probably create dis-affection in the road-making groups which have now settled down more or less. I was also told that the mortality rate increases.
- 4. Then, the other question is of the reduction of rations for all these people. From what Mrs. Freda Bedi told me, they are actually going hungry and go out into the forest to forage for something to eat. Sometimes, they have picked up the wrong things and fallen ill because of this. Anyhow, we should give them enough to eat by any legitimate standard.
- 5. I gathered that they are given mostly rice, and not wheat, although they prefer wheat. Rice is given because it is gift rice from Thailand or some other place. I think that it would be better to replace the rice by wheat which they prefer and which will be much more suited to them.
- 6. These are just two or three things that struck me especially. There were other matters too which Mrs. Bedi mentioned to me. She is, I understand, going to our Ministry tomorrow. I hope that these particular matters, or any other important matters, would be noted and, where necessary, action taken immediately. I do not want the fairly good record we have set up in our treatment of these refugees to be spoiled now by attempts at economy or lack of care.
- 7. Mrs. Bedi is now leaving us and going back to her work in the Central Social Welfare Board. If possible, I should like to take advantage of her work in future. She knows these refugees and they have got to know her. Could we arrange with the Central Social Welfare Board to give her to us for two or three weeks at a time after suitable intervals?

284. To Prakash Vir Shastri: Faridabad Clashes⁷⁰²

1 जुलाई 1960

प्रिय शास्त्री जी, 703

आपका 30 जून का पत्र मुझे मिला। आप मुझे फरीदाबाद के शरणार्थियों के बारे में लिखते हैं। मैं उनसे पहले कई बार मिल चुका हूं और समझ चुका हूं। मकानों के बारे मे जो रवैया फरीदाबाद में किया गया है, वह दिल्ली में और और बहुत सी जगह किया गया, और कोई खास शिकायत नहीं हुई। खैर, जो भी कुछ मकानों के बारे में हो, अभी दो तीन दिन हुए फरीदाबाद में शरणार्थियों

^{702.} Letter.

^{703.} Independent, Lok Sabha MP from Gurgaon, Punjab.

ने तूफान उठाया और लोग मारे गये। ⁷⁰⁴ उस समय मकानों की नीलामी भी नहीं हो रही थी, बल्कि कुछ खाली जमीनें जिनका सम्बन्ध कोई उन लोगों से नहीं था। यह बात उनको पूरी तरह से समझा दी गई थी। और ज़ाहिरा है सब लोगों ने पसंद भी किया। फिर भी जो पुलिस के लोग वहां थे उनपर हमला हुआ और उनपर पत्थर फैंके गए। सब-इंस्पैक्टर घिर गया, और ग़ालिबन उसने घबरा कर अपना तमंचा चलाया जिससे एक आदमी मर गया। फिर उसी के पिस्तोल से वह सब-इंस्पैक्टर मार डाला गया। जब लाशें अस्पताल ले जायीं गईं तो वहां भी शरणार्थियों ने हमला किया और वहां भी गोली चली।

यह तो एक अजीब तमाशा है। और मेरी समझ में नहीं आता कि कोई व्यक्ति भी कैसे उनसे सहानुभूति रख सकता है। मेरी समझ में नहीं आता कि इसमें मैं क्या कर सकता हूँ।

फरीदाबाद को हमने बहुत कोशिश करके बढ़ाया है। बहुत से कारखाने वहां हो गए, और उसकी उन्नित होती ही जाती थी। लेकिन अगर ऐसे वहां झगड़े किए जाएं और तूफान मचे, तो वहां और लोग जाने से रुक जायेंगे। इसका नतीजा यह होगा कि फरीदाबाद गिरने लगेगा, और जो बढ़ा हुआ काम है वहां, वह कम हो जायगा। मुझे बहुत रंज होता है कि कुछ वहां के शरणार्थी ऐसी बातें करें जिनसे वे बदनाम हों, और देश बदनाम हो, और उन्हीं का नुकसान हो।

मैं कल कुछ दिन के लिए कश्मीर जा रहा हूँ।

आपका जवाहरलाल नेहरु

[Translation begins:

1 July 1960

Dear Shastriji,705

I have your letter of the 30th June. You have written about the refugees in Faridabad. I have met them many times before and explained it to them. The policy in regard to houses that has been adopted in Faridabad had been adopted in Delhi and other places also, and there was no major complaint. Well, whatever the matter with the houses, the refugees in Faridabad raised a storm two or three days back and people were killed. At that time, even the houses were not being auctioned but some plots of vacant land which had nothing to do with those people. This had been properly explained to them and evidently everybody was agreeable. Yet the policemen present there were attacked and stones were thrown at them. One

^{704.} The Times of India of 1 July 1960 reported that on 29 June the Union Ministry of Rehabilitation prepared to auction some vacant plots of land in Faridabad. Refugees there protested, conflicted with the police, and four persons, including an assistant sub-inspector of police, were killed and 15 others injured.

^{705.} See fn 703 in this section.

^{706.} See fn 704 in this section.

Sub-Inspector got surrounded and perhaps, out of bewilderment, he fired from his pistol and one person was killed. Then that Sub-Inspector was shot dead by his own pistol. When the dead bodies were taken to the hospital, even there the refugees made attacks and shots were fired.

This is a strange affair. And I do not understand how anybody can have any sympathy for them. I wonder what I can do in this matter.

We have nurtured Faridabad with great effort. Many industries have been set up there and they were progressing all along. But if there are quarrels and disturbances of this kind there, then other people will be reluctant to go there. This will result in the decline of Faridabad, and the activity that has picked up there will be slowed down. It pains me very much that some refugees there should indulge in such activity which earns them and the country a bad name and because of which they themselves suffer.

I am going to Kashmir tomorrow for a few days.

Yours sincerely, Jawaharlal Nehru

Translation ends]

285. To Bakhshi Ghulam Mohammed: A Kashmir Contribution to the Delhi Buddha Vihara⁷⁰⁷

15 July 1960

My dear Bakhshi,

You will remember that I spoke to you about the Ladakhi Buddhist Rest House or Vihara that we are constructing in Delhi. The Government of India is paying the cost of this which runs into, I believe, about 4½ lakhs of rupees. But, according to our conventions, we do not wish to pay government money for the temple part of it. This will cost Rs. 50,000/-. We have, therefore, to raise Rs. 50,000/-. This should not be very difficult.

I should like the Kashmir Government to contribute something to this sum. It does not really matter what it is, but the association of the Kashmir Government with this scheme is desirable. Would you let me know what you feel about it?⁷⁰⁹

Yours sincerely, Jawaharlal Nehru

^{707.} File No. 2 (314)/59-67-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

^{708.} See item 277.

^{709.} See also item 289.

286. To B.D. Jatti: Settling Tibetans in Karnataka⁷¹⁰

My dear Jatti,711

22 July 1960

I had a visit this morning from Maurice Frydman⁷¹² whom I have known for the last 25 or 30 years when he used to live with Gandhiji. Frydman brought me a letter from the Dalai Lama and made a proposal about the settlement of Tibetan refugees in a part of Mysore State.

Thus far we had not thought at all of sending any of the Tibetan refugees to the South as this was considered unsuitable climatically. But I must confess that Frydman's proposal seems very attractive and offers a solution of a problem that has been troubling us a good deal.

I understand that Frydman has seen you and discussed this matter with you. Further that you were agreeable to his proposal if the Government of India backed it. Frydman then went to the Dalai Lama and discussed this proposal with him. The Dalai Lama has written to me expressing his approval also.

I suppose you know all about this proposal made by Frydman. Briefly, it is that the land round about Fraserpet which has been forest land in the past but a part of which has been cleared up should be used for the settlement of Tibetan refugees. This is at over 3000 ft altitude and about 3000 acres have thus far been cleared. There was a talk of settling refugees from Pakistan there but apparently this fell through. The climate, though very mild from Tibetan standards, would nevertheless be suitable. There is water and electricity available. The soil is good for agriculture and specially wheat, pulses, oilseeds, groundnuts, tobacco, etc. as well as perhaps for some varieties of cotton. Also for vegetable and fruit growing. Probably it is not quite so suitable for paddy unless there is some irrigation. It is possible to breed cattle and sheep.

Timber is locally available for houses. The area is almost free of inhabitants. All this indicates that this area would be peculiarly suitable for these Tibetans. It is not good to spread them out in a large number of places and it would be far better for them to live together in some kind of a community life. They are mostly agriculturists and they would like to have land. No one knows how long they may have to stay in India. We must presume that their stay is more or less indefinite.

I shall be grateful if you will let me know soon if you are agreeable to this proposal. If you are generally agreeable, then we shall send an officer from our

^{710.} Letter, copied to Subimal Dutt.

^{711.} The Chief Minister of Mysore.

^{712.} Polish engineer who came to India in the thirties; became a Hindu and was known as Swami Bharatananda.

External Affairs Ministry to have a look at this place and discuss the matter with you further.

Subject to this, we would suggest your leasing this land to the Government of India on condition that if the Tibetans go away in the future, the land would revert to the Mysore Government. We shall, of course, bear all the expenses for necessary development of this land for the purpose aimed at. Probably it would be better if your Government did this work on our behalf and charged us for it.

I am not writing to you at greater length now because, first of all, I should like to have your approval of this broad scheme. As soon as that comes, we shall go ahead in greater detail and discuss matters with you.

Yours sincerely, Jawaharlal Nehru

287. To Subimal Dutt: Selecting the Haj Committee⁷¹³

I think in selecting names for this Haj Committee we should be guided chiefly by the advice of Shri Hafiz Mohammed Ibrahim, our Minister of Irrigation & Power. If the Deputy Minister has any particular point in mind, she can discuss it with Hafiz Sahib.

2. So far as Maulana Mohammad Mian Faruqi⁷¹⁴ is concerned, I think that he should be on the committee and Hafiz Sahib has recommended his name. I do not know how far it is true, as the Deputy Minister says, that he encouraged Shri Dayabhai [sic] Patel⁷¹⁵ to put questions.⁷¹⁶ In his own report to us Mohammed Mian had criticised to some extent the arrangements made for Indian pilgrims at Jeddah and he had given some specific instances. He told me that apart from what he had written in the report, he deliberately avoided saying anything publicly either in Saudi Arabia or in India.

713. Note, 22 July 1960.

See Appendices 85 (a) and 85 (b), notes dated 13 and 19 July 1960 by P.N. Kaul, Deputy Secretary, MEA, regarding the Central Haj Committee for 1960-61.

714. Mohammad Faruqi Maulana; a prominent leader of Jamiat-Ulama-i-Hind from Allahabad; Congress, Rajya Sabha MP from UP, 1952-60.

715. Dahyabhai V. Patel, Rajya Sabha MP from Bombay, 1958-64.

716. Lakshmi Menon had noted on 13 July 1960: "Regarding the existing members, personally, I am against Maulana Faruqi, as he was directly responsible for all the questions in the Rajya Sabha about our Mission in Jeddah and Haj pilgrims. I did not like the way he approached Shri Dayabhai Patel and others to ask questions while he himself absented from the House. In any case, there can be no harm if we replace him by a younger person, namely, Jamal Khwaja."

- 3. In choosing members for the Haj Committee there is not much point in putting people in who are not interested in the Haj pilgrimage and who are not in touch with those who go there.
- 4. Mohammad Mian has been sent by us more than once as a kind of Inspector. He knows Arabic well and is well acquainted with conditions there and among the pilgrims here. He should, therefore, prove a useful member of this committee even though he might have fallen out in some matter with our Ambassador.
- 5. I suggest, therefore, that the list should be finalised keeping in view particularly Hafiz Sahib's suggestions. Where necessary, either the Deputy Minister of some officer of our Ministry can discuss the matter with Hafiz Sahib.

288. To Nareshchandra Singh: Sarangarh Tribals⁷¹⁷

24 July 1960

My dear Nareshchandraji, 718

I have your letter of July 19th. I would like to visit Sarangarh and, more particularly, to meet the tribal people there. But it is difficult for me to give any kind of assurance at present. There is some chance even of my having to go out of India for a few days just about the time of the Dashera.

However, I have noted down your request and shall keep it in mind.

You can come and see me on almost any day as I am not going out of Delhi. Preferably you might see me on Sunday, 31st July, at 10 a.m.

Yours sincerely, Jawaharlal Nehru

289. To K.C. Reddy: Kashmir Contribution to Buddha Vihara in Delhi⁷¹⁹

24 July 1960

My dear Reddy,

Ghulam Mohammad Bakhshi, Prime Minister of Jammu & Kashmir State, has informed me that his State Government will make a contribution of Rs. 25,000/-

717. Letter.

718. (1908-1987); the Minister of Tribal Welfare, Madhya Pradesh Government; former ruler of the Sarangarh princely state in Raigarh District.

719. Letter. File No. 2 (314)/59-67-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

towards the construction of Ladakhi Buddhist Vihara in Delhi.⁷²⁰ This money will go towards the construction of the temple part.

Yours sincerely, Jawaharlal Nehru

290. To D.P. Karmarkar: Absurdity of Family Planning In Tribal Areas⁷²¹

Recently I went to some tribal areas. I rather forget where this was. It may have been in Ladakh, or perhaps in some other part of India. The Deputy Commissioner there told me that he was getting bundles of material from the Family Planning Department. This was completely unsuited to the tribal areas. In fact, in most of these places there was hardly the question of limiting population as the rate of growth is very slow. Apart from this, the whole background is different and this literature or even certain tablets that were sent were completely useless.

2. I suppose all this is sent through the State Governments. It might be well, however, to approach this question with a measure of intelligence i.e. not to distribute these where they are not needed. I should like you to draw the attention of the Family Planning Department to this.

(s) Representative Institutions

291. To Subimal Dutt: Diwan Chaman Lall's Foreign Travel⁷²²

I have received a letter from Diwan Chaman Lall⁷²³ which I attach. From this it appears that he has already left for Europe.

It is always difficult to say whether a particular visit of an M.P. to Europe or elsewhere can be considered "inescapable". In a sense, practically nothing is inescapable. Diwan Chaman Lall has been an important Member of Parliament and is Chairman of a committee which he has formed. We have not taken any part in the work of this committee of Indian Parliamentarians, but we have not

^{720.} See also item 285.

^{721.} Note, 27 July 1960. File No. 28 (50)/58-60-PMS, Vol. II. Also available in JN Collection.

^{722.} Note, 6 June 1960.

^{723.} Congress, Rajya Sabha MP from Punjab.

come in their way either.

In the circumstances I think that we should release some foreign exchange for Diwan Chaman Lall. How much this should be, it is a little difficult for me to say. The amount asked for, that is, £2,000 appears rather excessive. Perhaps it could be reduced by half.

292. To Satya Narayan Sinha: Parliamentary Conventions⁷²⁴

30 June 1960

My dear Satya Narayan,⁷²⁵ Your letter of June 28th.

The points you have raised are or should be matters of convention and the best way for you to build up these conventions is in cooperation with the Speaker and the Chairman.

The normal questions notice of which is sent to Parliament are requests for information. The Speaker may be pleased to admit them or not. Sometimes the Lok Sabha Secretariat sends notice of that question to the Ministry concerned even before the Speaker has admitted it. In fact, this is done to enable the Speaker to consider its admissibility.

Apart from this normal method of addressing questions for inquiries, I take it that you are referring to some other method where a question has not been put in Parliament but an inquiry is addressed to a Ministry through the Lok Sabha Secretariat. If such an inquiry is so addressed, the Lok Sabha Secretariat can either send it to the Ministry concerned or ask the MP to deal directly with the Ministry. If the Lok Sabha Secretariat sends the inquiry to the Ministry, they should ask the Ministry to deal directly with the Member concerned in regard to the information required in this informal way. This would save the Lok Sabha Secretariat from carrying on correspondence with the Member on the one side and the Ministry on the other in regard to that inquiry.

If, however, the inquiry is in the shape of a question in Parliament, then of course the Lok Sabha Secretariat has to deal with it.

The point is that we should devise procedures by convention which are as simple as possible and which prevent too much roundabout writing. In the case of a request for information (otherwise than a question in Parliament) it is obviously simpler for the Member to deal directly with the Ministry concerned than to do so via the Lok Sabha Secretariat. This is not a question of challenging the right of

724. Letter.

725. Minister of Parliamentary Affairs.

the Lok Sabha Secretariat to enquire. They have every right to do so. But in such matters conventions are laid down to facilitate work and avoid duplication. Normally, therefore, it would not be a good thing for the Lok Sabha Secretariat to become the ordinary channel of correspondence between Members and Government departments. I agree that you may discuss this matter with the Speaker.

In the papers you have sent me the question which was sent to the Ministry of Defence via the Lok Sabha Secretariat is on the face of it not one which should elicit a reply or the information asked for. If this matter had been brought up before me at an earlier stage I would have told the Defence Ministry to indicate that much of the information asked for was confidential. Obviously, we cannot give information about our cantonments or about proportion of officers and men.

I am returning to you the papers you sent me.

Yours sincerely, Jawaharlal Nehru

293. To Mohanlal Sukhadia: Panchayat Samitis⁷²⁶

Chashmashahi, Srinagar, 6 July 1960

My dear Sukhadia,

Thank you for your letter of 3rd July sending me a note on the working of the Panchayat Samitis. 727 I am very glad to find that considerable progress has been made by these Panchayat Samitis and, in particular that they have had the courage to levy taxes for some development work in their areas. I congratulate you on the success of these Samitis.

Yours sincerely, Jawaharlal Nehru

^{726.} Letter. File No. 17 (398)/60-62-PMS. Also available in JN Collection. 727. See Appendix 61.

294. To Y.B. Chavan: Dubious Choice for Rajya Sabha⁷²⁸

21 July 1960

My dear Chavan,

On my return to Delhi yesterday, I received the following telegram:-

"It is the practice that only loyal citizens and men of distinguished career are nominated on the Rajya Sabha. Janab Y. Najmuddin who is likely to be nominated shortly is neither a loyal citizen of this great land nor having any distinguished career. He was one of the biggest financial supporters of Jinnah and has invested crores in Pakistani industries. Pray investigation and reconsideration. All India Pragati Mandal, Bombay."

I could not make out this telegram, and I did not know who this gentleman called Janab Najmuddin was. I enquired from Morarjibhai. 729 He told me that he was the son of the Mulla Sahib. 730

I do not know if there is any intention on your part to make him your candidate for the Rajya Sabha. I rather doubt if he will be a desirable choice. Pantji and Morarjibhai are also of this opinion.

Yours sincerely, Jawaharlal Nehru

(t) Judiciary

295. To B.P. Sinha: Speeding Up Work⁷³¹

15 June 1960

My dear Chief Justice, 732

Thank you for your letter of the 15th June. I am glad that the Conference of the Chief Justices of the State High Courts under your leadership has taken certain decisions for expediting work and clearing off arrears.

I entirely agree with you that members of Government as well as others should not do anything to impair the dignity and prestige of the judiciary or in any way cast reflection on the Judges of the High Courts.

Yours sincerely, Jawaharlal Nehru

728. Letter.

729. Morarji Desai.

730. Syedna Taher Saifuddin.

731. Letter.

732. B.P. Sinha, Chief Justice of India.

(u) Media

296. To N.R. Pillai: Scurrilous Writing⁷³³

I had not heard of this matter previously.⁷³⁴ I entirely agree with you that we should not allow this to pass without taking action. The first step should be, as you suggest, that the Editors or other responsible representatives of these newspapers should be summoned. One thing is perfectly clear. The references to the External Affair Ministry in some of the reports are without foundation. Probably the other part of the story is also baseless.

- 2. What we can do further in the matter will have to be considered. The Law Ministry has pointed out that under some Punjab Law which applies to Delhi also, it is possible for us to take action.
- 3. What troubles me is the statement that the well-known Cairo newspaper "Al Gamhouria" has reported some such story also. We might send for the U.A.R. Ambassador or Chargé and tell him that we are much distressed at all this scurrilous gossip. We would like to take such steps as are legally possible for us against it, and we are fully examining this matter. We should ask him if it is true that "Al Gamhouria" had any such item of news and, if so, what action the Egyptian Government took in the matter.

297. To Y.B. Chavan: No Time to Inaugurate Seminars 735

27 July 1960

My dear Chavan,

Your letter of July 25, urging me to inaugurate a Seminar of Working Journalists in October next. I am afraid it is not possible for me to accept this invitation. I am not accepting any distant engagement because I do not know where I might be then. Apart from this, it does not seem to me proper for me to rush about India to inaugurate various functions. I realise the importance of working journalists and wish them success. But I do not realise the importance of my going all the way to Bombay to inaugurate a seminar.

Yours sincerely, Jawaharlal Nehru

734. See Appendices 44 (a) and 44 (b).

^{733.} Note, 23 June 1960. File No. 21-C (40)-WANA/60, MEA. Also available in JN Collection.

^{735.} Letter.

III. DEVELOPMENT

(a) Economy

298. At the Cabinet1

Draft Outline of the Third Five Year Plan

Cabinet held a general discussion regarding the approach to the Third Plan. It was decided that the objectives should be set out in clear and specific terms in the very beginning. The implications of the socialist pattern of society should be brought out and it should be emphasised that the objective was to bring about a new social order.

2. In the course of discussion, a number of suggestions were made. These are summarised below under the appropriate heads:

1. Foreign Trade.

Policies relating to export and import should be carefully reviewed, so that the country could earn the maximum foreign exchange from exports and could save the foreign exchange required for imports to the greatest extent possible. The following were among the suggestions made:

- (i) There was need for the utmost effort to increase exports, but the importance of exports was not yet adequately realised. Larger exports would involve a measure of sacrifice for the country as prices were bound to rise and the common man would be affected. These consequences would have to be faced.
- (ii) Reorientation of policy regarding trade arrangements was necessary so as to secure that payment for imports was made as far as possible in rupees. Against this view, it was pointed out that while balanced trade with different countries and areas was desirable, this could be attempted only within limits. What we required was machinery and capital goods. Even where purchases from abroad were paid in rupees, the payment, in essence, had to take the form of supply of goods.
- (iii) Suggestions had been made that exports should be subsidised, but this was a difficult idea to adopt. The State Trading Corporation had set up a fund to assist the export of those goods which faced serious competition. Some branches of the engineering industry had organised themselves for

Minutes of Cabinet meeting, 5.30 p.m., 1 June 1960, chaired by Nehru. File: Cabinet Meetings from 1960, Confidential Section, Planning Commission.

exports and the prospects of exports in this field were bright.

- (iv) Whether exports should be undertaken at a loss required consideration. There could be some loss in some lines even for a period of two to three years, but thereafter the exports should get established.
- (v) There was need for greater control by Government of the export trade.
- (vi) At present the profits of foreign trade were not fully available to the community. The possibility of auctioning import licences should be examined. It was pointed out, however, that the bulk of imports were for Government projects or were licensed to users themselves.

2. Private Sector and the Plan:

In the course of a general review of the allocation between the public and the private sector in the proposals for the Third Plan, the following comments were made:

(i) The allocation in the Plan for the private sector in the field of organized industry was proportionately too large. The Plan did not provide sufficiently

for the "real" private sector, that is, small and middle enterprise, and was largely weighted in favour of "monopolists". The Plan should be reoriented in the interest of small and middle enterprise. For instance, it was not correct to place the entire programme for aluminium production in the private sector. (ii) The public and the private sectors had to supplement each other. It had not, however, been possible to prevent some kind of monopoly interests growing up through the industrial development plans. For instance, in fertilisers, it was becoming difficult to achieve the target proposed for the public sector on account of difficulties in securing the necessary foreign exchange. Because of foreign collaboration being involved, it was the larger parties who could ordinarily take up the projects. Concentration of economic power was not desired, but in practice it tended to be accepted because production had to be secured. To avoid this, more and more stress had to be laid on the development of small and middle-sized enterprise. The approach should be to devise ways to encourage new enterprises to take new projects. (iii) The present industrial policy was the correct one to follow in the circumstances of the country. The public sector had a large responsibility in providing for power and transport. Whatever Government could usefully undertake should be done by it but what mattered most was production. One should not allow that to be held back for fear of private capitalists. Government

had ample powers of control. Private undertakings could be acquired whenever Government wished to do so. Every available agency should be employed and all resources should be utilised. The resources available included not only finance, but also resources in initiative and organising capacity. What must be made sure of was that at every point the national interest was secured.

3. Reduction of inequalities:

A point was made that the objective of socialism was to reduce inequalities in income and wealth, but the proposed Plan did not provide sufficiently for this. Such reduction was an "imperative" in the interests of stability in the country.

4. Targets and Projects:

It was pointed out that the draft Plan did not commit itself firmly to a target of 10 million tons for steel.

It was also suggested that in view of their importance there should be no uncertainty about the construction of the heavy compressor pumps and the second plate and vessel works as part of the Third Plan.

5. Allocations:

The following suggestions were made regarding the directions in which allocations should be increased so as to facilitate larger programmes:

- (i) The provision for small-scale industries should be substantially larger than in the Draft Outline.
- (ii) Generally, the Plan did not provide enough for Employment and Social Services. Provision for engineers and technicians should be made on a larger scale, having regard to the requirements of the expanding small-scale sector.
- (iii) The programme for primary education should be enlarged so as to ensure that the objective of free and compulsory education for the age group 6-11 years was achieved in full and not only up to 80 per cent.
- (iv) There should be larger provision for scholarships for poor students.
- (v) Special provision should be made for projects to be undertaken in areas where conditions of chronic unemployment prevailed.
- (vi) There should be larger provision for housing for the poorer sections of the population.

6. Educational policies:

A suggestion was made that it was necessary to give a technical bias to the educational system at the lower levels. It was also suggested that there should be screening regarding admissions at the college and university levels.

7. Suggestion for improving the presentation in the Draft Outline:

In the course of discussion, it was suggested that achievements might be indicated, wherever possible, in terms of percentage increases, and that it would be sufficient to give statistics regarding actual or likely achievements for the first and second

Plans without necessarily referring to the initial targets.²

3. Summing up the discussion, the Prime Minister made the following suggestions:

(i) The target for foodgrains should be placed at 100 million tons, which appeared to be adequate. If a higher target such as 100 to 105 million tons was proposed and was not reached, this would create a bad impression.

(ii) The target for steel should be 10 million tons. Lags in respect of steel and power would delay growth. The production of capital goods should be accelerated to the maximum extent feasible.

(iii) Looking at the Plan from the point of view of the poorer sections of the community, what mattered most was the provision of food, clothing, housing and education, specially technical education. These should be stressed in the Plan. In housing, there should be emphasis on the provision of cheap housing for low income groups. There should be provision for scholarships on a large scale and based, as far as possible, on merit.

4. It was agreed that further meetings of the Cabinet to consider the Draft Outline would be held at 4 p.m. on June 9, 10 and 11.

299. To Y.B. Chavan: Diesel Price and Fishing Trade³

7 June 1960

My dear Chavan,

I have your letter of the 2nd June about the fishing trade being hit by the recent increase in excise duty on diesel oil. I see from your letter that some of your Ministers are meeting our Food & Agriculture Minister as well as representatives of Finance. Unfortunately, the Finance Minister himself is away from India now.

It is difficult for me to say anything definite on this subject because it is a complicated one and I am not adequately acquainted with the facts. All I can do is to forward your letter to the Finance Ministry and the Food & Agriculture Ministry.

Yours sincerely, Jawaharlal Nehru

According to a note of 8 June 1960 by D.P. Chopra, Under Secretary, Cabinet Secretariat,
 G.B. Pant suggested amending this paragraph as follows:

"In the course of discussion, it was suggested that achievements might be indicated, wherever possible, also in terms of percentage increases, and that it would be sufficient to give statistics regarding targets for the first, second and third Plans without necessarily referring to the corresponding achievements."

Nehru approved the same day. File No. 65/2/CF/60, Part III, Cabinet Secretariat.

3. Letter.

300. At the Cabinet4

Draft Outline of the Third Five Year Plan

Cabinet considered Planning Commission's papers on (1) Reassessment of Financial Resources, (2) Comments and suggestions received on the Draft Outline of the Third Plan, and (3) Target for steel and the programme for the Bokaro Steel Plant.

Initiating the discussion, the Prime Minister said that in a developing economy there was a tendency for resources to go up steadily. There was at present a certain amount of dynamism in the economy which should be reflected in our approach to the question of resources. Taking all the facts into account, it was desirable that the Draft should help to stimulate hope and confidence in the country's development. If one considered the various indicators of progress over the 15 years, 1950-51 to 1965-66, one got an optimistic impression of development.

Referring to the approach in agricultural development, the Prime Minister suggested that the importance of better methods of farming, of improved implements, of organisation through cooperatives, of initiative being taken by the people in carrying out small irrigation, better ploughs and other schemes should be specially stressed. Permanent improvement would come from below and not merely through government agencies.

The Prime Minister emphasised the need for including the Bokaro steel plant both from the point of view of the Third Plan and for future development. Without the Bokaro plant, it might become necessary to import steel to the extent of Rs. 60 to 70 crores a year and, from a wider aspect, the stage of reaching self-sustaining growth might be postponed.

Cabinet considered the proposals contained in Planning Commission's paper on the steel target and the programme for the Bokaro steel plant and decided that the project should be included in the Third Plan and that early action should be taken to implement it.

Cabinet considered the paper on 'Reassessment of Financial Resources' and noted that on the basis of revised estimates of receipts and expenditure there was likely to be a net addition of about Rs. 70 crores.

Cabinet discussed the Resources estimates, and in particular, the possibility of obtaining for development a net addition to resources on account of repayment of loans by third parties, possible savings in the estimate of committed expenditure

^{4.} Minutes of Cabinet meeting, 4 p.m., 9 June 1960, chaired by Nehru. File: Cabinet Meetings from 1960, Confidential Section, Planning Commission.

under developmental heads, likely expansion and earnings from exports, the practical certainty of larger quantities of oil being discovered, the general tendency for resources to develop fairly rapidly and the savings which it should be possible to secure through economies in expenditure on construction.

Cabinet also took note of the fact that the present estimates would be further reviewed in the course of the next few months in the light of discussions with States. Attention was invited to the fact that while internal resources would have to be found for the various programmes mentioned in the Draft Outline and for projects for which foreign exchange became available, it would be difficult at present to present a larger estimate of foreign exchange expenditure than had been indicated in the Draft Outline.

Cabinet decided to consider further at its meeting on June 10 whether and to what extent there should be changes in the figures of overall outlay and resources presented in the Draft Outline.

In the course of discussion the following aspects of the programmes for the Third Plan were briefly considered:

- (i) Specific provision should be made for certain essential schemes like the construction of storage for food grains;
- (ii) There should be a great deal of stress on community participation in agricultural programmes. Wherever there were overlapping provisions these should be specially scrutinised;
- (iii) Provision should be made for the production of crude oil and the provision of refining capacity in accordance with requirements assessed by the Planning Commission and the Ministry of Finance in consultation with the Department of Mines & Fuel;
- (iv) Programmes under education, e.g. primary and technical, had been accepted and, according to the final estimates resulting from the discussions with the States, the necessary resources would be provided when the Plan is presented in its final form;
- (v) The Ministry of Labour & Employment should work out a programme for providing technical training of a simple character for children who had received education up to the age of 11 years. At present there was no programme for the further training of children of that age. To begin with, the scheme might tee worked out for urban areas.
- (vi) It was suggested that in view of the progress already made in atomic energy and the importance of work in this field, provision should be made for projects to be agreed upon between the Planning Commission and the Atomic Energy Commission. It was pointed out that in addition to Rs. 75 crores which were being provided for setting up a 300,000 k.w. natural uranium power plant along with the uranium mining and plutonium extraction plant, a further investment of about Rs. 31 crores would be required for a 75,000 k.w. enriched uranium plant, provision for a larger plutonium extraction

plant and additional cost on account of the substitution of a 150,000 k.w. natural uranium plant for thermal station of the same capacity.

Cabinet decided to continue consideration of the Planning Commission's papers on the Draft Outline of the Third Plan at 4 P.M. on June 10, 1960.

301. At the Cabinet⁵

Draft Outline of the Third Five Year Plan

Cabinet continued consideration of the Draft Outline and the papers circulated by the Planning Commission. Cabinet also considered a further paper from the Planning Commission summing up the position regarding outlays and resources for the Third Plan in the light of the discussion in the Cabinet on June 9. This paper indicated that a net increase in resources of Rs. 100 crores was possible on the latest estimate made by the Working Group on Resources. If to this are added savings through economies in building costs and in non-Plan outlays, an upward revision in outlay of the order of Rs. 200 or 250 crores was possible. The programmes and targets accepted in the Draft Outline involved an increase of about Rs. 700 crores in the outlay figures. In these circumstances, there were two possible approaches. The first-Approach 'A'-was to retain the figures of outlays and resources shown in the draft Outline, while giving a clear indication that for projects for which external resources could be provided, the necessary internal resources would be made available, and also that for approved programmes and targets under education, agriculture, small industries, etc., the necessary internal resources would be found. The second—Approach 'B'—was to indicate a limited increase in the total outlay under the Plan with a view to providing for the Bokaro steel plant and some other essential items like construction of warehouses. The Planning Commission's paper expressed the view that neither of these two approaches was free from difficulty and that, while a number of considerations pointed in favour of the first approach, the issue was essentially one to be determined on broad judgment in which arithmetic would not be the only consideration.

Prime Minister said that the Finance Minister had been rightly anxious that there should be no large increase in outlays under the Plan without much greater scrutiny. The Finance Minister had specially in mind the initial estimates prepared by the Perspective Planning Division which had since been revised by the

Minutes of Cabinet meeting, 4 p.m., 10 June 1960, chaired by Nehru. File No. 65/2/CF/60, Part III. Cabinet Secretariat

Resources Working Group. There was not much difference between the Planning Commission's new figures and those which had been adopted earlier: the new figures had resulted from reconsideration on the old basis. What was described as approach 'B' was only approach 'A' with a small addition.

In the course of discussion, it was pointed out that on merits it would be reasonable to increase the outlay to the extent of about Rs. 250 crores. The acceptance of the Bokaro steel plant for the Plan would raise the question whether resources for this project had been provided in the scheme of allocations under the Plan. The additional commitment which was proposed for acceptance under approach 'B' was being balanced by a corresponding addition to resources. The strengthening of the Plan in respect of industrial development was a step in the right direction and would be generally welcomed. There was no conflict between the development of agriculture and the development of industry; indeed, the progress of agriculture and the rural economy would depend very largely on the adoption by agriculturists of an industrial outlook and what were essentially industrial techniques.

Cabinet decided that approach 'B' should be adopted in the Outline.

Cabinet next considered the draft prepared by the Planning Commission describing the objectives of development and the content of the socialist pattern of society. In the course of discussion, the suggestion was made that the Draft Outline should make it clear that planning was concerned not only with targets of production and with standards of consumption, but also with certain social values in the life of the community. Reference was made to such aspects as simplicity, austerity, and national discipline and, generally, the place of human values in economic and social development. Cabinet agreed that the outline should bring out the fact that the aim of the Plan was to provide basic necessities to all persons, more specially, food, supply of drinking water, clothing, elementary education, health and sanitation, housing and, progressively also, work for all. In this connection, Prime Minister emphasised the significance in terms of overall production of even small improvements in productivity on the part of millions of persons. Thus, a simple improvement like the provision of brooms with long handles which permitted the worker to sweep while standing upright and the provision of proper containers for collecting the sweepings would add not merely to the efficiency but also the human dignity of large numbers of workers throughout the country. Further, Prime Minister referred to the value of securing public participation in various activities, specially in rural areas, and recalled Gandhiji's emphasis on everyone doing a little. Cabinet agreed that all these aspects should be brought out in the Outline, which should place due stress on the place of moral values in carrying out economic and social development programmes.

Cabinet agreed that the Planning Commission might undertake revisions of the present draft with a view to presenting the Plan in an integrated manner with the necessary continuity in the treatment of various themes. It was agreed that

the achievement already made should be brought out fully and that the various points to which attention had been drawn in the comments from Ministries would be taken into account while revising the draft. It was also agreed that the revised draft of the first three Chapters of the Outline would be circulated to all Ministers.

302. To A.B. Vajpayee: All Party Committee on Planning⁶

10 June 1960

Dear Shri Vajpayee,

I have your letter of the 10th June. I am afraid it is not possible at this stage to consult the All Party Committee on Planning in regard to the draft of the Third Plan that is being prepared. This draft itself is a tentative one for consideration, comment and criticism. When it is ready and has been issued, then of course the Committee should consider it fully.

Any other course would delay the issue of this draft greatly. I shall see to it that as soon as this is issued, copies are sent to the members of the Committee.

Apart from this, however, I shall gladly have a meeting of this Committee. Perhaps this might be possible early in July.

Yours sincerely, Jawaharlal Nehru

303. To Tarlok Singh: Publishing the Draft Plan⁷

25 June 1960

My dear Tarlok Singh,8

I have just received your note about the Introduction. I have no comments to make about the revised Introduction. It seems to me adequate. I am glad that the Deputy Chairman has agreed to have his name being given below this Introduction.

In the list of Members of the Planning Commission which you are going to give, I think that Professor Mahalanobis's 11 name should certainly be included. 12

- 6. Letter.
- 7. Letter. File No. 17 (302)/60-PMS, Vol. II. Also available in JN Collection.
- 8. Additional Secretary, Planning Commission.
- 9. Probably the reference is to the Introduction to *Third Five Year Plan: A Draft Outline* (New Delhi: Planning Commission, GOI, June 1960).
- 10. V.T. Krishnamachari was at this time on leave preparatory to retirement.
- 11. P.C. Mahalanobis, honorary Statistical Adviser to the Cabinet since 1949, and Secretary and Director, Indian Statistical Institute, Calcutta, since 1931.
- Others included were Gulzarilal Nanda, Morarji Desai, V.K. Krishna Menon, C.M. Trivedi, Shriman Narayan, T.N. Singh and A.N. Khosla.

We are not making fine distinctions here about the type of Members. To leave him out would be neither correct nor proper.

> Yours sincerely, Jawaharlal Nehru

304. To Mohanlal Sukhadia: Rajasthan Canal Project¹³

Chashmashahi, Srinagar 6 July 1960

My dear Sukhadia,

Your letter of the 30th June about the assistance to the Rajasthan Canal Project under the U.S. PL-480 Agreement.¹⁴

I think we all recognise the great importance of the Rajasthan Canal Project. But I do not quite know how far it will be feasible to utilise a very large part of the U.S. PL-480 money for this project alone. That money has been treated in our Third Plan draft as funds generally available for the Plan, more especially probably for Agriculture. I doubt if it will be right to earmark it. I suppose anyhow that a part of it will be available for the Rajasthan Canal. Anyhow this will have to be considered in the context as a whole.

Yours sincerely, Jawaharlal Nehru

14. See Appendix 54.

^{13.} Letter. File No. 17 (399)/60-68-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

305. To H.V.R. lengar: Public and Private Sectors¹⁵

12 July 1960

My dear lengar,16

I have seen your letter to Kesho Ram, dated the 7th July, and have read the extract from your Inaugural Address to the seminar at Srinagar. Your address is an interesting one.¹⁷

You quote somebody in Clive Street¹⁸ to emphasise the social implications of what is happening all around us. I wish this was realised a little more than it is by our industrialists. I find that these worthy gentlemen have not quite woken up to the modern age in spite of some shocks that they have had. These social implications are going to increase in volume and intensity in the years to come and, if we do not keep pace with them, our difficulties will increase.

The argument about the private and the public sectors is put on a wrong basis. The argument should be in regard to monopolies in the private sector. It is

[SWALLOWING THE THIRD PLAN]

PRIVATE SECTOR TO GET BIGGER SHARE IN SRD PAN - MUMMY WILL HAVE THE WHOLE OR NOT AT ALL

[From left: C. Rajagopalachari, Minoo Masani] (From Shankar's Weekly, 10 July 1960, p. 13)

- 15. Letter. File No. 37 (78)/58-66-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.
- 16. The Governor of the Reserve Bank of India.
- 17. Iengar's letter has not been traced. According to *The Times of India* of 4 July 1960, he had inaugurated on 3 July an advanced management seminar sponsored jointly by the All-India Management Association, the Ford Foundation and the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. He complimented the Government and businessmen "for arriving at an excellent working arrangement" regarding the public and private sectors; urged businessmen to "adjust themselves to the fast changing situation"; and advised them to attend to inflation which could hinder the Third Five Year Plan.
- 18. The commercial centre of Calcutta.

this that one considers objectionable. Unfortunately, there is still a tendency for these to grow.

We are just in the middle of the general strike. That strike will I presume fail. But I wonder if we will draw any lesson from it. Most of us live in a world apart from the world of labour, and we cannot emotionally understand it. We try, of course, to be just and fair, and to give a square deal. But there is no understanding of the thinking of others. Hence, we get into trouble repeatedly. I hope that this strike will induce us to think more intensively about these matters so that we can prevent our labour people from being exploited by others.

Yours sincerely, Jawaharlal Nehru

306. To T.N. Singh: Message for Yojana¹⁹

16 July 1960

My dear T.N.,20

Your letter about a message for Yojana.²¹ I am sorry I just cannot do it as I am going away to Assam. All I can send you is a very brief few lines which I give below:

[RISING ABOVE POVERTY] UNCHANGING LANDSCAPE



[In rocket: Nehru with ministers and others] (From *The Times of India*, 8 July 1960, p. 7)

- Letter, published in a special issue of *Yojana* on 24 July 1960. Also available in File No. 43
 (98)/57-70-PMS and JN Collection.
- 20. Member, Planning Commission.
- 21. The fortnightly journal of the Planning Commission.

"I am glad that the Yojana is bringing out a special issue to present various aspects of our draft Third Five Year Plan. It is important that our public generally should understand the implications of this Plan, the objectives aimed at, the hopes we nourish and the obligations we have to undertake. It is a great adventure involving the future of more than four hundred million people. There can be no more exciting task for all of us to take up."

Yours sincerely, Jawaharlal Nehru

307. Objectives of the Third Five Year Plan²²

The Third Five Year Plan—what exactly does this convey to the reader? I suppose that each person who talks or reads about this has his own conception of it, limited by his own interest and outlook. Some may think of agricultural growth, some of industry, some of greater employment, and some of all this and much more, all parts of the Third Plan. But it is something much more than this.

It is an attempt to think of the future that we are aiming at and to think it with the present; to visualise the march of a great nation and vast numbers of people towards the desired goals.

For this purpose, it is necessary to have clarity of vision about the objectives aimed at and the kind of society that we should like to exist in India. It is also necessary to know, in broad outline, the path we have to tread. Surely, the objective must be of human equality and the opportunity for everyone to lead the good life; a society based on the principle of cooperative endeavour and not on the acquisitive instinct. We have always to keep these objectives in view, lest we stray from the path.

We live in an age of amazing scientific and technological change. These changes are constantly resulting in the transformation of society and the way people live. We have to understand and take advantage of these technological transformations that are taking place. Indeed, we have to enter into the spirit of science and technology, but, even as we do so, we should not forget the human, the moral and the spiritual values that make life worthwhile.

So this Third Five Year Plan is not just a statistical exercise or a list of the things we have to do on land or in the factory or elsewhere, but it is a somewhat inadequate skeleton of the rich and warm-blooded life that we hope will come to the millions of our people, and the labour that will bring it about. For without

 Foreword, 26 July 1960, written for, as noted on the file, "Major Industries of India Annual 1959-60." File No. 17 (302)/60-PMS, Vol. II. However, this particular publication has not been traced. The Annual Survey of Industries also does not contain any such foreword. labour nothing is achieved. We have not only to look at the mountain tops, but also to work hard and climb up to them.

This is a great adventure for our people and for humanity itself. Let us think of our daily work in these terms, forgetting the petty worries that surround us. Then, it becomes ennobling and inspiring, and something of the greatness of this work falls on us also and blesses us.

308. To Vishnu Sahay: Foreign Exchange Position Serious²³

The Finance Minister has sent a letter to me as well as to other Cabinet Ministers, pointing out that our sterling balances have dropped to a dangerously low level—Rs. 142.7 crores.²⁴ This is a serious situation. In view of this, we have to be even more careful than before about deputations and other matters requiring foreign exchange.

(b) Community Development and Social Welfare

309. To Khadi & Village Industries Commission: Message²⁵

I send my good wishes on the occasion of the celebration of the Sixth Foundation Day²⁶ of the Khadi Gramodyog Bhavan, Bombay, and the first of the Central Emporium opened by the Khadi & Village Industries Commission. I think that this Commission is doing good work. This is so not only in its encouragement directly of village industries, but also in helping us not to be swept away by the urges in favour of mechanisation on a large scale. I am not myself against mechanisation or industrialisation as I believe that the latest techniques have necessarily to be employed in production. But there is always a danger in losing our balance in this matter and forgetting the various social and other aspects of these questions. Even in small and village industries we should always try to improve our techniques.

^{23.} Note, 30 July 1960. File No. 37 (35)/56-63-PMS.

^{24.} Drawing Nehru's attention to "an unprecedentedly low level" of the sterling balances, Morarji Desai wrote to Nehru on 30 July that "hereafter we will have to be very strict in our scrutiny of proposals involving foreign exchange expenditure and that even as regards some of the schemes already sanctioned, the decisions taken earlier may have to be reviewed."

To Khadi Gramodyog Bhavan, Bombay, 7 June 1960. File No. G-8, AICC Papers, Box No. 337, 1960, NMML. Also available in JN Collection.

^{26.} On 19 July 1960.

There is also the aspect of reviving and encouraging the art forms developed in village industries. It would be a pity if these fade away or are submerged by the products of the big machine.

I welcome therefore the work of the Khadi & Village Industries Commission and send it my good wishes on this occasion.

310. To G.S. Dhillon: Bharat Sevak Samaj in Ludhiana²⁷

19 June 1960

My dear Gurdial Singhji,28

I had a deputation today from Ludhiana from the Bharat Sevak Samaj people there. They spoke to me about the difficulties of work there, more especially for the women workers. They brought a particular case to my attention. This was a visit they had paid to a night shelter. I see nothing improper about such a visit. In fact, such unannounced visits are desirable. Nevertheless, I find that the District Convener of the Bharat Sevak Samaj wrote a letter to Shrimati Shakuntala Sareen in which he took strong exception to her visit. I have seen a copy of this letter, and it seems to me very improperly worded.²⁹

I am told that a number of odd news sheets are also continually running down our workers. I am drawing your attention to this matter in your capacity as Convener of the Pradesh Bharat Sevak Samaj.

I am enclosing the papers that were given to me today.30

Letter, copied to Gulzarilal Nanda. File No. 40 (12)/58-66-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

Gurdial Singh Dhillon (1915-1992); Speaker, Punjab Vidhan Sabha, 1954-62; Minister, Government of Punjab, 1964-66; Speaker, Lok Sabha, 1969-75.

^{29.} Shakuntala Sareen met Nehru on 19 June 1960.

^{30.} In his reply on 22 July, Dhillon attributed the trouble in Ludhiana to some local rivalries "political in nature," and Shakuntala Sareen's unpopularity and her intrigues against the district convener who was "a very reasonable, responsible and selfless worker."

311. To N.S. Hardiker: Invitation to Health Institute in Mysore³¹

25 June 1960

My dear Hardiker,32

I am glad to have your letter of the 23rd June.³³ I have had many accounts of the Institute to which you refer and of the good work that this has done. I would gladly visit it both for its own sake and for yours. But, for the present, I am accepting no engagements for the rest of the year. There is a possibility of my going abroad later in the year, and problems here are so intricate and difficult that I do not wish to tie myself up with engagements. But I shall certainly keep what you have said, in mind. I might add that I have not thus far accepted any engagement of the Bharat Sevak Samaj to which you refer.

Yours sincerely, Jawaharlal Nehru

312. To Harekrushna Mahtab: Biju Patnaik's Money³⁴

26 June 1960

My dear Mahtab,35

You will remember that I wrote to you some months ago about B. Patnaik³⁶ sending me a draft for Rs. 6,70,000/-.³⁷ He asked me to pay this into the Prime Minister's National Relief Fund account. I did not do so at the time as I wanted to study the background of these matters. However, I deposited the money in a separate account in a bank.

I wrote to you about these various matters and studied them from the files etc. here. As a result, I came to the conclusion that the Orissa Government had no claim on this money of Patnaik. Indeed, this had been stated, I think, by one of your Ministers in your Assembly. Nevertheless, I felt that it might be better for Patnaik to use this money in some development project in Orissa, preferably

31. Letter. N.S. Hardiker Papers, NMML. Also available in JN Collection.

32. Congress, Rajya Sabha MP from Mysore, and Honorary Administrator, Karnatak Health Institute, Ghataprabha, Belgaum District.

33. Hardiker asked Nehru to visit the Karnatak Health Institute in September or October when in Gadag to preside over the annual meeting of the Bharat Sevak Samaj.

34. Letter.

35. The Chief Minister of Orissa.

36. Biju Patnaik, Member, Orissa Legislative Assembly.

37. See SWJN/SS/59/items 51 to 56.

small scale industries in the rural areas. I wrote to Patnaik and suggested this.

There was some delay because I was absent in Europe, and I think Patnaik was also out of India. Some little time ago, I received a letter from him. He said that he would not like this particular money to be allotted to any scheme in Orissa. He sent me a list of institutions to which he would like this money to be sent. These included (1) the Indian Council for Child Welfare, (2) the Tagore Jayanti Fund, (3) Maulana Azad Memorial Fund, (4) Pandit Moti Lal Nehru Centenary Fund and (5) the proposed Edwina Mountbatten Memorial Fund.

All these proposed beneficiaries are good and worthy objects of help. But I did not like to be the agent for the distribution of this money in this way.

Today, Patnaik came to see me, and I had a talk with him about this matter. I again discussed with him my previous proposal that the money might be used for cottage or small scale industries in Orissa. He said that he had given much help to industrial development in Orissa, and he proposed to do this. But, so far as this particular amount was concerned, he wanted to deal with it quite separately for various reasons. As this was his firm opinion, I had little to say. I told him that I did not want to be dragged into this picture and, therefore, I would prefer to send back this money to him and he can distribute it as he chose.

I, therefore, intend returning this sum of Rs.6,70,000/- to Patnaik.38

Yours sincerely, Jawaharlal Nehru

313. To Harekrushna Mahtab: Biju Patnaik's Money³⁹

11 July 1960

My dear Mahtab,

Your letter of the 7th July about Patnaik's money which he had sent me. 40 In this letter you say that Patnaik owes this money, namely Rs. 6,70,000/- to the Orissa Government. I am rather surprised to read this. You may remember that when I wrote to you, I pointed out that your own Law Department and Government had made it clear that there was no legal liability on B. Patnaik's part to pay that money to the Orissa Government. I think that some such statement was made in your Assembly also.

It was on the basis of these statements and realizing that B. Patnaik did not legally owe this money to your Government that I had suggested that the money might be given by him ex gratia for the development of small industries in Orissa.

^{38.} See also item 313.

^{39.} Letter.

^{40.} See also item 312.

To that he has replied that he is not agreeable on any account to give this particular sum for any such purpose. He added that he had given money for many purposes in Orissa and he hoped to continue doing this, but so far as this particular sum was concerned, he was not at all agreeable to give it for any Orissa purpose, presumably because of the controversy that is taking place.

In view of this, I cannot compel him in any way to act against his own wishes. All I can do is to return the money to him.

Yours sincerely, Jawaharlal Nehru

314. For B.K. Chandiwala: Slum Clearance⁴¹

Please acknowledge this letter from Shri Brij Krishen to me. Say that I am glad that the Mayor and his officers are consulting him in regard to slum clearance. This will, no doubt, facilitate his work both from the Corporation side and the Bharat Sevak Samaj. It would probably be desirable to have an advisory committee, as suggested.

2. A very important aspect of slum clearance is the training of the people to take advantage of it. Otherwise, there is a reversion to slums. Thus, the people living there must cooperate in making these changes and in maintaining them. To some extent we should bring to these slum areas the spirit and methods of community development which we encourage in the rural areas. Where responsibility is cast on the people, one observes a remarkable change in their behaviour. In Rajasthan ever since the new Panchayats were made responsible for education, the attendance in schools has risen greatly and the teachers have to work hard under the eyes of the Panches who are beginning to take pride in their schools.

^{41.} Note to Kesho Ram, 12 July 1960.

^{42.} See item 46.

315. To Jayakrishna P. Bhansali: Why Are You Fasting?43

13 जुलाई 1960

प्रिय श्री भणसाली जी,44

आज मेरे पास एक श्री मुन्नालाल शाह⁴⁵ का पत्र आया। उससे मुझे मालूम हुआ कि आपने मुझे कोई एक तीन महीने हुए एक पत्र भेजा था। मुझे तो आपका पत्र कोई मिला नहीं था। और आज मैंने उसकी खोज कराई, तो मेरे दफतर में भी वह नहीं मिला। हो सकता है कि जब मैं भारत के बाहर हूं, शायद आपने लिखा हो। लेकिन ऐसी हालत में भी वापसी पर वह मुझे मिल जाना चाहिए था। अगर वह मिलता तो मैं आपको अवश्य उसका जवाब देता।

मुझे तो यह भी नहीं मालूम था कि आपने उपवास शुरु किया है। अभी एक दो दिन हुए किसी ने मुझे यह बताया। फिर भी मुझे यह नहीं मालूम हुआ कि किस लिए आपने उपवास किया है।

मुझे खेद है कि आपके पत्र का जवाब आपको नहीं दिया, लेकिन जैसे आप देखेंगे मुझे वह पत्र मिला ही नहीं था। इस बात की मुझे और भी फिकर है कि आप उपवास कर रहे हैं। शायद उसका कोई सम्बन्ध हम लोगों से है। अगर आप कृपा करके अपने पहले पत्र की नकल मुझे भिजवा दें या कोई और पत्र लिखें, तो उसका मैं उत्तर दूंगा। लेकिन हर सूरत मैं आशा करता हूं कि आप अपने उपवास को छोड़ देंगे।

आपका जवाहरलाल नेहरु

[Translation begins:

13 July 1960

My dear Shri Bhansaliji,46

Today I have received a letter from one Munnalal Shah.⁴⁷ I learnt from it that you had sent me a letter about three months back. But I have not received any letter from you. Today I had a search made for it, and it could not be traced in my office. Maybe you wrote the letter when I was abroad. But even in that case I should have got it on my return. If I had got your letter I would have surely replied.

I did not even know that you have undertaken a fast. Someone told me about it only a day or two ago. However, I could not find out the purpose of your fast.

I am sorry that I did not reply to your letter, but you will realize that I did not receive your letter at all. I am all the more concerned at the fact that you are on

^{43.} Letter.

^{44.} J.P. Bhansali, a Gandhian at Sevagram Ashram, Wardha.

^{45.} A Gandhian at Sevagram Ashram.

^{46.} See fn 44 in this section.

^{47.} See fn 45 in this section.

a fast. Perhaps that has something to do with us. If you kindly send me a copy of your earlier letter or some other letter, I shall reply to that. But I hope that in any case you will give up your fast.

Yours sincerely, Jawaharlal Nehru

Translation ends]

316. To Munnalal G. Shah: Bhansali's Letter Went Astray48

13 जुलाई 1960

प्रिय मुन्नालाल जी,

आपका 7 जुलाई का पत्र मुझे आज शाम को मिला। मुझे उसको पढ़कर आश्चर्य हुआ। मेरे पास कोई श्री भणसाली जी का पत्र नहीं आया। मैंने उसकी अपने दफतर में खोज करवाई। तब भी वह नहीं मिला। हो सकता है कि जब मैं यूरोप में था शायद आया हो। लेकिन मेरे पत्र खो नहीं जाते। इसलिए शायद वह यहां पहुंचा ही न हो।

उस पत्र के बारे में मुझे कुछ नहीं मालूम। न मैं जानता था कि भणसाली जी उपवास कर रहे हैं या उससे मेरा कोई सम्बन्ध है। एक दो दिन हुए, मुझे किसी ने कहा था कि वे उपवास कर

रहे हैं। लेकिन उससे मुझे मालूम न था कि उपवास किसलिए है।

मैं उनको एक पत्र अलग लिख रहा हूं। अउनको मैं यहां बुलाता नहीं क्योंकि उनको कष्ट देना ठीक न होगा। आप भी उनसे कह दीजियेगा कि उनका पत्र मुझे नहीं मिला था और न मुझे उनके उपवास की खबर थी। अगर उनका पत्र मुझे मिलता, तो उत्तर अवश्य लिखता।

आपने जो उनकी मांग का लिखा है, वह तो बहुत सीधी साधी नहीं है। मैं समझता हूं कि हम लोग जो गवरमेंट में हैं वो कोई आराम तलब नहीं हैं। न ऐसा जीवन हमारा है। ज़ाहिर है कि बापू की तरह हम नहीं रहते, न कभी पहले उस तरह रहते थे।

आपका

जवाहरलाल नेहरु

[Translation begins:

13 July 1960

My dear Munnalalji,

I received your letter of the 7th July this evening. I was surprised to read it. I have not received any letter from Bhansaliji. I had a search made for it in my office, but it was not traced. Maybe it was received when I was away in Europe.

^{48.} Letter.

^{49.} See item 315.

But my letters are not misplaced. Therefore, it is possible that it did not reach here at all.

I do not know anything about that letter. I also did not know that Bhansaliji was on a fast or that it had something to do with me. Some one told me a day or two ago that he had undertaken a fast. But I did not know the purpose of the fast.

I am writing to him separately.⁵⁰ I do not want to call him here, for it is not proper to trouble him. You also may please tell him that I had not received his letter and I did not know about his fast either. If I had received his letter, I would have certainly replied to it.

You have written about his demand, but it is not a simple one. In my view, those of us who are in Government are not addicted to comforts. Neither are we leading a comfortable life. Obviously, we do not live as Bapu did. Earlier also we did not live like that.

Yours sincerely, Jawaharlal Nehru

Translation ends]

317. To P.S. Deshmukh: Farmers' Visit to USA51

16 July 1960

My dear Panjabrao,52

Your letter of July 15th about the scheme for sending our farmers to the U.S.A. ⁵³ I have no doubt that a visit to the U.S.A. does them some good. But I am still not convinced that this is necessary considering the circumstances in India and the U.S.A. However, I do not wish to put any kind of a ban on it. You say that the T.C.M. ⁵⁴ bears the whole expenditure. How then does the question of our making financial provision arise? If it does, then the matter should be referred to the Cabinet.

- 50. See fn 49 in this section.
- 51. Letter. File No. 31 (110)/60-61-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.
- 52. Minister for Cooperation.
- 53. See Appendix 88.
- 54. The Technical Cooperation Mission (USA).

318. To Munnalal G. Shah: Bhansali on Austerity55

21 जुलाई 1960

प्रिय मुन्नालाल जी,

आपका 19 जुलाई का पत्र मिला। यह मालूम होकर कि श्री भणसाली जी ने उपवास छोड़ दिया

है, मुझे खुशी हुई।

अगर श्री भणसाली जी मुझसे कुछ जानना चाहते हैं तो मैं उनको उत्तर दे दूंगा। लेकिन आपकी और उनकी सूचना के लिए मैं इतना अभी कह देता हूं कि जो तनखाहें ऊंचे दर्जे के सरकारी कर्मचारियों को मिलती हैं, उनका घटाना मेरी शक्ति में नहीं है। एक तरह से वह अपने आप घटे हैं क्योंकि इनकम टैक्स बढ़ गया है, और उसके साथ रुपये की कीमत घट गई है।

जहां तक मिनिस्टरों का सम्बन्ध है, केंद्रीय सरकार में उनका वेतन इस समय रु० 2250 है। इनकम टैक्स देने के बाद कोई रु० 1620 रह जाता है। कांग्रेस ने 1931 में यह निश्चय किया था कि वेतन रु० 500 से अधिक न हो। उस समय के रु० 500 अब शायद रु० 2000 से अधिक हों। इस हिसाब से केन्द्रीय मिनिस्टरों का वेतन अधिक नहीं है। यह भी याद रखना है कि उनके खर्चे की जिम्मेदारी बढ़ जाती है। यह खर्चा अपने ऊपर नहीं होता, बल्कि अधिकतर और बातों पर।

प्रदेशों के मिनिस्टरों का वेतन इस से भी कम होता है।

आपका जवाहरलाल नेहरु

[Translation begins:

21 July 1960

My dear Munnalalji,

I have your letter of the 19th July. I am happy to know that Shri Bhansaliji has broken his fast.

If Shri Bhansaliji wants to know anything from me, I shall reply to him. But I may tell you for your and his information that it is not within my powers to reduce the salaries of Government officials at the higher levels. In a way, these have come down on their own because of the increase in the income-tax, also because of the decline in the value of the rupee.

As far as the Ministers in the Central Government are concerned, their salary at present is Rs 2250. After paying the income-tax, it comes to Rs 1620. The Congress had decided in 1931 that the salary should not be more than Rs 500. The value of Rs 500 of those days would now be more than Rs 2000. By this consideration, the salary of a Central Minister is not high. It should also be remembered that their responsibility for expenses has grown. The expenditure is not incurred on themselves alone, but often on other counts.

The salary of Ministers in the states is still less.

Yours sincerely, Jawaharlal Nehru

Translation ends]

(c) Food and Agriculture

319. To Hafiz Mohammed Ibrahim: The Beas Project⁵⁶

10 June 1960

My dear Hafizji,

I enclose a letter from Hem Raj, M.P.⁵⁷ Possibly you have received a copy of it directly. How far has this proposal for a dam on the river Beas proceeded? Has it been calculated as to what the effect will be on the displacement of the people there?

Yours sincerely, Jawaharlal Nehru

320. To Hafiz Mohammed Ibrahim: Plan Allocations⁵⁸

11 June 1960

My dear Hafizji,

Your letter of the 10th June. We did not discuss these separate allocations in Cabinet as we thought that that kind of discussion had better take place directly between the Ministry concerned and the Planning Commission. I suggest that your Ministry discuss this matter with the Planning Commission. Meanwhile I am sending your letter to the Deputy Chairman of the Planning Commission.

What I was particularly interested in during the last two days' discussions in Cabinet was the broad approach to the Third Plan. So far as power is concerned, as you know, I consider this of basic importance.

^{56.} Letter. File No. 17 (372)/59-69-PMS.

^{57.} See also item 156.

^{58.} Letter. File No. 17 (302)/60-PMS, Vol. II. Also available in JN Collection.

321. To Pattom A. Thanu Pillai: The Parambikulam-Aliyar Project⁵⁹

11 June 1960

My dear Thanu Pillai,

I am writing to you about a subject which I think our Home Minister, Pantji, has already brought to your notice. This is regarding the Parambikulam-Aliyar Project which requires the cooperation of the Madras and the Kerala Governments.⁶⁰

I do not understand why this project should be held up. Nothing is more costly than delay. I do not know the facts, but in case there is a difference of opinion between the two Governments, steps should be taken to resolve it. I understand that the points in dispute were discussed by technical experts of both sides in the presence of the Chairman of the Central Water and Power Commission and solutions acceptable to both were suggested.

However this may be, it seems very regrettable that this deadlock and delay should continue involving considerable loss to all concerned. I would, therefore, request you to look into this matter and expedite a settlement of the dispute and issues. If our help is needed in this we shall gladly give it.⁶¹

Yours sincerely, Jawaharlal Nehru

322. To S.K. Patil: Buy up Foodgrain Surpluses⁶²

15 June 1960

My dear SK,63

I give below an extract from a letter addressed by the Governor of Madhya Pradesh⁶⁴ to our President. This extract refers to food situation. I am particularly drawing your attention to this as it seems to me that urgent action is necessary to take advantage of the present surplus of foodgrains in the State by buying it up as soon as possible:

"Food. – In my previous letters I have been referring to the peculiar food position in the State. Because of a good harvest this year there is a considerable

59. Letter. File No. 17 (394)/60-62-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

61. G.B. Pant nudged the two governments to an agreement on 4 July 1960 in New Delhi.

62. Letter

63. Minister of Food and Agriculture.

64. H.V. Pataskar.

^{60.} The project envisaged the harnessing of the waters of the Cauvery, Chalakudy and Bharatapuzha basins for irrigation and power production in Madras and Kerala.

food surplus in the State. It is a good opportunity for the Central Government and other State Governments to make large scale purchases and build up their reserves. The prices, however, because of absence of large scale buying, are rapidly falling in the markets and the rapid fall is adversely affecting the cultivators. There is no doubt that the traders will take advantage of this glut in the market by withholding purchases and thus making the needy cultivators sell their crop at rock bottom prices and then raising the prices when the agriculturists have disposed of their surplus produce. I do hope that the Governments concerned will realise the desirability of making purchases soon in their own interest as well as in the interest of this State."

Yours sincerely, Jawaharlal Nehru

323. To K.C. Reddy: Najafgarh Drainage and Bharat Sevak Samaj⁶⁵

16 June 1960

My dear Reddy,

I am writing to you about the Najafgarh Drainage Scheme. I understand that the Ministry of Irrigation & Power has accorded formal sanction for the scheme. Unfortunately this has been done rather late as the monsoon will commence soon. Even so the sooner it is started the better. I hope that in this particular case the cooperation of the Bharat Sevak Samaj of Delhi will be taken. They have done this kind of earth work repeatedly and done it well and at much less cost.

Yours sincerely, Jawaharlal Nehru

324. To Mohanlal Sukhadia: Mechanized Farms⁶⁶

Chashmashahi, Srinagar 6 July 1960

My dear Sukhadia,

I have your letter of July 3rd about the setting up of more mechanized farms in Rajasthan.⁶⁷ You know that I am in favour of this proposal. It may however be

- 65. Letter.
- 66. Letter. File No. 31 (101)/60-71-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.
- 67. See Appendix 60.

rather difficult to finalise any such proposal quickly. It involves a great many factors, including the help for this purpose we might be able to get from the Soviet Government. But I do hope that this proposal will go through and we shall start our preliminary steps well in advance.

Yours sincerely, Jawaharlal Nehru

325. To Boshi Sen: Growing Foodgrains in Ladakh⁶⁸

8 July 1960

My dear Boshi,69

Yesterday I came back from a visit to some areas in Ladakh. As you perhaps know, the whole Ladakh area has an altitude from 11,500 feet to 15,000 feet or more (leaving out the peaks). It is situated on the other side of the main Himalayan range and, therefore, gets very little rain, about two inches per year. No trees grow at this altitude except where they are specially tended as in Leh and near a river. The general outlook, therefore, is bleak and barren, though it has very considerable dignity and even beauty. The population is very sparse. In the valleys, chiefly adjoining a river, there is some greenery, some grass and shrubs, and some kind of coarse grain is raised.

Leh, the Capital of Ladakh, has a number of Poplar and Willow trees. There is a river—Indus—nearby, and there are some fields of maize and the coarse grain. We have recently sent an energetic man there as Deputy Commissioner, and he is anxious to increase the food grain production in any way that he can. Also to plant some trees. The altitude of Leh is 11,500 feet. Can you make any suggestions or send him any suitable seeds? Perhaps he might write to you direct.

I went to another place which is near the Eastern border of Ladakh. I flew in a helicopter over the Indus Valley almost to the point where the Indus goes into Tibetan territory. This valley is very attractive. It varied in width from 5 miles to 15 miles, and in length I myself passed over about 30 or 40 miles. There were very few small hamlets. Roughly the altitude here was 13,000 feet or a little more. The people grew probably the same kind of coarse food grain. There were herds of sheep and goats and wild horses and domesticated yaks. We have now some of our Army detachments at various places in this valley.

^{68.} Letter. File No. 31 (109)/60-70-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

^{69.} Basiswar (Boshi) Sen, Founder-director, Vivekanand Laboratory, a botanical research laboratory in Almora.

^{70.} K.A.A. Rajah, Deputy Commissioner, Ladakh.

It seemed to me that an effort to grow foodgrains ought to succeed there. There is water from the Indus river and wherever the water went there is some greenery. We would like our Army people who are stationed there, and most of whom come from peasant stock, to experiment with sowing suitable seeds. Can you advise?

Perhaps later you might send some competent person who knows about high altitude agriculture to these areas. It is not very easy to get there. The normal land route will probably take about six weeks from Leh. I went by plane the greater part of the way and then by helicopter.⁷¹

Yours sincerely, Jawaharlal Nehru

326. To S.K. Patil: Cotton Growing Collaboration with USSR⁷²

12 July 1960

My dear S.K.,

In the course of a letter from Moscow, Morarjibhai⁷³ gives me details of a conversation he had with Skatchkov, Chairman of the State Committee for Foreign Economic Relations. I give an extract from this letter.

"While we were discussing the market for cotton textiles, Mr. Skatchkov turned to the problem of growing raw cotton. He said when Mr. Khrushchev was in Suratgarh early this year he had suggested the exchange of experience between India and the Soviet Union in growing cotton and made certain concrete proposals. He expressed his surprise that our Ministry of Agriculture had not taken any action to implement the proposals made. I promised to make enquiries about this on my return to India."

I am sending a copy of this letter to Dr. Deshmukh as I imagine the talk referred to took place with him.⁷⁴

- 71. In his reply on 13 July, Boshi Sen suggested cultivating early strains of hybrid maize and wheat developed by Vivekanand Laboratory; "the variety of jowar you (Nehru) saw in Lucknow;" barley and oats; buckwheat; ordinary and sweet potato; peas, lentils and cowpea; and Weeping Love Grass (Eragrostis curvula). Sen offered to send seeds and "a good trained man" for initiating the work in Ladakh.
- 72. Letter. File No. 31 (107)/60-61-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.
- 73. Morarji Desai returned on 12 July.
- 74. For Patil's reply, see Appendix 92.

327. To Vishnu Sahay: Agricultural Statistics for Cabinet⁷⁵

I understand that the summary for Cabinet about agricultural census⁷⁶ has been referred to the Planning Commission for their comments. I should like a special meeting of the Planning Commission to be held for this purpose at which I am

present.

2. But, before this meeting is held, I should like Professor Mahalanobis to prepare a paper on agricultural statistics and the way we should deal with them and keep up-to-date. I have, in fact, asked him to prepare such a paper, and he said that it will take him three or four days. This period would just cover the period of my absence from Delhi as I am going to Assam. You will remember that perhaps a year ago, Cabinet considered a paper submitted by Professor Mahalanobis for sample surveys to collect agricultural statistics. After some discussion, this paper was apparently allowed to lapse. I think that this should be resurrected for reference when we consider the other matters in the Planning Commission.

328. To M.O. Mathai: Ladakh Proposals Impractical⁷⁷

24 July 1960

My dear Mathai,78

I have your letter of today's date about Ladakh.⁷⁹ I do not think that some of your proposals are feasible, such as starting Military farms there, etc. Conditions in Ladakh are very peculiar, and the Military cannot possibly undertake this with all their commitments. Every scrap of thing has to be flown there by air. Nor would it be possible, at present at any rate, to get people from Ladakh for training here. But it might be desirable for Dr. Boshi Sen to send one of his representatives to look round and report, and perhaps later to start a small agricultural research centre. I am writing about this to S.K. Patil.⁸⁰

Yours affectionately, Jawaharlal Nehru

76. See Appendix 19.

77. File No. 31 (109)/60-70-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

79. See Appendix 96.

Note, 15 July 1960. File No. 4/7/CF/60, Vol. I, Cabinet Secretariat. Also available in JN Collection.

^{78.} Former Special Assistant to the Prime Minister; had resigned in February 1959 following allegations of corruption.

^{80.} See item 329.

329. To S.K. Patil: Growing Food in Ladakh81

24 July 1960

My dear SK,

During my recent visit to Ladakh, both at Leh and the higher altitude areas near our border, it struck me that we should make a special effort to grow things there. The whole of Ladakh is above 11,000 feet in altitude and many of the valleys even are above 14,000 feet. This is considered normally above the range of trees. There are a few trees round about Leh near the Indus river which were specially planted and looked after. They also grow some kind of coarse food grain in some places. Now that our Army is functioning there, especially near the borders, we are finding great difficulty in sending supplies to them. Everything has to go by air; even every kind of fuel, as there is no wood available. It struck me that it would be desirable to have some simple experiments made there to grow food grains and fodder grass, in the valleys where there is water available. I spoke about this to the Deputy Commissioner of Ladakh and he welcomed the idea. The Army people also thought that it would be a good thing if they could grow something in the higher valleys.

Thereafter I asked Dr. Boshi Sen of Almora, who has some experience of work in the higher altitudes, to send suitable seeds there. This, I believe, is being done. It has struck me, however, that it would be a good thing if Boshi Sen was given opportunities to do some research work in this matter in Ladakh. The first step would be for him to send one of his trained representatives to go there and report. The next might be starting a small agricultural research centre there. I lay stress on "small" because I do not want the complicated apparatus which we normally put up officially in our research centres. Indeed, I would like this to be done in an informal way without too much of direct official connection. I would, therefore, suggest that the Indian Council of Agricultural Research might give a relatively small grant to Dr. Boshi Sen for this purpose.

If you are agreeable to this, I shall write to the Jammu & Kashmir Government and also get in touch with our Army authorities, who could help. After these initial experiments, which would not cost much at all, a scheme might be drawn up for further work there.

Please let me know how you react to this proposal.

^{81.} File No. 31 (109)/60-70-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

^{82.} See item 325

330. To S.K. Patil: Boshi Sen for Ladakh Agriculture83

26 July 1960

My dear S.K.,

Thank you for your letter of today's date about the agricultural development of Ladakh. 84 I am glad you have taken immediate action in this matter. I am writing to Boshi Sen to send one of his men to Leh and, later, to the forward areas. 85 I have also sent a note to the Army authorities and have taken steps to inform the J.&K. Government.

Yours sincerely, Jawaharlal Nehru

331. To Boshi Sen: Agriculture in Ladakh86

26 July 1960

My dear Boshi,

At my suggestion, our Minister for Food & Agriculture has asked the Indian Council of Agricultural Research to place a sum of rupees ten thousand at your disposal. This is to enable you to carry out some research work about growing suitable crops etc. in the Ladakh region. The first step would, I imagine, be for you to send some competent person to Ladakh to find out what the state of affairs there is. He should go first to Leh and discuss matters with the Deputy Commissioner and others there. Later, he should go by an Army plane to forward areas and find out the conditions there. He can then report to you.

It might be desirable to have a small research centre at Leh itself under your supervision. The sooner such action is taken, the better.

^{83.} Letter.

^{84.} Patil replied that he was asking the ICAR to assign Rs 10,000 to Boshi Sen, and proposed setting up an ICAR committee to examine high altitude agriculture.

^{85.} See item 331.

^{86.} Letter. File No. 31 (109)/60-70-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

332. To O. Pulla Reddi: Help Boshi Sen on Ladakh Agricultural Research⁸⁷

On my return from Ladakh, I suggested that efforts should be made to grow some crops in some parts of Ladakh, including the forward areas, wherever there was water available. I am sure that crops can be grown there, both some kind of food crops and fodder. I wrote to the Food & Agriculture Minister⁸⁸ as well as to Dr. Boshi Sen⁸⁹ who has some experience in high altitude crops.

- 2. I understand that the Food & Agriculture Minister has arranged for the Indian Council of Agricultural Research to place a sum of rupees ten thousand at the disposal of Dr. Boshi Sen to carry out this research work as soon as possible. I have suggested to Dr. Boshi Sen to send as soon as possible a competent assistant of his to Leh to examine the position there. After that, it would be worthwhile to send him to Chusul and further along the Indus River to investigate these possibilities. I hope that the Army authorities will give him facilities to visit these places. As soon as I hear from Dr. Boshi Sen, you will be informed.
- 3. It is also proposed that a small research centre for this purpose might be started at Leh.

333. To Shankar Prasad: Boshi Sen and Ladakh Agriculture⁹⁰

26 July 1960

My dear Shankar Prasad,

I enclose a copy of a note to the Defence Secretary. I have not heard from Dr. Boshi Sen yet, but I hope he will be able to send a man for the purpose indicated. You might inform Bakhshi Ghulam Mohammad about this and also write to the Deputy Commissioner of Ladakh.

^{87.} Note, 26 July 1960. File No. 31 (109)/60-70-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

^{88.} See item 330.

^{89.} See item 331

^{90.} Letter.

^{91.} See item 332.

334. To Vishnu Sahay: Agricultural Cooperative Marketing⁹²

This matter was considered by a Committee appointed by me⁹³ and that Committee gave its advice as referred to in the attached letter. I think that that advice was correct.

- 2. To some extent, this advice has been followed. Where something remains to be done, this should be done very soon. There should be no further delay about it.
- 3. Meanwhile I suggest that the same Committee might consider this matter and give its advice in regard to any conflict of opinion that might arise. That advice should be followed.

335. To S.K. Patil: State Trading in Punjab94

29 July 1960

My dear S.K.,

Thank you for sending me the picture which Madame Diego Rivera⁹⁵ gave you in Mexico.

I had a visit today from Mohan Lal, Minister of the Punjab Government. He told me of the successful working of some kind of State trading in the Punjab. As far as I have been able to see, the Punjab has been doing well in this respect and has kept prices in check. Mohan Lal was rather worried about certain orders sent by our Food Ministry, which would probably upset his system of State trading. I believe he has seen you, and I am sure you must be looking into this matter.

^{92.} Note, 27 July 1960. File No. 14/4/CF/60, Cabinet Secretariat.

^{93.} The matter related to the National Agricultural Cooperative Marketing Federation; see Appendix 100.

^{94.} File No. 31 (85)/58-60-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

^{95.} Emma Hurtado, widow and art dealer of Diego Rivera (1886-1957), the prominent Mexican artist and politician who had married her in 1955 after the death of his previous wife, Frida Kahlo, in 1954.

(d) Industry

336. To G.B. Pant: Fatehsingrao's Foreign Funds⁹⁶

1 June 1960

My dear Pantji,

In a Prospectus of a new company called The Baroda Rayon Corporation Ltd., 97 Managing Agents: Gaekwad Chinai & Co. Private Ltd., the following paragraph occurs. It is headed "Minimum Subscription".

"Out of the present issue of Rs.3,50,00,000/-, the Company will be required to obtain sanctions of the Reserve Bank of India, (a) in respect of the amount of Rs.26,80,000/- to be contributed by the Japanese collaborators which will be utilised against the amounts payable by the Company to them from time to time, and (b) in respect of a sum of Rs.30,00,000/- to be contributed by H.H. the Maharaja of Baroda, 98 in foreign currency, out of the funds held by him abroad, for purposes of facilitating the purchase by the Company of machinery and equipments. Pending the above-mentioned sanctions of the Reserve Bank of India being obtained, the Directors will proceed with allotment on the shares of the nominal value of Rs.2,93,20,000/- being subscribed."

Among the Directors is the Maharaja of Baroda.

My attention was attracted to the mention in this of Rs.30,00,000/- held in foreign currency out of India by the Maharaja of Baroda, that is, Fatehsinhrao, M.P. I was a little surprised to find such a large sum held by him abroad. Has your Ministry been informed of this?

Yours affectionately, [Jawaharlal]

337. To Vishnu Sahay: Production of Fertilizers99

I am rather concerned at the slowness in our extracting coal and also in the delay in the setting up of Fertiliser plants. Both of these are very important from the point of view of our Plan, our industry and our land. I shall be glad if you ask the Ministries concerned why this delay has occurred and what they propose to do to expedite both these matters.

- 96. Letter, copied to Morarji Desai.
- 97. Incorporated in 1958.
- 98. Fatehsinhrao Gaekwad, Congress, Lok Sabha MP from Baroda, Bombay State; he was the chairman of the Baroda Rayon Corporation Ltd.
- 99. Note, 14 June 1960. File No. 17 (335)/59-64-PMS, Vol. I. Also available in JN Collection.

338. To G.B. Pant: The Politics of Tractor Maintenance 100

19 June 1960

My dear Pantji,

You may remember that for some months past complaints have been made about the Kumatsu (Japanese) tractors which were sent to Dandakaranya. When first these complaints were made, we sent Admiral Shankar there.

His report was that there was nothing wrong with the tractors, but some minor adjustments were desirable in order to keep the inside clean. When again these reports continued and in fact some of these tractors were grounded, it was decided to send an independent American engineer named Kohen, who has been in India for some time working under the T.C.M.¹⁰¹ or some such American scheme, to examine these tractors and report. Kohen went both to Dandakaranya, where he visited several depots, and also to the Ordnance Factory in Calcutta which is making these tractors. He returned to Delhi yesterday. I thought I might send for him and have a first-hand report.

Kohen came to see me this afternoon by himself. There was no one else present. He gave me an extraordinary account of what he found at Dandakaranya. First of all, he said that his visit to the Ordnance Factory in Calcutta had convinced him that the tractors being made there were as good as any other. In some ways they were even better because the metallurgical element was of a slightly higher grade. The reason he gave for this was that private manufacturers tended to use a somewhat lesser grade.

He then said that the way these tractors had been used in Dandakaranya could only be described as grave abuse of the tractors. Being an engineer, he said that a machine had to be tended carefully, and he was surprised to see the rough way in which they were often used here. If a person was so inclined, he could do a great deal of damage to a tractor without being found out. Thus, for instance, if petrol was put in a diesel engine, this might well ruin the machine. A wrong kind of oil might not ruin it, but injure it somewhat. In this particular kind of tractor, a wrong kind of oil was used.

He said that he had been to Neyvelli in Madras and he found the earth moving machinery and other machinery being kept in perfect condition. Every machine there was washed in 24 hours. In fact, they had kept them so well that the spares they had brought had thus far not been used. At Dandakaranya, on the other hand, these Kumatsu tractors had not been washed even once ever since they came into use six months ago. Otherwise also he was convinced that there had

^{100.} Letter.

^{101.} Technical Cooperation Mission of USA.

been deliberate neglect of these tractors because the engineer in charge apparently did not want them to succeed. He was constantly praising the Allys Charmer tractors and said that Kumatsu's were no good. Kohen, the American engineer, was quite angry about all this, and he sort of hinted that even in America attempts were made by American firms to sabotage the machinery of other firms.

This seems to me a very serious affair. I am just informing you of it. Kohen will produce his formal report in a few days' time, and he has already spoken to the people in the Rehabilitation Ministry. I suppose they will take necessary action.

Yours affectionately, [Jawaharlal]

339. To Mehr Chand Khanna: The Politics of Tractor Maintenance¹⁰²

24 June 1960

My dear Mehr Chand,

I have your letter of the 21st June about Dandakaranya. Kohen (or Koken) of the Technical Cooperation Mission saw me last Sunday soon after his return from Dandakaranya, and I had a fairly long talk with him. His story is an astonishing one. It was on the lines of what you say he has said to Prem Krishen. He spoke well of Johnson and some others there, but about one of the Engineers (I think his name was Goyal) he had definite suspicions amounting almost to a conviction, that he had not treated his machines properly. At the same time, he added that Goyal appeared to know his job and, therefore, what he had done could not be due to carelessness. This matter should certainly be pursued.

But the really important thing is for new persons to be appointed in charge of these tractors, and I think that Goyal, the man whom Kohen suspects, should no longer deal with tractors. Kohen told me that it was very easy to ruin a tractor or any machine without anyone being able to find out. The use of a wrong oil by itself was enough, or lack of cleaning.

Kohen also visited Neyveli and said that the earth moving machinery and other machines there were in excellent and shining condition. They were washed daily. In fact, they were kept in such good condition that the spares that had been kept were not used. On the other hand, at Dandakaranya, these Komatsu tractors had not been washed properly even once since they began their career there six

102. Letter.

103. Joint Secretary, Ministry of Rehabilitation, June 1959-April 1962.

months ago. This was very extraordinary, he said. The least that should be done is to wash them thoroughly once a week.

I suppose it will be exceedingly difficult for you to find any evidence against the American firm. Probably it will not be easy to find it even against the Indian engineer in charge. But one thing should be obvious that he has not treated the machines properly.

I have your letter of the 23rd June about the Zonal Leaders, etc. What you suggest appears to be right.

Yours sincerely, Jawaharlal Nehru

340. To K.C. Reddy: Cheap Bricks¹⁰⁴

26 June 1960

My dear Reddy,

I have today written a long note about Surat Singh and his proposal to make cheap bricks. ¹⁰⁵ A copy of the note has been put in the file, which presumably will go to you. Still, I am enclosing another copy with this letter so that you may immediately read it and get some idea of my thinking on this subject.

I have asked Anil Chanda to see me tomorrow, 27th June, at 5.30 p.m. I am seeing him to discuss this Surat Singh matter with him. If you are free and can also come then, I shall be glad.

Yours sincerely, Jawaharlal Nehru

341. Producing Cheap Bricks 106

Shri Surat Singh's proposal

I have given a good deal of thought to this matter and have had two fairly long talks with Surat Singh. The proposal he makes is exceedingly odd and normally we would hardly consider it seriously. And yet there are some aspects of it which lead me to the conclusion that we should not reject it out of hand.

104. Letter.

105. See item 341.

106. Note, 26 June 1960.

2. The actual proposal is to make bricks of very good quality by some new method which does not involve the use of wood, coal, cow-dung, etc. In other words, some unusual fuel element is used for heating purposes. Further that this is easily available in the greater part of the country. Surat Singh adds that he is not personally acquainted with Southern India, but he can speak with confidence about North India. All this process is inexpensive and, using it, very good bricks can be produced at about Rs.8/- per thousand. The process is simple and can be used by villagers and others without much difficulty.

3. If there is any truth in this, it means a revolutionary innovation in building. Indeed it would almost be a miracle if all that Surat Singh says comes out to be true. I find it difficult to believe all that he says. I do not mean to say that he is deliberately lying to us. But, however this may be, I cannot believe this kind of thing till I see it actually done. Producing a new fuel element with such great

potentialities would itself be a very remarkable discovery.

4. If he had not actually produced some excellent bricks for purposes of demonstration, I would have rejected this proposal. But the fact that he has produced a number of these very good bricks which were marked or signed by one of our engineers and, therefore, presumably could not be replaced, is an important factor to be considered. The real test can only come if a large quantity of bricks is made. Just a few samples are not enough.

- 5. Normally we would proceed to give him every facility to make a large quantity of these bricks and thus enable us to test the process fully, but Surat Singh is not agreeable to this, as he is presumably afraid that once he does this in a big way his secret formula or process will be known and then he will have no hold left and anybody will be able to use it. I tried to argue with him and explain to him that this fear of his was not warranted. I suggested patenting it or having some royalty system. But he was impervious to all these arguments. He wanted cash reward though this was subject to the success of his demonstrations. He was prepared to leave this question of success to any of our experts whom we might nominate. The cash reward, according to him, is to be Rs.30 lakhs.
- 6. My own reaction to anyone asking such a big reward is against it. And yet I cannot get away from the thought that there might be something in what Surat Singh says, even though it might not amount to his claim and, in any event, the question of a reward can only arise after the successful demonstration in a big way of his process and our satisfaction with it. This by itself appears to be an adequate guarantee.
- 7. Surat Singh said that his process can be used anywhere in India. He added, however, that the rainy season was not the best time for it. Thus, broadly speaking, it may be said that some kind of a dry season is necessary for its success. Although this may be a limiting factor to some extent, it really does not affect the situation much except that we may not be able have a full demonstration of his process during the coming monsoon season. Perhaps, if an agreement is

arrived at, preliminary and small scale demonstrations may be had even during the monsoon. But we should not be satisfied till a major demonstration and that too in various places.

- 8. Surat Singh is a Jat with all the stubbornness of a Jat. He has set his heart on the figure of the reward he claims and I could not move him from it. I pointed out to him that if he was paid Rs.30 lakhs, a very large part of it, possibly Rs.25 lakhs or so, would go in income-tax. Therefore anyhow it was not wise for him to ask for this payment in a lump sum. I suggested that if after full experiments in suitable weather and in suitable places, our experts were satisfied that his claim was correct, we might pay him within six months of such satisfaction a sum of Rs.5 lakhs as the first instalment. The work would continue with this help in various places in India and presuming success, we would pay him the rest of the promised reward in instalments of Rs.5 lakhs per annum. That is to say, if all goes well, he would be paid Rs.30 lakhs in six instalments in six years' time. Such a payment would reduce his income-tax also a good deal.
- 9. I pointed out to him that if his process really succeeds, as he says it will, there can be no difficulty about full facilities being given to him for research and experiment as well as for his earning by reward or otherwise considerable sums of money. But, the Jat that he is, he wanted something much more definite than these vague assurances.
- 10. After considering various aspects of this, I have come to the conclusion that we should agree to take this step. We may be charged with folly of being too credulous in accepting a quack method and, as I have said, I do not myself believe that Surat Singh will succeed in what he says. I am rather attaching importance to the fact that while he may not fully succeed, nevertheless his method may give us a clue for advance in many ways. However that may be, any payment by us is clearly subject to full experimentation, demonstration and success. So our interests are fully guarded.
- 11. I am not sure if a legal or stamped agreement is required. Unless this is insisted upon, I would prefer to have a simple document signed by the two parties which is perfectly good in law. If, however, Surat Singh wants the whole thing in a legal form, I would have no objection. Whatever the nature of the paper might be, it should be drawn carefully and precisely so that there should be no doubt as to what we mean and what we are aiming at. I find in the file suggestions for such an agreement. They are generally good though sometimes they seem to go into somewhat unnecessary detail. I realise that some details are necessary. However, when such a document has been drafted, it can be examined more carefully. Naturally Surat Singh will have to agree to it. I should like to see the document.
- 12. It will be necessary to nominate some people, say, three, who will be the final judges of the success or otherwise of these experiments. The experiment, I need hardly add, will not be just one or in one place. It should take place in

various parts of the country under different conditions and on a large scale. It is only then that we can definitely form an opinion.

- 13. As I have said above, Surat Singh himself says that monsoon season is not good for it. We should not, therefore, lay too much stress on the process being completely successful during every season.
- 14. I therefore suggest that we should endeavour to come to an agreement with Surat Singh on the basis indicated above. That is to say, that after full experimentation on a large scale and in several parts of the country, if the judges are completely satisfied that what Surat Singh claims has been established, we shall pay him a reward or whatever it may be called. The first instalment of this will amount to Rs.5 lakhs and will be paid within six months after experts or judges have pronounced their opinion in favour of Surat Singh's claim.
- 15. After this, the process will continue in various parts of India with the help of Surat Singh and if it functions with satisfaction, as claimed, further instalments of the reward will be paid to him annually at the rate of Rs.5 lakhs per instalment, the second instalment to be paid within twelve months of the payment of the first, the third the year after and so on till the full sum of Rs.30 lakhs is paid to him.
- 16. We on our part should agree to give him every facility for his demonstrations etc. and we should be prepared to spend some money over these facilities. Presumably this cannot be much.
- 17. As the whole basis of this approach is that our liability for payment only begins after the success is established, there is no risk involved. Success means revolutionising the making of bricks and putting up buildings etc. and very considerable economies there which will be far greater than any reward claimed or given. Thus the question of making provision for such payments of rewards does not arise. Either the demonstrations fail when nothing is to be paid, or they succeed and bring us far greater economies than what we pay. Thus any agreement by Finance to pay anything does not arise at all though of course Finance will have to be kept informed.
- 18. I have written above what I consider should be our approach. WHS Ministry might proceed on this basis, draft a tentative agreement and discuss it with Surat Singh. Probably these discussions will bring out new points and new difficulties. We can consider these as they arise. The point is that while safeguarding our interests completely, we should approach this matter so as not to make it almost impossible for Surat Singh to function. Our approach, therefore, should be a feasible one.
 - 19. I should like to be kept in touch with developments.

342. To K.C. Neogy: Monorail 107

29 June 1960

My dear Neogy,

I have just received two letters from you, one dated June 28th and the other June 29th.

With the former letter, you have sent the article on "Monorail". I am much interested in this. I am sending this on to the Railways Minister. 108

In your second letter, you have broadly indicated the nature of the difficult and intricate problem which we are facing. I was very glad to learn from you, in the course of our talk the other day, how you were tackling this problem in a thorough and methodical way. More especially, I liked your having sample surveys of goods traffic trends. This type of information will certainly be helpful. I entirely agree with you that you should complete this survey and not allow yourself to be hustled into presenting what might be an incomplete report.

I think it would be a good idea for you to prepare an interim report—not dealing with any recommendations, but rather with the nature of the problem and the broad issues that have to be dealt with. Such a report would have an educative value for Members of Parliament and the public.

Yours sincerely, Jawaharlal Nehru

343. To M.K. Mathulla: Congratulations 109

30 June 1960

My dear Mathulla, 110

I have your letter of the 27th June and the Annual Report of Hindustan Machine Tools Ltd for 1959-60. This report discloses a very satisfactory state of affairs and I should like to congratulate you on it. I should also like you to express my appreciation to the workers, technicians and management of H.M.T.

Yours sincerely, Jawaharlal Nehru

107. Letter. File No. 27 (51)/59-70-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

109. Letter. File No. 17 (21)/59-64-PMS.

^{108.} The *Hindusthan Standard* of 3 August 1960 reported that the West Bengal Government opposed the Calcutta Municipal Corporation's monorail scheme as too expensive.

^{110.} Managing Director, Hindustan Machine Tools Ltd., Bangalore.

344. To Swaran Singh: Production of Pig Iron¹¹¹

Chashmashahi, Srinagar 6 July 1960

My dear Swaran Singh,

I spoke to you the other day about Patnaik's effort to make pig iron in a small blast furnace. He had told me that unless this was increased in size, it would not be economic and, therefore, as far as I remember, he said that it should be increased so as to produce 100,000 tons of pig iron annually. I had asked him to send me a note on this subject. He has now done that and I am sending his note on to you.

In this note he says that he wants to expand the capacity of his furnace to 250,000 tons and makes various proposals. I do not think myself that we should be very rigid in our application of our broad policy in regard to steel in such relatively small matters. I hope you will have this matter examined and then we can consider it

Yours sincerely, Jawaharlal Nehru

345. To Swaran Singh: Bhilai Steel Plant 112

12 July 1960

My dear Swaran Singh,

Our Finance Minister has been sending me long letters from various places in Europe. In the course of these letters, he has given almost verbatim reports of talks he has had with important people. In his last letter dated the 8th July from Moscow, he refers to a talk he had with Skatchkov, Chairman of the State Committee for Foreign Economic Relations. I give a quotation from this letter which refers to Bhilai:

"Mr. Skatchkov then raised some practical problems relating to the implementation of the projects. About the Bhilai Steel Plant he said that we were facing certain difficulties in operating the plant, and if they were not removed quickly they would lead to more complications.

According to him for the normal operation of the two blast furnaces now in commission in Bhilai there should be a stock of 140,000 tons of iron

^{111.} Letter. File No. 17 (400)/60-61-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

^{112.} Letter. File No. 17 (37)/57-66-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

[EXHIBITING THE CULTURE OF POVERTY]

Indian Exhibition in Moscow



Mr. Morarji Desai has reached Russia in his European tour. [From left: Morarji Desai, Khrushchev] (From Shankar's Weekly, 3 July 1960, p. 15)

ore. However, at present, it appears they have only 30,000 tons of ore in stock at the plant. This he said would result in the stoppage of one blast furnace in the near future. Again in stocking ore, we have to remember that a third blast furnace will go into operation in Bhilai soon. Taking all these factors into account, the Soviet side was greatly concerned over the shortage of ore. It appears that in Rajbhar, where mining of ore takes place, there seems to be some difficulty in mining the ore in spite of the fact that all equipment for mining is in position. Mr. Skatchkov said that with the onset of the monsoon transportation of the ore would be more difficult. I told him that on my return to India I would look into this question.

Mr. Skatchkov went on to say that the pig iron from Bhilai was of high quality and had a good market. The open hearth furnaces at the plant according to him were coming up quickly but there was an acute shortage of ladles. He said that even in the Soviet Union they faced a shortage of ladles; but to help us out they had proposed that the Indian party, to keep the steel production, should place an order for 1000 ladles from this country. In spite of this advice we had placed an order for only 250 ladles. Shortage of ladles, Mr. Skatchkov said, would result in the closing down of certain operations in the plant and thus make the production of steel more costly. I promised to look into this question also on my return.

Mr. Skatchkov mentioned that there was no shortage of coal. Nevertheless, he said that we should think of the future and try to develop the Korba coal fields. He emphasised that geological surveys should be intensified to locate the raw material for coke of which in the opinion of the Soviet experts we had large deposits."

Probably, Morarjibhai will himself draw your attention to this matter on his return. 113

Yours sincerely, Jawaharlal Nehru

346. To Swaran Singh: Steel Plant at Bokaro 114

12 July 1960

My dear Swaran Singh,

You sent me the other day a letter about the steps which are being taken at Bokaro for the future steel plant that we intend putting up there. Thank you for it. There is one matter I should like to be clear about. In acquiring or otherwise dealing with the land, are you thinking in terms of the land required for the immediate future or in terms of all the land that may be needed for future expansions in this plant? The Bokaro plant is envisaged ultimately to produce almost up to ten million tons annually. If we are thinking in those terms, then we shall have to keep land available for that purpose from now onwards and plan accordingly. Otherwise future expansion would become very difficult and costly. Thus, not only should additional land be left for the expansion of the plant, but also land for the other services round about. In fact, planning now will depend very much on this perspective view for the future.

Do you propose to have a proper project report prepared and, if so, when? Without such a project report, this planning will hardly be possible. Dealing with this matter in bits might well come in the way of the future plan.

^{113.} See Swaran Singh's reply, Appendix 87.

^{114.} Letter. File No. 17 (314)/58-64-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

^{115.} See Appendix 76.

347. To the Southern India Chamber of Commerce 116

I send my good wishes to the Southern India Chamber of Commerce on the occasion of its Golden Jubilee celebrations. Because of the rapid growth of industry in India at which we aim, our industrialists have a special responsibility. This growth of industry should be looked upon not merely from the private point of view, but much more so from the public point of view. I hope, therefore, that this new approach will always be before our industrialists.

348. To Manubhai M. Shah: Heavy Electricals in Bhopal 118

24 July 1960

My dear Manubhai, 119

Thank you for your letter of July 19. I am glad to learn that the Heavy Electricals Limited in Bhopal have started production. I have looked through the photographs you have sent. They are impressive. I am returning the album.

As for my going there to inaugurate, I would like to do so, but it is becoming very difficult for me to make distant engagements, as I do not know what I might have to do then. However, I am noting down November 1, as you suggest. There is a vague possibility of my not being in India just about then.

Yours sincerely, Jawaharlal Nehru

349. To Manubhai M. Shah: Manufacture of Cheap Cars 120

24 July 1960

My dear Manubhai,

Your letter of July 24 about the manufacture of cheap automobiles in India. I have read the notes attached to it. I have little to suggest. It seems to me, however, that it would obviously be preferable for this manufacture to be in the public sector, as you yourself suggest. If that is so, then some indication of this should be given in your note or resolution.

^{116.} Message, 12 July 1960, sent to M.A.M. Muthiah Chettiar, President of the Southern India Chamber of Commerce, Madras.

^{117.} Founded in October 1909.

^{118.} Letter.

^{119.} The Minister of Industry.

^{120.} Letter. File No. 17 (407)/60-67-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

SELECTED WORKS OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

I have no doubt that a car made in the public sector would be cheaper. Also that probably there is more room for using our own plants in making parts of this car.

Yours sincerely, Jawaharlal Nehru

350. To K. Kamaraj: Power Shortages at Leyland Motors¹²¹

25 July 1960

My dear Kamaraj,

I enclose a copy of a letter I have received from Leyland Motors Ltd. You will see from this that, according to them, a crisis has arisen on account of the failure of the Madras Electricity Supply Board to provide them with electric power which is essential for the operation of their foundry. They suggest sending their Managing Director from England to see me. There is no point in their coming to me for this purpose. But perhaps you will be good enough to enquire into this matter and let me know what I am to say to them in reply.

Yours sincerely, Jawaharlal Nehru

(e) Labour

351. To Harekrushna Mahtab: Public and Private Sectors 123

13 July 1960

My dear Mahtab,

Your letter of the 8th July. 124 In this, you say that the public sector should be treated differently from the private sector in regard to labour. You do not, however, tell me what your specific ideas are on this subject. If you will let us know, we shall certainly give consideration to them.

Yours sincerely, Jawaharlal Nehru

121. Letter.

122. Leyland Motors of Lancashire, UK, wrote on 20 July that only 140 KW of power had been supplied against a demand for 400 KW up to March 1960 and a projected demand of 6,000 KW by March 1961. This was for the Ennore Foundries, an associated company of Ashok Leyland.

123. Letter.

124. See Appendix 71.

(f) Education

352. To A.P. Jain: Inauguration of Rudrapur University¹²⁵

6 June 1960

My dear Ajit, 126

Your letter of May 31 about the Rudrapur University. You suggest that I should fix some date in October or November for the inauguration of this University. It is very difficult for me to fix my engagements so far ahead and especially in those months. There is a possibility of my going out of the country for a few days round about then. I think that you should fix any date suitable to you and not make this dependent on my convenience. I shall naturally try to participate in the ceremony. Probably early in November might be suitable.

Yours sincerely, Jawaharlal Nehru

353. To Partap Singh Kairon: High School at Nilokheri 128

9 June 1960

My dear Partap Singh,

I enclose a letter with attached papers, which I have received from the Director, Takana Farm High School, Nilokheri. I do not know anything about this matter, and it is, therefore, difficult for me to advise. But I see in the list of patrons of this School quite a number of very eminent parsons, including you and the American Ambassador¹²⁹ here and others. Such a school should be encouraged and not be hurt in any way.

^{125.} Letter. File No. 31/114/60-63-PMS.

^{126.} Congress, Lok Sabha MP from Saharanpur, Uttar Pradesh, and former Union Agriculture Minister.

^{127.} The Uttar Pradesh Agricultural University, the first agricultural university of the country, was inaugurated by Nehru on 17 November 1960; the University, located at Pantnagar, 16 kilometers from Rudrapur in UP, was rechristened the Govind Ballabh Pant University of Agriculture and Technology in 1972.

^{128.} Letter.

^{129.} Ellsworth Bunker.

354. To Rajendra Prasad: Autonomy of Universities 130

9 June 1960

My dear Mr. President,

I have just received your letter of June 6th, with which you sent me a letter and a bundle of papers received from a public worker of Bihar. ¹³¹ I am forwarding all these papers to the Chief Minister of Bihar.

It would not be proper for me to discuss the draft Bill in detail, but I have indicated to the Chief Minister that I believe in the autonomy of universities and I do not like the idea of Government interfering in their inner working.

Yours sincerely, Jawaharlal Nehru

355. To Sri Krishna Sinha: Autonomy of Universities 132

9 June 1960

My dear Sri Babu,

The President has forwarded to me a letter and a bunch of papers that he has received from Shri Brajanandan Prasad of Patna. ¹³³ I enclose the President's letter to me as well as the other papers. I hope that you will be good enough to pay particular attention to this matter since the President has been approached and has referred it to us.

I do not venture to express any opinion about a matter which I have not studied. But, broadly speaking, I have been and am strongly in favour of the autonomy of universities and do not like the idea of the governmental apparatus controlling them, except in case of serious emergency. Glancing through provisions of the Bill, it does seem that this autonomy is considerably weakened.¹³⁴

- 130. Letter. File No. 40 (197)/60-70-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.
- 131. Brajnandan Prasad, of Kadamkuan, Patna, had written to Rajendra Prasad on 31 May 1960 about a Bihar Government bill for reorganizing university education. Rajendra Prasad forwarded it to Nehru on 6 June. See Valmiki Choudhary (ed.), Dr. Rajendra Prasad: Correspondence and Select Documents, Vol. XXI (New Delhi: Allied Publishers, 1995), pp. 55-56.
- 132. Letter. File No. 40 (197)/60-70-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.
- 133. See item 354.
- 134. Sri Krishna Sinha acknowledged Nehru's letter on 26 October 1960. File No. 40 (197)/60-70-PMS.

356. To K.L. Shrimali: Education as Money-Making Business¹³⁵

16 June 1960

My dear Shrimali,

Shri Brij Krishan Chandiwala of the Bharat Sevak Samaj has, in the course of a letter to me, written that education in Delhi is in a bad way. It has become a trade for making money. Hundreds of thousands of children are supposed to be receiving free education in the primary schools, but, as a matter of fact, they do not profit at all by it. This is the substance of what he has written to me at some length, and I am drawing your attention to it.

Yours sincerely, Jawaharlal Nehru

[MIXING UP DEMANDS]

You Said It



Idiot! can't you read—that's mine! (From The Times of India, 25 June 1960, p. 1)

357. To Brahmachari Ramaswami: Don't Call Your School an Orphanage¹³⁶

Chashmashahi, Srinagar 6 July 1960

Dear Brahmachariji, 137

I have your letter of the 29th June. I am glad to know of the good work that your institution is doing. May I suggest that the word "orphanage" should not be used in connection with it. It has a bad psychological effect for the child to be reminded that he is an orphan. 138

I am afraid it will not be possible for me to undertake a long journey just to open this school. I do not normally accept such engagements because there are far too many demands upon my time. More particularly, when it involves long journey for many days, it becomes difficult for me.

I send you my good wishes for your school.

Yours sincerely, Jawaharlal Nehru

358. To the Indian Hockey Team: Rome Olympics 139

Nehru Asks Hockey Team to Keep up India's Fame

New Delhi. July 10 – Prime Minister Nehru today told the members of Indian hockey team for the Rome Olympics¹⁴⁰ that Indian Hockey had won a lot of fame and they should try to keep it up.

The twenty-one-member team, arriving here yesterday after a three-week camp in Kashmir, called on the Prime Minister at his office in the External Affairs Ministry. The Prime Minister talked to the team members for nearly thirty minutes. His first question was as to how long they had been playing together. The President of the Indian Hockey Federation, Mr. Ashwini Kumar, told Pandit Nehru that they had been together for three weeks. The Prime Minister said that getting to know

^{136.} Letter.

^{137.} President, Sri Ramakrishna Kudil, Tiruparaithurai P.O., Tiruchirapalli District.

^{138.} Earlier in 1960, the Foster Parents' Plan Inc. had approached M.C. Chagla, the Ambassador of India to the USA, proposing to send gifts for children in India. Nehru's response to the proposal was conveyed by Subimal Dutt to Chagla on 8 June 1960, see Appendix 21.

^{139.} Report of meeting with the Indian Hockey team, 10 July 1960, the National Herald, 11 July 1960.

^{140.} Held 25 August-11 September 1960.

each other's play was as important as ability to play and, moreover, it inculcates team spirit. To a question from the Prime Minister as to how many of the players had played in previous Olympics, Mr. Ashwini Kumar said that four had played in previous Olympics. The captain of the team, Leslie Claudius, was the only player who had represented India in three Olympics so far.

The Prime Minister was told that since the Tokyo Asian Games in 1958, nine members of the present team forming a "nucleus" had been playing together against top class foreign teams. Mr. Ashwini Kumar then told the Prime Minister about the tremendous progress made by some of the European countries who played the game almost all round the year. Asked by the Prime Minister as to who were the strong opponents of India, he said that, Pakistan, Belgium, West Germany, Holland and England were all expected to give strong opposition to India. Mr. Ashwini Kumar then explained the draw for the Rome Olympics and said that it was made in such a way as to make India meet Pakistan before the final and for one of the European teams to figure in the final.

The Maharaja of Patiala, chairman of the All-India Council of Sports,¹⁴¹ then introduced Udham Singh¹⁴² to the Prime Minister and said that the village of Sansarpur¹⁴³ in Punjab, the birthplace of Udham Singh, had the "amazing record" of producing twelve Olympic hockey players so far.

The Prime Minister then inquired as to what food the players were given. Mr. Ashwini Kumar said that according to a special diet prescribed for them they were provided daily 3,880 calories. The Prime Minister then smilingly asked whether it was "desi." He was told that the food consisted mainly of wheat and rice. The Prime Minister was told that there were two vegetarians in the team. The Prime Minister then asked Claudius as to the average weight of the team [member], and he replied that it was about 140 pounds. Mr. Ashwini Kumar said that the main thing that the players should avoid during a match was "nervous tension." The Prime Minister said: "You can avoid tension by having more match experience."

The team was accompanied by Mr. B.L. Gupta, manager, and Mr. Kishen Lal, coach.

^{141.} Yadavendra Singh; was also President, Indian Olympic Association, 1938-60.

^{142.} Represented India in four Olympic Games: Helsinki (1952), Melbourne (1956), Rome and Tokyo (1964), and won three gold and one silver medals.

^{143.} In Jullundur District.

359. To C.M. Arumugham: No Interference in Universities 144

11 July 1960

Dear Shri Arumugham, 145

I have received your letter of the 9th July 1960 about the Karnatak University. Universities, as you know, are more or less autonomous bodies and it is not considered proper for me or any Minister of Government to interfere. Nor can we suggest the appointment of an enquiry committee on the basis of rather vague charges. I am, however, sending your letter to our Education Minister for him to consider it.

Yours sincerely, Jawaharlal Nehru

360. To the Birla Education Trust 146

On the occasion of the Diamond Jubilee of the Birla Education Trust I send my good wishes to the various educational institutions controlled by this Trust. On the two occasions I have visited Pilani I have been impressed by the work being done there and the progress made. I look forward to the continuing growth of these institutions.

361. To K.L.Shrimali: German University Education 147

14 July 1960

My dear Shrimali,

I am sending you a letter I have had with me for several months. It is written by Dr. Syed Mahmud's¹⁴⁸ son who has been in Germany for a number of years. He came back for a short while, and then returned to Germany. I think that he is engaged in teaching or some such thing there.

His letter is an interesting one and at least shows an active mind grappling with the subject and not taking things for granted. Obviously, he has been much

^{144.} Letter.

^{145.} MLA, Mysore Legislative Assembly, from Kolar Gold Field.

^{146.} Message, 12 July 1960, sent to V.P. Varma, Chief Editor, Diamond Jubilee Souvenir and Commemoration Volume, Birla Education Trust, Pilani.

^{147.} Letter.

^{148.} Congress, Lok Sabha MP from Gopalganj, Bihar; former Deputy Minister for External Affairs; and a friend of Nehru's.

impressed by what he has seen of Germany and especially German education at the Universities. He has a poor opinion of English or American education and he thinks that most of the young men and women we send abroad do little good to themselves or to anybody else. He put forward a scheme to me for us to come to some arrangement with a number of German Universities so that we could send thousands of bright Indian young men and women to go through the German course. I forget the details of the scheme and I did not enquire into it as I was not interested. Much as I admire things in Germany, there are other aspects of German life which I dislike greatly.

I am merely sending this letter to you because it makes interesting reading and does open out some avenues of thought. I do not suggest that anything should be done about it.

Yours sincerely, Jawaharlal Nehru

362. To M.K. Vellodi: Honouring Paul Geheeb¹⁴⁹

15 July 1960

My dear Vellodi, 150

I have your letter of July 5th¹⁵¹ in which you have written about Mr. Paul Geheb.¹⁵² It is true that my grandsons were at his school for a few months, and I believe he is highly thought of and greatly respected. I shall write to the Vice-Chancellor of the Visva-Bharati and send him a copy of your letter.¹⁵³ But, frankly, I am not sure in my own mind if it would be quite appropriate for Visva-Bharati to confer an honorary degree on him: this chiefly because very few people in India know Mr. Geheb. However, I shall find out.

^{149.} Letter. File No. 40 (9)/60-65-66-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

^{150.} The Ambassador of India to Switzerland.

^{151.} See Appendix 63.

^{152.} Spelt as Paul Geheeb, (1870-1961); theologian and educator; founded the Oldenwald School, in Germany, and the École d'Humanité at Goldern, in Switzerland.

^{153.} See Nehru to S.R. Das, the Vice-Chancellor of Visva-Bharati, 15 July 1960, item 363.

363. To S.R. Das: Paul Geheeb 154

15 July 1960

My dear Shri Das,

I enclose a copy of a letter from our Ambassador at Berne in Switzerland. 155

Mr. Paul Geheb, about whom he writes, is a person greatly respected in Switzerland and, I think, in Germany, for his work in education and more especially in the type of education he has developed there. I think he was driven out of Germany during the Hitler regime and settled in Switzerland. It is true that my grandchildren were at his school for a few months some years ago. He had met Gurudeva. ¹⁵⁶ I do not know how intimate their contacts were.

I really do not know what to suggest in this matter. It is for you to consider it. 157

Yours sincerely, Jawaharlal Nehru

364. For the School Improvement Conference, Madras State¹⁵⁸

Last year when I went to Madras, I had occasion to attend one of the School Improvement Conferences which were being held all over the State.¹⁵⁹ I was much impressed by this movement started by the Education Department of Madras. It has obviously done good on a wide scale, and the number of gifts obtained for the schools and the children was impressive. But the basic good that this movement has done is to bring about intimate contact between the school authorities and the parents and others in the towns and villages. The school thus becomes an integrated part of the locality for which everyone is partly responsible.

- 154. Letter. File No. 40 (9)/60-65-66-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.
- 155. See Appendix 63.
- 156. The UNESCO Courier of December 1961 shows a photograph of Geheeb with Rabindranath Tagore in 1930.
- 157. Visva-Bharati conferred the honorary degree of Desikottama on Paul Geheeb, in absentia, at its annual convocation, 1960.
- 158. Message, 23 July 1960. File No. 9/2/60-PMP, Vol. 5, Prime Minister's Office. Also available in JN Collection.
 - On 21 July 1960, N.M. Anwar, Chairman, School Improvement Committee, had informed Nehru that a School Improvement Conference was to be held at Vellore during Rajendra Prasad's visit to Madras State in August and he was expected to attend.
- 159. In April 1959; see SWJN/SS/48/p. 131.

I must congratulate those who are in charge of this movement. I wish them further success.

365. To K.L. Shrimali: Including Women in the Indian Contingent¹⁶⁰

23 July 1960

My dear Shrimali,

I enclose a letter from Sushila Nayar.¹⁶¹ Even previous to receiving this, I had received complaints about the non-inclusion of women in our Olympic team. I do not presume to be a judge in this matter, but I would certainly stretch a point or two in order to include an Indian woman athlete. It would be a pity if Indian women were completely excluded from this team.

Yours sincerely, Jawaharlal Nehru

366. To Brahma Deo Bajpai: Student Movements¹⁶²

24 July 1960

My dear Brahma Deoji, 163

I have your letter of the 14th July. I realise that the state of affairs in our universities is not good. In a sense, what you say would apply to most of our universities, if not all, with some variations. Recently, I was in Assam and I was deeply grieved to see how the students there had gone quite out of hand. They had indeed participated in the riots there and sometimes even taken the lead in them.

I do not like to interfere directly in these matters. It is not always right to interfere without assuming responsibility.

I am, however, forwarding your letter to our Education Minister, Dr. Shrimali.

^{160.} Letter.

^{161.} Congress, Lok Sabha MP from Jhansi, Uttar Pradesh.

^{162.} Letter

^{163.} Of Sarvodaya Karyalaya, 52 Shara Bagh, Allahabad.

367. To the Medical College and Hospital, Vellore 164

On the occasion of the Diamond Jubilee of the Medical College and Hospital, Vellore, and the Golden Jubilee of the School of Nursing there, I send my greetings and good wishes. This hospital and the School of Nursing have done excellent work and have brought relief to large numbers of suffering people. I wish them every success in their work in future.

368. To K.L. Shrimali: Including Women in the Indian Contingent¹⁶⁵

25 July 1960

My dear Shrimali,

I wrote to you the other day about the non-inclusion of women in the Indian Olympic Team for Rome. ¹⁶⁶ I am sending you another letter on this subject. This letter makes out a strong case for the inclusion of three women who are mentioned. Further, it refers me to the Maharaja of Patiala. From this it would appear that the Maharaja of Patiala was probably over-ruled or, at any rate, his advice was not followed.

I do not understand all this, but on the face of it, something has been done which does not seem to be right. I would go as far as to say that women athletes should always be included even if they are somewhat sub-standard. But, in the present case, it is not even true that they are sub-standard. I wish you will look into this matter and, if necessary, refer it to the Maharaja of Patiala.

Yours sincerely, Jawaharlal Nehru

369. To K.L. Shrimali: Troubleshooting at Visva-Bharati 167

27 July 1960

My dear Shrimali,

I enclose a letter just received from Shri S.R. Das, Vice-Chancellor, Visva-Bharati. Also, a number of papers he has sent me with that letter. He has taken a lot of trouble to send me copies of letters etc., which was hardly necessary. For my

164. Message, 24 July 1960. File No. 9/2/60/PMP, Vol. 5, Prime Minister's Office. Also available in JN Collection.

165. Letter.

166. See item 365.

167. Letter. File No. 40 (9)/60-65-66-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

part, I am content to accept Shri S.R. Das's advice and opinion. It has been fortunate for us that he has gone to Santiniketan, and there is no doubt that the whole atmosphere of the place has improved since then. But some old obstructionists still continue there. The sooner they are made to go away, the better.

From Shri S.R. Das's letter, you will see that he wants your approval to his transferring Sailesh Chandra Chakravarty from his present post of Registrar of Visva-Bharati to the Institute of Rural Higher Education at Sriniketan as its Director. I hope you will write to him according him this approval.

Yours sincerely, Jawaharlal Nehru

370. To S.R. Das: Transfer Troublesome Officials 168

27 July 1960

My dear Shri Das,

I have just received your letter of the 22nd July with all its enclosures. Previously I had received your letter of July 1st, which I had read with pleasure as it reported all round progress in Visva-Bharati.

I have now read not only your letter of the 22nd July, but also copies of letters addressed by you to Shri Dhiren Mitra.

I am sorry you have had so much trouble with the present Registrar and Shri Tapan Mohon Chatterji. It is clear to me that you should not allow the present situation to continue, and those members of the staff who do not cooperate with you and, in fact, who deliberately create difficulties, should be removed from their posts. From what you have written about the present Registrar, I am convinced that he should not continue in his post. Indeed, the question of giving him another appointment would hardly arise. But, since you have come to the conclusion that he should be offered the post of Director of the Rural Institute at Sriniketan, that is for you to judge, and I shall abide by your judgement.

Thus, I entirely agree with the proposal you have made in your letter, and I hope you will take early action according to them.

As suggested by you, I am writing to Dr. Shrimali informing him of your wish to transfer Shri Sailesh Chandra Chakravarty to the Institute of Rural Higher Education at Sriniketan as its Director. ¹⁶⁹ I am sure there will be no difficulty about it.

^{168.} Letter. File No. 40 (9)/60-65-66-PMS. Also available in JN Collection. 169. See item 369.

SELECTED WORKS OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

I should like to assure you that it is my earnest desire that you should have a free hand in Visva-Bharati and in whatever action you may take there, you will have my full support.

Yours sincerely, Jawaharlal Nehru

371. To the Youth Congress¹⁷⁰

It is difficult for a person who is over seventy to enter into the mind of the youth of today. Most of these young men and young women have hardly any personal experience of our struggle for Independence and all that it implied. I try to understand, insofar as I can, the mind and urges of our young men and young women. But obviously this is a difficult task.

I find, on the one hand, bright, able and persevering, young men and young women, and they give me hope for the future of India. On the other hand, I find a certain lack of roots or standards in them. Sometimes this is called the indiscipline of students and youth. But that is only one aspect of it. The real thing, I suppose, is deeper.

Anyhow the problems before us demand discipline, knowledge and hard work. That has been so in every age. It is much more so today in a changing and dangerous world. If our youth address themselves to this, they will find their roots and many avenues of adventure and self-fulfilment will come to them.

(g) Culture

372. To S.R. Das: Dehali 171

2 June 1960

My dear Mr. Das,

Thank you for your letter of the 28th May. I have noted what you have written about "Dehali". 172 I entirely agree with what you have done in regard to this matter.

- 170. Message, 29 July 1960, for the Youth Congress Day, sent to H.D. Tulsidas, AICC Office, Youth Department, New Delhi. Box No. 3, Youth Department, 1955-62, AICC Papers, NMML. Also available in JN Collection. Published in the newspapers on 9 August 1960, Youth Congress Day.
- 171. Letter. Records of Visva-Bharati, Santiniketan.
- 172. The building in Santiniketan built in 1904 where Rabindranath Tagore lived for some time. See http://whc.unesco.org/en/tentativelists/5495/, the website of UNESCO World Heritage Centre.

As for sending you some more money for Dehali, I shall do so within a few days. I am just going to Poona.

I am glad that work on Rabindra Sadan¹⁷³ is proceeding.

Yours sincerely, Jawaharlal Nehru

373. To Subimal Dutt: Loan of Indian Museum Exhibits 174

I am sorry that we have got into this muddle.¹⁷⁵ To some extent I am responsible for it, but more so the responsibility lies with the Ministries who made all kinds of arrangements in Europe without first getting the permission of the Indian Museum.

- 2. It is clear that in all the circumstances it would be highly desirable for the exhibition to go to Vienna and Rome which, I take it, are the only two places included in the arrangements with the West European Pool.¹⁷⁶ To upset this now would not only mean breaking formal agreement, but will also mean our incurring heavy expenditure. Further this kind of transfer of responsibility at this stage would not be good for the safety and security of our exhibits. The people who have made themselves responsible under the pool arrangement would disclaim all further responsibility and indeed would hardly hold themselves responsible for anything that might have happened even before this transfer. Thus such a changeover would not be a safe procedure even from the point of view of the exhibits.
- 3. While this seems to be the obvious course, a difficulty arises because of my undertaking given to Shrimati Ranu Mookerjee.¹⁷⁷ All we can do now is to try to get out of that undertaking given to her and to the Indian Museum. I hope that the Indian Museum authorities will take a reasonable view and agree to our proposal.
- 4. I suggest that you yourself might write to Shrimati Ranu Mookerjee. In doing so you might state that you have consulted me and are writing at my

^{173.} Nehru had laid the foundation of Rabindra Sadan in Santiniketan on 23 December 1958. See SWJN/SS/45/p. 171.

^{174.} Note, 6 June 1960.

^{175.} See Appendices 20 and 13.

^{176.} The exhibition "Five Thousand Years of Art from India" was first put up at the Villa Hugel in Essen, Germany, in May 1959. See SWJN/SS/44/ p. 629.

^{177.} Ranu Mookerjee (1907-2000); Chairman of the Board of Trustees of the Indian Museum, Calcutta. Nehru wrote to Ranu Mookerjee on 20 March 1960, see SWJN/SS/58/item 170.

instance. Tell her that in accordance with the assurance I gave her, we had issued instructions that the exhibits from the Indian Museum should be returned to India after the Paris Exhibition. According to a formal agreement arrived at by the Government of India with a West European Pool, we addressed the representative of this Pool, Professor Hundhausen of Essen. This gentleman has sent us a cable to the following effect – (give the copy of the telegram). 178

- 5. We are thus placed in a very difficult and embarrassing position. If, in spite of our formal agreement with the West European Pool, we insist on withdrawing the Indian Museum exhibits now, this means a breach of that agreement and consequently the responsibility for the safe keeping in custody of these exhibits no longer remains with this Pool. Apart from great difficulties with Customs and heavy expense which we would have to incur both with Customs and fresh Insurance etc., this transfer might to some extent endanger the safety of these valuable exhibits. It would of course also lead to a good deal of ill will of the various Governments concerned.
- 6. So far as the Pool agreement is concerned, it applies to Vienna and Rome in addition to the places where the exhibition has already visited (I hope this is correct). There had been proposals for this exhibition also to go to a number of other countries, including Czechoslovakia, Moscow, London and New York. All these other places, however, stand on a separate footing and are not included in the Pool arrangement which was limited as indicated above. We can thus leave out these other countries. But the two remaining places included in the Pool, that is, Vienna and Rome, are definitely part of our formal agreement with this West European pool and it has become a matter of exceeding difficulty for us to break that agreement.
- 7. We regret greatly that this agreement was made without specific reference to the Indian Museum. The other Museums concerned have been agreeable to these arrangements. The Indian Museum had originally agreed to the loan of objects till the autumn of 1960 and it was hoped that most of these exhibitions would be over about that time. If the exhibition goes to Vienna and Rome, it could this time be extended only by a relatively brief period and should be over by the end of this year.¹⁷⁹
- 8. The Prime Minister greatly regrets that this difficulty and conflict has arisen between our various agreements. When he wrote to Shrimati Ranu

179. In fact, the exhibition was due to close at Rome on 31 January 1961.

^{178.} Carl Hundhausen declined. He replied to A.M. D'Rozario's letter of 4 May saying the Indian Museum's exhibits could not be separated from the rest of the exhibition, since "the Indian Government by giving their consent to our pool agreement is now committed to leave the whole exhibition as a unit together until the expiring date in Rome." He also cited customs difficulties and the fact that Vienna had started already to print their catalogue as further reasons. Subject File No. 60, S. Dutt Papers, NMML.

Mookerjee, last, he was not fully aware of the arrangements with the West European Pool. Now that he has seen this agreement, he feels that it would be very unfortunate if we had to break it and at the same time not only incur heavy expenditure, but also endanger the security of some of these exhibits. He would, therefore, very much like to honour the agreement with the West European Pool. Immediately after the conclusion of this, the exhibition can be wound up and the exhibits can be returned to India by the end of this year. Indeed there appears to be no choice left in this matter. The Prime Minister would, therefore, be grateful if the authorities of the Indian Museum considered all these aspects and agreed to this proposal.

9. Something to the above effect might be written by you to Shrimati Ranu Mookerjee. 180 She has a habit, I think, of not consulting the Committee or Governing Body of the Museum and I am sure that if the Governing Body was consulted,

they would agree.

374. To M.C. Chagla: Indian Dancers 181

6 June 1960

My dear Chagla,

Your letter of May 25th about a troupe of Indian dancers going to the United States. I shall enquire into this matter and see how far it is possible. It is never an easy matter, especially in India, to group together different types of artistes and performers. Indian music is essentially a solo performance. Even Indian classical dancing is seldom in groups. Whenever we have sent a group abroad, there has been difficulty in holding them together. Apart from this, many of these people are not used to foreign customs and ways of living, and are unhappy.

However, I shall have this matter enquired into.

375. To M.S. Thacker: Astaldi Group 182

10 June 1960

My dear Thacker,

A friend has sent me some books containing pictures about the activities of the Astaldi Group of Engineers. 183 I believe these are very impressive people and have introduced new methods which are cheaper and more effective. I should like our engineers who deal with such matters, to look at these books. I am, therefore, sending these to you. You can forward them to the proper people.

Yours sincerely, Jawaharlal Nehru

376. To Mohammad Habib: Mushtaque Ahmad 184

11 June 1960

My dear Habib, 185

I have your letter. I have seen Mushtaque Ahmad¹⁸⁶ this morning. He said that he would like to go to London and join some educational institution there which was prepared to take him. For this purpose he wanted to be given some temporary work in India House. I explained to him that this was not possible at present. In fact, at India House there was a process of retrenchment going on. The question of taking new hands, therefore, did not arise. Even apart from this, the people engaged are usually those who have had some experience. Also, there will be the question of heavy expenditure involved in his going to England and I am wholly unable to meet it.

Therefore, the best course for him appears to be to continue his studies at the Aligarh University. He is in the second year of the LL.B. He might add to it M.A. or M.Sc.

I have been sending him an allowance of Rs.100/- a month. I am increasing this to Rs.120/- a month. At Mushtaque Ahmad's suggestion, this in future should be sent to you. I hope you will be good enough to pass it on to him.

^{182.} Letter. File No. 17 (3)/56-61-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

^{183.} A construction company founded in 1926 in Rome, Italy.

^{184.} Letter.

^{185.} Professor of History, Aligarh Muslim University.

^{186.} A student of Aligarh Muslim University.

377. To Mohan Lal: Lala Lajpat Rai Memorial 187

11 June 1960

Dear Mohanlalji,188

I have received your letter of the 7th June about the Lala Lajpat Rai Birthplace Memorial Committee. ¹⁸⁹ I am glad to learn that steps are being taken by this Committee to have a suitable memorial for Lalaji. It is very fitting that this memorial should be in his birthplace. I hope that the memorial will take the form of institutions which will do good to the village and surrounding area.

I enclose a cheque for Rs.100/- as my personal contribution. 190

Yours sincerely, Jawaharlal Nehru

378. To Y.B. Chavan: Shivaji Statue¹⁹¹

12 June 1960

My dear Chavan,

I see from a newspaper report that it is proposed to put up a big Shivaji statue at the Gateway of India in Bombay. I do not know how far this matter has gone. I confess that I do not like this particular idea, that is, the place chosen for the statue. Many other places may be appropriate. I shall not go into the reasons why I feel so. Among them is this that any big statue there will rather spoil that space in front. I am just conveying my reactions to this proposal to you.

^{187.} Letter.

^{188.} Minister, Punjab Government, and Secretary, Lala Lajpat Rai Birthplace Memorial Committee, Dhudike, Ferozepore District, Punjab.

^{189.} Lal Bahadur Shastri was the president of the committee.

^{190.} The memorial was built in Dhudike village (now in Moga District, Punjab), the birthplace of Lala Lajpat Rai; it was inaugurated on 28 January 1965 by Lal Bahadur Shastri, then Prime Minister.

^{191.} Letter.

379. To Natana Niketanam 192

I am glad to learn that the new building of the Natana Niketanam is going to be opened soon, at Trichur. Kathakali is a great art form of India and, more especially, of the South and we should try to maintain it and develop it. The purpose of this institution is to give specialised and advanced training in Kathakali and I wish it success. ¹⁹³

380. To N.P. Seshadri: Tyagaraja Bi-Centenary 194

24 June 1960

Dear Shri Seshadri, 195

I have your letter of the 22nd June. I am sorry I cannot send any worthwhile message on the occasion of Shri Tyagaraja's¹⁹⁶ Bi-Centenary. I agree with you that the works of this saint and writer should he translated into our other Indian languages. Also it will be a good thing for his name to be given to some road or place in Delhi.¹⁹⁷

I am glad that you are celebrating this Bi-Centenary of a great Indian in Delhi.

Yours sincerely, Jawaharlal Nehru

381. To Tara Ramaswamy: Cultural Centre 198

25 June 1960

Dear Tara Ramaswamy, 199

I have your letter of the 23rd June. I am glad to learn of the good work you have done and are doing.

- 192. Message, 13 June 1960.
- 193. See also item 396.
- 194. Letter.
- 195. Navaneetham Padmanabha Seshadri (1929-2009); served the Union Government in various capacities; promoter of both Carnatic and Hindustani classical music; astrologer; won Tansen Award and Tyagaraja Award.
- 196. (1767-1847).
- 197. Clive Road, to the south of Rashtrapati Bhavan, was later renamed Thyagaraja Marg. A sports stadium in New Delhi has also been named after Tyagaraja.
- 198. Letter.
- 199. Kathak and Bharatanatyam dancer, then living at 74 Baird Road, New Delhi.

As for your starting a cultural and art centre, this is a subject which is dealt with by our Ministry of Scientific Research and Cultural Affairs and more especially by the Sangeet Natak Akademi. You should consult them about it. I am not competent enough to give any advice. I am forwarding your letter to that Ministry.

Yours sincerely, Jawaharlal Nehru

382. To Kesho Ram: On how to Study the Modern World²⁰⁰

You may write to Shri Parameswaran or see him. Perhaps seeing him will be better. Tell him that I have seen his letter. I think that there is a great deal of truth in what he says about India being a picture of a number of mixed trends through thousands of years. The process of integration between these has taken place to some extent but not adequately because of various reasons.

2. He has not mentioned one of the most powerful forces at work today

- 2. He has not mentioned one of the most powerful forces at work today not only in India but in a number of other countries. That is the impact of what is called modern, scientific, industrial and technological civilisation. This is both a unifying factor and a disruptive factor. It is disruptive in the sense that it pulls out people from their own roots because it brings about new conditions of living. It is unifying because it helps to bring about a new levelling and unifying force. Whether we like to or not, this new force is functioning and will continue to function with ever-increasing effect. It is an inevitable development and we have to accept it. We have also to accept it for the reason that there is no other way of dealing with the economic problems of India satisfactorily and of removing the very low standard of living in India. This process certainly has its risks and dangers and we should try to avoid these risks and dangers in so far as we can so that the essential roots of India might remain intact.
- 3. From historical or social point of view, it is always helpful to study these various forces which have moulded India in the past. This will no doubt continue to be done by historians, economists and social students. To some extent, that might help but this study is really not a major factor in dealing with the present conditions we have to face in the new world that is growing up in most countries. Even the removal of accretions which are bad takes place much more easily by a positive approach in another direction and not merely by pegging away at their removal. Many great people in the past have tried to remove these accretions but their success has been limited. We may of course try to do so and that will help a little.

^{200.} Note, 30 June 1960.

^{201.} The letter has not been traced.

SELECTED WORKS OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

- 4. But the basic way to deal with the situation is a positive way of building up a new India on a social and economic basis. The greatest liberating force today is education, even though that education may not be as we would like it to be. The rapid industrial growth of India is creating a new society. The whole purpose of our planning is essentially to build up this new society with its roots in the old but adopting modern science and technology.
- 5. If this is our objective, I do not quite understand what Shri Parameswaran wants to do himself and how I am to help him. If he will be more precise I may be able to advise him.

383. To Jay Chandra Vidyalankar: Sino-Indian border; Hindi Sahitya Sammelan²⁰²

30 June 1960

Dear Jay Chandraji, 203

Your letter of June 13th with its two enclosures reached me some time ago. I put it by because I wanted to read your two notes.

I have now read them. I found your note on the Sino-Indian border dispute very interesting and informative. I am sending it on to our Historical Division.²⁰⁴

You are not quite correct in saying that we have based our claim on the fact of being successors to the British and for this purpose have cited the Simla Convention 1913. It is true that we have cited the Simla Convention but our claims are based on previous history and the Simla Convention was a confirmation of that previous history.

I have read your second note about the contemplated legislation to reorganise the Hindi Sahitya Sammelan²⁰⁵ with much surprise. I am sorry to say that I have been quite out of touch with the affairs of the Hindi Sahitya Sammelan. All that I have known vaguely is that people were quarrelling. I suppose you have sent your note to our Education Minister. Anyhow I am sending him the copy you were good enough to forward to me.

^{202.} Letter.

^{203.} A former member of the language goodwill committee appointed by the Punjab Government in June 1958.

^{204.} Of MEA.

^{205.} Initially organized by the Nagari Pracharini Sabha of Varanasi in 1911 in Allahabad to promote Hindi and the Devanagari script; established as an "institution of national importance" by an Act of Parliament on 30 March 1960.

384. To K.L. Shrimali: Hindi Sahitya Sammelan²⁰⁶

30 June 1960

My dear Shrimali,

Some days ago I received from Jay Chandra Vidyalankar a note on the Hindi Sahitya Sammelan.²⁰⁷ I have just read it with some surprise. It does disclose an extraordinary state of affairs. I do not know if you have received this note before. But as it might interest you, I am sending it to you.

Yours sincerely, Jawaharlal Nehru

385. To K.R. Kripalani: Joining International Literary Bodies²⁰⁸

Thus far, I believe, we have not associated ourselves with any foreign literary organisation. ²⁰⁹ There is no reason, however, why we should not associate ourselves with other literary organisations if we consider them good enough. On the whole, I think, we should accept this invitation.

386. To Raghu Vira: Ayub Khan; Microplanning²¹⁰

1 July 1960

Dear Dr. Raghu Vira, 211

Thank you for your letter of July 1st. I have read with interest the report of your conversation with President Ayub Khan.

We shall be glad to consider any definite proposal both for easing the situation on our borders and for economic cooperation.

^{206.} Letter.

^{207.} See also item 383.

^{208.} Note, 30 June 1960. K.R. Kripalani was Secretary, Sahitya Akademi.

^{209.} Union Académique Internationale had invited the Sahitya Akademi to join the Union. On 28 June, Kripalani had written to S. Radhakrishnan, the Vice-President of the Sahitya Akademi, recommending membership. The note was sent to Nehru, the President of the Akademi, for approval.

^{210.} Letter.

^{211.} Congress, Rajya Sabha MP from Madhya Pradesh.

SELECTED WORKS OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

I shall be happy to receive your book on microplanning.²¹² I am leaving Delhi early tomorrow morning for Kashmir.

Yours sincerely, Jawaharlal Nehru

387. To Bharat Scouts & Guides²¹³

I send my good wishes to the Bharat Scouts & Guides. The existence of such an organisation for our boys and girls becomes increasingly important. This is so not only to give them good training and make them good citizens, but also to enable them to help in emergencies that arise.

388. To the World Assembly of Youth²¹⁴

I am glad to learn that the next meeting of the International Council of the World Assembly of Youth is going to be held at Accra next month. I am particularly glad that this is being held in Africa. This should be a tribute to the new and vigorous life that is coursing through the veins of Africa.

It is a truism to say that the world is passing through major transitions involving great changes. Behind all this lie the amazingly rapid developments in science and technology which affect our lives, wherever we might be. Behind it also lie the new currents of life which have transformed and are continuing to transform the peoples of Asia and Africa. All this must necessarily affect the youth of the world. They will be affected in different ways and in different degrees because of the conditions they live in and the problems they have to face. Most of the countries of Asia and Africa are said to be under-developed and the major problem before them is of developing their resources rapidly so as to raise the standard of their people and to bring about a measure of equality among them.

213. Message, 9 July 1960, sent to A.N. Gupta, Publisher, *Bharat Scouts & Guides*, New Delhi. 214. Message, 11 July 1960. File No. 2 (302)/59-63-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

^{212.} Micro-planning Or Planning for the Millions Centring the Supreme Endeavours and Enormous Resources of the Nation on Raising the Level of the Individual and His Family Reordering and Rebuilding His Village, His Street, His Home, Increasing His Skills and Earnings, Diversifying His Occupations and Enriching His Entire Life: A New Concept (New Delhi: published by Raghu Vira, 1959).

The message was sent to Ram Krishna Bajaj, Chairman, World Assembly of Youth (WAY), India, and Member, Central Advisory Board of Youth Congress. The meeting of the eighth council of WAY was held in Accra, 10-25 August 1960.

These are important problems and yet perhaps and even more important problem before the youth of the world, this applies more specially to Asia and Africa, is how to condition themselves in this world with conflict and with the threatened war hanging over them. War, of course, would be terrible everywhere, but peace is the first essential necessity for our countries of Asia and Africa. It will be a terrible disaster if all our hopes are dashed by these conflicts and wars.

We talk a great deal about peace but often even our talk is aggressive and bellicose. Peace can only come by the development of peaceful thinking in the minds of men and of peaceful behaviour. We have to be tolerant to each other and realise the great variety of this world. We must not try to impose our ways of thinking or living on others, although we should learn from all.

Among the great evils of colonialism and foreign domination has been this imposition which was political and economic and which also attacked the deeper roots. We have to grow now with this world which increasingly becomes one world with toleration for each other, peaceful co-existence and maintaining our own roots, wherever we might be.

To the World Assembly of Youth I send my greeting and, more especially, to the young nations of Africa who are struggling so hard to solve their problems and march ahead.

389. To S. Radhakrishnan: Krishna Kripalani invited to Germany²¹⁵

The attached letter from the Ambassador of West Germany²¹⁶ is forwarded to the Vice-President, Sahitya Akademi.

2. I have no objection to our Secretary, Shri Krishna Kripalani, accepting this invitation to go to West Germany for three weeks. If you are agreeable to this, perhaps you will be good enough to inform Shri Krishna Kripalani. From Ambassador Melchers' letter, it appears that he is in Delhi.²¹⁷

^{215.} Note, 15 July 1960. File No. S.A. 82 E/8, Part I, Sahitya Akademi.

^{216.} See Wilhelm Melchers, the Ambassador of the Federal Republic of Germany, to Nehru, Appendix 86.

^{217.} On 16 July, Radhakrishnan gave his acceptance to the proposal.

390. To Wilhelm Melchers: Krishna Kripalani²¹⁸

16 July 1960

My dear Ambassador,

I was interested to learn from your letter of 14th July that you had come to Delhi. ²¹⁹ I would have been glad to meet you, but I am leaving tomorrow morning for Assam.

We have no objection to Shri Krishna Kripalani, Secretary of the Sahitya Akademi, accepting the invitation of your Government to visit Germany.

Yours sincerely, Jawaharlal Nehru

391. To G.B. Pant: Let Amrita Pritam Visit Moscow²²⁰

16 July 1960

My dear Pantji,

I enclose a copy of a letter from Keskar which shows complete non-cooperation between some of our Ministries.²²¹

Amrita Pritam²²² not only works in our All India Radio but is a member of the Executive of our Sahitya Akademi. I think she has been awarded a prize for her Panjabi poetry.²²³ Why then should we ban her going to the U.S.S.R. because she is suspected of having Communist leanings? She may or may not have them, I do not know. But when Communists themselves are allowed to go to Russia, why should a noted literary figure be treated in this way? I think this matter might be further enquired into, and I am suggesting to our External Affairs Ministry to get in touch with this Ministry on this subject,

Yours affectionately, [Jawaharlal]

^{218.} Letter. File No. S.A. 82 E/8, Part I, Sahitya Akademi.

^{219.} See Appendix 86

^{220.} Letter.

^{221.} See Appendix 89.

^{222. (1919-2005).}

^{223.} In 1956, for her long poem *Sunehey*, as the first woman recipient of the Sahitya Akademi Award.

392. To B.V. Keskar: Amrita Pritam's Moscow Visit²²⁴

16 July 1960

My dear Balkrishna,

Your letter of the 16th July about Amrita Pritam.²²⁵ I have written to Pantji on the subject,²²⁶ copy enclosed and have asked the External Affairs Ministry to enquire further into this matter.

Amrita Pritam is a member of our Sahitya Akademi and a noted literary figure in Punjabi circles. I did not know that she was a permanent employee of the All India Radio.

Yours sincerely, Jawaharlal Nehru

393. To K.L. Shrimali: John Locke in Hindi²²⁷

22 July 1960

My dear Shrimali,

Thank you for your letter of July 18 and the Hindi translation of John Locke's "Civil Government" which you have sent me. I am very glad that your Ministry is interesting itself in the translation of worthwhile books.

I had hoped that the Book Trust,²²⁸ which we created, would help in this process. But, to my surprise and regret, it is moving very slowly. So far as I know, it has only published one book so far, and that did not seem to me to be of any outstanding value.

^{224.} Letter.

^{225.} See Appendix 89.

^{226.} See item 391.

^{227.} Letter. File No. 40 (66)/59-64-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

^{228.} The National Book Trust.

394. To Humayun Kabir: Orientalist Congress in USA²²⁹

23 July 1960

My dear Humayun, 230

I enclose a letter from my sister in London.²³¹ I am inclined to think that if the American Scholars wish to invite the Congress of Orientalists to the U.S.A., we should not come in the way. Of course, we would like to have the Congress here in India. But from the larger point of view of lessening barriers between the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R., it would be a good thing for this Congress to be held in the U.S.A. If, therefore, there is any such move on the part of the American Scholars, I think we should gracefully retire. We can, of course, make it clear that we would have liked to have the Congress but since it is the wish of the United States, we do not wish to press our claim.²³²

Yours sincerely, Jawaharlal Nehru

395. To Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit: Orientalist Congress²³³

23 July 1960

[Nan dear,]

I have just received your letter of July 21st, in which you refer to your talk with Professor Norman Brown²³⁴ about the Congress of Orientalists.²³⁵ I am writing to Humayun Kabir on the subject and suggesting to him that, from the larger point of view, it would be desirable for the Congress to be held in America if the American Scholars so want it.²³⁶

[Love]

[Jawahar]

^{229.} Letter. File No. 13/1960-61, Humayun Kabir Papers, NMML. Also available in JN Collection.

^{230.} Minister of Scientific Research and Cultural Affairs.

^{231.} See Appendix 93.

^{232.} The 26th session of the International Congress of Orientalists was held in New Delhi, 4-10 January 1964.

^{233.} Letter.

^{234.} William Norman Brown (1892-1975); Indologist; Professor of Sanskrit, University of Pennsylvania, since 1926; organized the American Oriental Society, 1926.

^{235.} See Appendix 93.

^{236.} See item 394.

396. To K.A. Damodara Menon: Natana Niketam²³⁷

26 July 1960

My dear Damodara Menon, 238

Some time ago, I sent a contribution of Rs. 5,000/- to the Natana Niketanam at Trichur.²³⁹ Now they have asked me for further financial help. I am told that you presided over a function there recently. Could you let me know if this institution is doing good work, and would you advise me to send them further help?

Yours sincerely, Jawaharlal Nehru

397. To Humayun Kabir: Soviet Encyclopedia Entry on India²⁴⁰

29 July 1960

My dear Humayun,

Your letter of July 29th about the article on India in the Soviet Encyclopaedia. Since this article has been sent to us, we cannot very well refuse to deal with it. I think, on the whole, your suggestion to refer it to two Indian scholars is a good one. How they should deal with it, is not quite clear to me. Should they re-write and revise the whole article, or should they point out what they consider errors in it and, perhaps, re-write parts here and there?

In returning it, it should be stated as you have said, that it is not a custom of our Government to deal in such matters but, as they have been good enough to send this draft article to us, we forwarded it to Indian scholars whose comments are sent.

^{237.} Letter.

^{238.} The Minister of Industries, Government of Kerala.

^{239.} See also item 379.

^{240.} Letter.

398. To Y.B. Chavan: Opening Ayurveda Institute in Bombay²⁴¹

29 July 1960

My dear Chavan,

Your letter of July 27 with which you have sent me Ramnath Podar's²⁴² request to me to perform the opening ceremony of the Ayurvedic Research Institute at Bombay. I have read the account of this institute which you have sent.

I do not usually accept this type of engagement, and there is little chance of my going to Bombay in the foreseeable future.

I do think that there should be research work done on modern scientific lines in regard to the Ayurvedic system of medicine. To that extent I am completely agreeable, but it would be very unusual for me to associate myself with Ayurvedic institutions. I would, therefore, like to be excused.

Yours sincerely, Jawaharlal Nehru

399. To K.K. Mehrotra: Memorializing Kipling²⁴³

31 July 1960

Dear Professor Mehrotra,244

I have seen your letter of the 25th July addressed to my Private Secretary. I think it is entirely proper for a plaque with an inscription to be put up in the house where Kipling²⁴⁵ lived in Allahabad. But this is not the kind of function I would normally associate myself with. I have no idea when I shall go to Allahabad. But, even apart from my going there, I would rather not take part in this function.

^{241.} Letter.

^{242.} Ramnath A. Poddar, industrialist and businessman and former Congress, Rajya Sabha MP from Rajasthan.

^{243.} Letter.

^{244.} Head of the English Department, Allahabad University.

^{245.} Rudyard Kipling (1865-1936).

(h) Women

400. To MEA: The Problem of Foreign Invitations²⁴⁶

Shrimati Raksha Saran, President of the All India Women's Conference, came to see me this morning. She has returned after two months' tour of various countries of Europe.

She complained that our rule that nobody should go abroad even when invited unless he or she can pay his or her own passage money comes in their way very much. Even though this rule was made to prevent large numbers of people going out at the expense of another country, it really comes in the way of good people and well-known organisations. The others manage to get round it somehow or other. Indeed, she gave me an instance of a person having produced a return ticket here to another country and then getting another return ticket from that country. Apparently, he managed to get refund on his previous return ticket here later.

More particularly she said that in the case of an organisation like the All India Women's Conference, they cannot afford to spend a large sum of money over deputations and yet they are invited to go often with passage paid. They cannot take advantage of this under our present rules. She went to various countries in Europe this year at her own cost because she could afford it. She spent about ten or twelve thousand rupees, although she was treated as a guest in most of these places. But this kind of thing cannot easily be repeated in the case of other members of the Conference.

I think that we should consider this matter afresh though my mind is not quite clear as to what we should do about it. To some extent we shall have to distinguish between organisations and individuals. During the past few months there have been many cases of people going abroad to West Germany, to the United Kingdom, etc., where passage money was paid by the other Government and we had to agree to this.

One pending case was an invitation to the All India Women's Conference to send, I think, two or three members to North Vietnam. The invitation came from the women's organisation there which, of course, must be connected with Government, but is supposed to be independent of it. These people have offered to pay the fare of one journey, i.e. back from Viet Nam. Our Women's Conference is prepared to pay for the other journey. She asked me if they could take advantage of this as they wanted to do. I told her that probably they could do so. I suggest that this might be permitted, but, as I have said above, we should consider this whole matter afresh.

246. Note to N.R. Pillai, Subimal Dutt and Y.D. Gundevia, 27 July 1960.

401. To MEA: Indian Documentary Films Abroad²⁴⁷

Shrimati Raksha Saran, President of the All India Women's Conference, in the course of her talk with me gave me some impressions of her visit to foreign countries.

(1) She said that everywhere there was complaint of the lack of documentary films from India. There was a great demand for such films (she was talking mostly about women's organisations and these are active in all those countries). Our embassies abroad have a very few films and most of these are ancient and out of date. Thus there was a film about Bhakra-Nangal which was about five years old or more and showed only the initial stages of this big project and not what happened later.

Also, even when films are available, there are too few copies. Could this be taken up with our Films Division?

(2) Another matter she drew my attention to was that our missions abroad have no contacts with women's organisations. These women's organisations, both in the countries of Western Europe and Eastern Europe, are very active and eager to know about India and do something about it. We might suggest to our embassies abroad to develop these contacts and give them such material as they have.

402. To K.L. Shrimali: Women's Education²⁴⁸

27 July 1960

My dear Shrimali,

Shrimati Raksha Saran, President of the All India Women's Conference, came to see me today. She has recently returned from a tour of Europe on behalf of her Conference. She told me of the great interest which women's organisations elsewhere were taking in India, but they could not get any material. I am dealing with this matter separately in the External Affairs Ministry.²⁴⁹

Then she spoke to me about girls' or women's education, especially in Delhi. There was a tremendous demand for specialised training such as for special training for Secretary-ship. Also as librarians. There was in fact a demand both for librarians and trained secretaries, and it was very difficult to get such persons. The Women's Conference itself has been searching for such trained persons without much success.

^{247.} Note to N.R. Pillai, Subimal Dutt and Y.D. Gundevia, 27 July 1960. File No. 43 (115)/58-65-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

^{248.} Letter. File No. 40 (146)/58-72-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

^{249.} See item 401.

She had various suggestions to make about courses for such training for women. I have suggested to her that she might see you. If you see her, you can get her viewpoint in these matters.

Yours sincerely, Jawaharlal Nehru

403. To G.B. Pant: Amending The Hindu Succession Act²⁵⁰

29 July 1960

My dear Pantji,251

This evening, the Working Committee considered some proposal to amend the Hindu Succession Act, 1956, by the Punjab Legislature. At that time, it was mentioned that the Madhya Pradesh Legislature had already passed some amending legislation of this kind and that this had obtained the approval of the President.

We were all rather surprised to learn this because if this kind of snipping is permitted, then the Act passed by our Parliament would lose much of its significance. The Working Committee thought that this process, started by Madhya Pradesh and now suggested in the Punjab, is reactionary and retrograde. The Law Minister had sent a note expressing these views.

Does your Ministry have any information about the Madhya Pradesh Act and how it was approved of by our President?

Yours affectionately, [Jawaharlal]

^{250.} Letter. File No. 48 (30)/60-63-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

^{251.} Union Home Minister.

^{252.} On 28-30 June 1960, an inter-party committee of 21 MLAs asked the state government to delete from the Hindu Succession Act clauses granting equal rights to daughters in their father's property. *The Times of India*, 1 July 1960. See also Appendix 98.

^{253.} The CWC "was of the opinion that though the States were competent to pass legislation with respect to the Hindu Succession Act, passed by the Parliament, since it was included in concurrent list (Constitution of India), the Leaders of the Congress Legislature Parties should be advised to see that no action on the part of the State Legislature should go against the accepted policy of the Congress." Proceedings of the CWC, 28 and 29 July 1960, JN Collection.

404. To K.N. Katju: Amending The Hindu Succession Act²⁵⁴

29 July 1960

My dear Kailas Nath, 255

The Working Committee this evening had before it a proposal from the Punjab for an amendment of the Hindu Succession Act, 1956. It was mentioned then that the Madhya Pradesh Legislature had recently passed some kind of an amendment act called the Madhya Pradesh Land Revenue Code, 1959. We were all rather surprised to learn of this because this goes against the Statute by Parliament which was passed after long discussions. Can you throw some light on this?²⁵⁶

Yours affectionately, [Jawaharlal]

405. To Partap Singh Kairon: Amending The Hindu Succession Act²⁵⁷

29 July 1960

My dear Partap Singh, 258

The Working Committee this evening considered some reference to it about a proposal for the Punjab Legislature to amend the Hindu Succession Act of 1956. We were all rather disturbed by this as we do not think such amendments are at all desirable. They are retrograde. All these matters were discussed fully in Parliament. I hope, therefore, that you will not encourage this.

^{254.} Letter. File No. 48 (30)/60-63-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

^{255.} The Chief Minister of Madhya Pradesh.

^{256.} See Katju's reply, Appendix 101.

^{257.} Letter. File No. 48 (30)/60-63-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

^{258.} The Chief Minister of Punjab.

(i) Health

406. To D.P. Karmarkar: Leprosy Work in India²⁵⁹

17 June 1960

My dear Karmarkar,

Dr. Matsuki Miyazaki, the Leprosy expert from Japan, came to see me today. He gave me a copy of his report on the Anti-Leprosy Campaign in India. I suppose you have already received this report. Nevertheless I am sending a copy to you.

I was much interested in what Dr. Miyazaki said to me. I think he is not only a good expert, but a good man. I think that in this Leprosy work, we should try to take full advantage of the experience of Japan and keep in touch with them.

Yours sincerely, Jawaharlal Nehru

407. To R.R. Diwakar: Leprosy Work in India²⁶⁰

20 June 1960

My dear Diwakar,261

I met Dr. Wardekar²⁶² today and had a good talk with him about leprosy work in India. I like Wardekar and I have the impression that he is doing good work.

It seems to me that there should be no difficulty at all in the Gandhi Smarak Nidhi coming to a proper arrangement with him about future work. That arrangement should be based, I think, on:-

- Leprosy Fund should be kept separate and should be under some trustees.
 These trustees would naturally be some members of the Gandhi Smarak Nidhi.
- 2) There should be a board or managing committee of the Leprosy Fund which should have a good deal of autonomy in its work.

^{259.} Letter. File No. 28 (12)/59-69-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

^{260.} Letter. File No. 28 (92)/62-71-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

^{261.} President, Gandhi Smarak Nidhi.

^{262.} R.V. Wardekar (1913-1996); studied medicine in Grant Medical College, Bombay; gave up teaching and private practice and devoted himself to medico-social work at Wardha; Founder-Director, Gandhi Memorial Leprosy Foundation, 1952; played a major role in the country's leprosy eradication programme. See *International Journal of Leprosy*, Volume 64, Number 4, p. 462.

SELECTED WORKS OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

3) There should be some formal connection with the Smarak Nidhi. Any variations in this approach can be agreed to. All this type of work ultimately depends on the man in charge.

> Yours sincerely Jawaharlal Nehru

408. To Jivraj N. Mehta: Kamala Nehru Hospital²⁶³

24 June 1960

My dear Jivraj,

You spoke to me about the letter you sent me about some complaint relating to a case in the Kamala Nehru Memorial Hospital. I have just seen that letter and read it. It was very good of you to take so much trouble over this case. There is nothing further to be done. I presume you have written to Vatsala Samant²⁶⁴ also.

Yours sincerely, Jawaharlal Nehru

409. To John G. McConnell: Grant to Madras Cancer Institute²⁶⁵

27 June 1960

Dear Mr. McConnell, 266

Thank you for your letter of June 21st. I am happy to know that your father's Foundation²⁶⁷ is giving a Cobalt-60 beam therapy unit to the Cancer Institute of Madras. This will no doubt help in the treatment of this terrible disease and lessen the suffering from it.

With good wishes,

^{263.} Letter to the Chief Minister of Gujarat, a trustee of the Kamala Nehru Memorial Hospital, Allahabad.

^{264.} Medical Superintendent, Kamala Nehru Memorial Hospital, 1942-72.

^{265.} Letter.

^{266. (1912-1974);} President, The Montreal Star, Canada.

^{267.} The J.W. McConnell Foundation, started in 1937 by John Wilson McConnell, Canadian businessman, newspaper publisher, and philanthropist.

410. To Sri Prakasa: Mental Hygiene²⁶⁸

21 July 1960

My dear Prakasa,

I have received your letter which is dated May 18th, 1960. Perhaps this is meant to be July 18th. With your letter, you have sent Dr. K.R. Masani's²⁶⁹ letter and other papers.²⁷⁰ Obviously, this subject of mental hygiene is one of importance.²⁷¹ What we can do about it at present is not clear to me. I am forwarding all these papers to the Planning Commission.

Yours affectionately, Jawaharlal Nehru

411. To K.R. Masani: Mental Hygiene²⁷²

21 July 1960

Dear Dr. Masani,

The Governor of Maharashtra, Shri Sri Prakasa, has forwarded to me your letter which is dated May 18th. Perhaps, this is a mistake for July 18, 1960. What you write is definitely of importance, and I hope that our Health Departments and the Planning Commission will give thought to it. I am forwarding your letter and other papers to the Planning Commission.

Yours sincerely, Jawaharlal Nehru

^{268.} Letter. File No. 28/71/60-66-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

^{269.} Kaikhushru Rustom Masani (b. 1905), psychiatrist; Chairman, Executive Committee, Indian Council of Mental Hygiene, Bombay.

^{270.} Masani's letter and the other papers have not been traced.

^{271.} Incidentally, K.L. Shrimali, addressing a meeting convened in New Delhi on 18 July by the "Indian Council of Mental Health" for launching a Delhi Society for Mental Health, touched off a controversy "when he said that mental health was a secondary question compared to the need for feeding India's hungry millions" and that the meeting should not rush with the formation of the Society. *The Times of India*, 19 July 1960.

^{272.} Letter. File No. 28/71/60-66-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

(j) Science and Technology

412. To Homi Bhabha: Trombay Reactor²⁷³

26 June 1960

My dear Homi,

Your letter of June 23 about the formal opening date for the Canada-India Reactor. Roughly the first half of January would probably suit me for this purpose. It is a little difficult for me to give a precise date now because usually we have the annual sessions of the National Congress about that time. You may, however, indicate to Canada or elsewhere that a date some time before the 20th January would probably be suitable, the exact date to be fixed later.²⁷⁴

Thank you for sending me a copy of the letter of the Director-General of the International Atomic Energy Agency²⁷⁵ about Dr. Sethna's²⁷⁶ paper.

Yours affectionately, [Jawaharlal]

413. To A.D. Ross: P.K. Ghosh's Death²⁷⁷

27 June 1960

Dear Professor Ross,278

I am grateful to you for your letter of the 21st June, 1960. The death of Dr P.K. Ghosh²⁷⁹ and his wife came as a shock to all of us who knew him.²⁸⁰ Besides him, there were one or two other officers of our Atomic Energy Department who

- 273. Letter.
- 274. This research reactor at Trombay built with Canadian assistance under the Colombo Plan went critical on 10 July 1960; the same day Nehru congratulated Bhabha and his colleagues on the successful operation of the reactor. Nehru inaugurated the reactor at Trombay on 16 January 1961.
- 275. William Sterling Cole of USA.
- 276. Homi Nusserwanji Sethna (1923-2010); nuclear scientist and chemical engineer; joined the Atomic Energy Establishment, Trombay, 1959; Chairman, Atomic Energy Commission of India, 1972-83.
- 277. Letter, copied to Homi J. Bhabha.
- Alexander David Ross (1883-1966); Australian physicist; founder, Pan-Indian Ocean Science Association.
- 279. P.K. Ghosh, a geologist, was the Director of the Atomic Minerals Directorate (AMD) of the Department of Atomic Energy, GOI.
- 280. Four persons, including P.K. Ghosh, his wife, Captain A. Kuhl, the American pilot, and S.A. Solberg, representative of a US aviation firm, died when a twin-engined seven-seater Aero-Commander crashed near Chakrata on 19 June. *The Hindustan Times*, 21 June 1960.

suffered grave injuries in this accident.²⁸¹ The American aircraft which had gone had come here for demonstration purposes.²⁸² In fact, I had been asked also to go on a trial flight, but I could find no time for it.

We do not yet know exactly what happened. The accident occurred in the lower Himalayan mountains.

I am conveying your message of sympathy to Dr Ghosh's colleagues.

Yours sincerely, Jawaharlal Nehru

414. To Homi J. Bhabha: Atomic Power Station for Rajasthan²⁸³

29 June 1960

My dear Homi,

Mohanlal Sukhadia, Chief Minister of Rajasthan, came to see me today and again stressed the great need in Rajasthan for power. He hoped very much that one of our Atomic Power stations would be placed somewhere in Rajasthan, perhaps near the U.P. border. He was anxious that I should convey this to you, so I am writing to you. Probably he will write to you at greater length.

Yours affectionately, [Jawaharlal]

415. To C.M. Trivedi: Stick to Bhabha's Plans²⁸⁴

30 June 1960

My dear Trivedi,285

Homi Bhabha has written to me²⁸⁶ and sent me a copy of his letter to you dated 28th June. I have rather hurriedly read through this long letter. Broadly, I am in agreement with his approach, though I am not competent to judge of many matters in connection with it.

- 281. They were A.S. Bhatnagar, Principal Scientific Officer; and S. Bhalla, Chief Physicist, AMD.
- 282. On 16 June 1960.
- 283. Letter. File No. 17 (278)/57-60-PMS, Vol. I. Also available in JN Collection.
- 284. Letter. File No. 17 (302)/60-PMS, Vol. II. Also available in JN Collection.
- 285. Member, Planning Commission.
- 286. See Appendix 50.

SELECTED WORKS OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

It seems to me that in a question like that of atomic energy, we should not spoil our broad-based and logical development by cutting out any feature in it which Homi Bhabha considers important. As far as I can make out, Bhabha's proposals are not very revolutionary and it will be desirable to give a place to them in our draft Plan.

I think Bhabha is right in pointing out that the money used for mining, etc. should not directly come under atomic energy.

Yours sincerely, Jawaharlal Nehru

416. To Homi J. Bhabha: Redrafting Atomic Energy Proposals for Plan²⁸⁷

30 June 1960

My dear Homi,

Your letter of the 28th June.²⁸⁸ Also your letter to Trivedi. It may be rather late to make any major change in the draft of the Five Year Plan. I have written to Trivedi to see what can be done. But apart from this, you need not attach too much importance to the draft at this stage. It is supposed to be very provisional.

I don't think there is much point in your coming here now. I am going away to Kashmir for a few days early on the 2nd morning. For the rest, we are very busy now with the threat of a general strike.

Yours affectionately, [Jawaharlal]

417. To B.C. Roy: Nihar Ranjan Dutt²⁸⁹

Chashmashahi, Srinagar 6 July 1960

My dear Bidhan,

I have had a letter from Dr. Nihar Ranjan Dutt who is at present serving as Reconstructive & Plastic Surgeon, University of California Medical Centre. He is 34 years of age, M.B.B.S. Calcutta (1951) and M.Sc. in Surgery, McGill University, Canada (1956). He calls himself a refugee from Pakistan. He served as House Surgeon at the Campbell Medical School Hospital, Calcutta and then in Assam,

287. Letter. File No. 17 (302)/60-PMS-Vol. II. Also available in JN Collection.

288. See Appendix 50.

289. Letter. File No. 2 (682)/73-78-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

Ambala, New York, etc. He has written a number of papers and he has been well spoken of by the Surgeon-in-Chief of the Royal Victoria Hospital, Montreal, Canada, and others. I am giving you in brief some particulars about him.

Seeing my appeal to Indian scientists abroad, he applied to the Director-General of the Armed Forces Medical Services as well as our Health Ministry and the Ministry of Scientific Research and Cultural Affairs. Apparently none of them replied to his request. I am enquiring into this matter. He says that his present salary is 525 dollars per month but is prepared to a salary in India of about one-third of this amount plus a consolidated non-practising compensatory allowance.

It appears that he is particularly good at reconstructive and plastic surgery. As I have said above, I shall be enquiring from our Defence Services etc., about the need for a person like him. But I thought of writing to you in case you can advise me as to how we can deal with such a case.

Yours affectionately,
[Jawaharlal]

418. To K.N. Katju: An Atomic Power Station for Madhya Pradesh²⁹⁰

9 July 1960

My dear Kailas Nath,

Your letter of the 2nd July, in which you discuss the shortage of power in Madhya Pradesh and suggest that an atomic power station might be established at Bina. I am rather intrigued at the idea of your Electricity Board actually suggesting a particular place for such a station. ²⁹¹ Electrical Engineers probably know nothing about atomic energy and what is required for starting such a station. We are not advanced enough in this business to start a station where we choose. The first two or three stations that we may start, are likely to be small ones, and their location will have to be very carefully considered so as to offer the best conditions.

Thus, while recognising fully your need for power, that is not enough to establish an atomic station. Anyhow I am sending your papers to Dr. Homi Bhabha.

Yours affectionately, [Jawaharlal]

290. Letter. File No. 17 (278)/57-60-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

^{291.} On 11 June 1960, S.L. Tewari, the Madhya Pradesh Minister for PWD and Electricity, told a conference of the MPs from the state at Pachmarhi that his Government was approaching the Centre for establishing an atomic power plant near Bina for the benefit of UP, Madhya Pradesh and Rajasthan.

419. To Swaran Singh: Mineral Development in J&K²⁹²

9 July 1960

My dear Swaran Singh,

You were good enough to send me a comprehensive note with your letter of July 1st about mineral development in Jammu & Kashmir State.²⁹³ I took this note with me to Srinagar and showed it to Bakhshi Ghulam Mohammad. Indeed, he kept it for a day or two.

There is one thing in this note which rather intrigues me. This is about copper. There is a reference to copper in the Sind Valley and further it is said that a specific clue that may lead to copper in Ladakh (in the forward area near Chusul) has been followed up with the aid of the Deputy Commissioner of Ladakh.

There is no reference to certain investigations made in this Ladakh area by Dr. Bhatnagar.²⁹⁴ I do not remember the date. Probably, it was about six or seven years ago. But I remember distinctly Bhatnagar telling me that they had found excellent deposits of copper on the route from Leh to the Rohtang Pass in the Kulu Valley, and that this was of excellent quality. Indeed, he sent some geologists there by bridle path from Leh, and they brought some of this copper to Delhi. I saw these specimens which were good. I was told then that all that remained was to have adequate transport arrangements. To get all this by a long mule track and then by air was not feasible or economical. Indeed, in this connection, the proposal was repeated to have a road made from Manali in the Kulu Valley to Leh. This was given up as it was far too expensive and, anyhow, it was likely to be closed for six months or more because of snow.

Now that we are making various roads in Ladakh and are in fact sitting in Chusul and elsewhere, the transport question might be easier. I do not think that a road right up to Manali is feasible.

Anyhow, the matter deserves investigation as to what we did then. This might help others who are enquiring into this now. Professor Thacker is not here, but I am sending a note to the C.S.I.R. to enquire.²⁹⁵

Yours sincerely, Jawaharlal Nehru

^{292.} Letter. File No. 17 (371)/59-66-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

^{293.} It was a note by S.S. Khera, Secretary, Ministry of Steel, Mines & Fuel.

^{294.} Shanti Swaroop Bhatnagar, Director-General, CSIR, 1942-54.

^{295.} See item 420.

420. To CSIR²⁹⁶

Some years ago, when Dr. S.S. Bhatnagar was the Director of the C.S.I.R., he informed me that good quality copper had been found in Eastern Ladakh some several days march from Leh. I think he sent some geologists there, and specimens of this copper were brought to Delhi and shown to me. Because of the difficulties of transport, nothing much could be done then.

Will you please find out what was done then and what papers you have in connection with this discovery of copper there? The specimens of copper brought should also be available here.²⁹⁷

421. To Eugene Rabinowitch: *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists*²⁹⁸

25 July 1960

Dear Mr. Rabinowitch, 299

Your letter dated June 2nd has been received by me only today, July 25th. I do not know why it took such a long time to travel to India. Possibly it came by ocean mail.

I have often seen the Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists, though I cannot say that I have been a regular reader of it. What I have seen of it, has been of help to me in understanding some aspects of the problems that have been thrust upon the world by the coming of the atomic and hydrogen bombs. As these problems concern our survival, authoritative information about them is of great importance. The Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists has supplied this information with all the authority of the experts.

I would wish that large numbers of people all over the world should have the benefit of getting this information from your Bulletin. There is so much loose thinking, or thinking under the stress of fear, that it has become more and more difficult to look at these problems objectively. And yet at no time was calm and clear thinking more necessary.

Yours sincerely, Jawaharlal Nehru

^{296.} Note, 9 July 1960. File No. 17 (371)/59-66-PMS.

^{297.} See also Swaran Singh to Nehru, 19 August 1960, Appendix 102.

^{298.} Letter.

^{299.} Eugene Rabinowitch (1901-1973); Russian-born American biophysicist known for his work on nuclear weapons; co-founder and editor of Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists, Chicago.

(k) Urban Development

422. To Le Corbusier: A Cantonment for Punjab300

1 June 1960

Dear Monsieur Le Corbusier, 301

I have received your letter of the 13th May. I happened to meet the Chief Minister of the Punjab today and I asked him about this question of a Cantonment at Chandigarh. He said that the place selected for it was a good distance away from the lake and was hardly visible from there. Further, that a cantonment, though meant for soldiers to live in, is really a very quiet and peaceful place and should not affect the peaceful character of the city.

I am as anxious as you are to maintain the special characteristics of Chandigarh.

Yours sincerely, Jawaharlal Nehru

423. To S.P. Khanna: Planning Seminar at Bangalore³⁰³

Please reply to this letter and say that it is difficult for me to say with certainty whether I shall be able to be in Bangalore on the 16th September.³⁰⁴ It is possible I might go there on the 15th,³⁰⁵ but I may have to come back soon.

2. While I am greatly interested in planning of cities and wish their seminar success, I am not quite sure how far it is helpful for Ministers and the like to go to a seminar of specialists.

^{300.} Letter. File No. 7 (118)/56-66-PMS. Vol. I. Also available in JN Collection.

^{301.} Architectural Adviser to the Government of Punjab, Capital Project.

^{302.} See Appendix 7.

^{303.} Note to Private Secretary, 28 June 1960. File No. 8/147/60-PMP, Vol. I, Prime Minister's Secretariat.

^{304.} Shivnath Prasad, Vice-President, Council of the Institute of Town Planners (India), New Delhi, had requested Nehru to inaugurate the Institute's Annual Town and Country Planning Seminar, "Planning of Metropolitan Cities", to be held at Bangalore, 16-23 September.

^{305.} To inaugurate the centenary celebrations of M. Visvesvaraya (1861-1962).

424. To Kesho Ram: Planning of Greater Delhi306

Mr. Echeverria's³⁰⁷ report on the Delhi Plan and connected papers should certainly be sent to all the Cabinet Ministers as well as the concerned Central Ministries.³⁰⁸ Also, to the Chief Ministers of Uttar Pradesh, Punjab, etc., that is, the States which are concerned in some way or other with this Delhi Plan. These States should be requested to send their comments.

- 2. This whole subject of Delhi planning will have to be considered some time or other by the Cabinet, and the Health Ministry, therefore, should prepare their note on the subject.
- 3. In the letter from the Health Ministry dated 28th June, it is stated that the recommendations made in these papers were considered in the Ministry and were not accepted. From this, it does not appear what was not accepted. The Plan makes numerous recommendations. Presumably, some were accepted and some were not accepted. The Health Ministry should, therefore, write a detailed note on this subject, giving reasons for acceptance or non-acceptance of the proposals made

[DELHI MASTER PLAN ROLLS OVER SAMPURNANAND]



[On the left: Sampurnanand] (From Shankar's Weekly, 17 July 1960, p. 12)

306. Note, 1 July 1960. File No. 28 (7)/56-65-PMS.

307. Edward G. Echeverria, the head of the team of consultants provided by the Ford Foundation to assist in the preparation of a master plan for Delhi.

308. The draft master plan for Delhi, prepared by the Town Planning Organisation of the Ministry of Health and released on 7 July 1960, planned for an estimated population of about fifty lakhs in 1981. *The Times of India*, 8 July 1960.

425. To Jivraj N. Mehta: Town Planning in Gujarat 309

1 July 1960

My dear Jivraj,

I have received a letter today from a group of Indian architects. I am enclosing this letter in original for your consideration.

It is, of course, for you and your Government to decide. But the broad idea of having a team of architects to consider the planning of a town or city appears to me obviously a good one, and much better than asking individual architects to submit their designs. The architects mentioned in the attached letter are undoubtedly men of ability and experience. I see from the list that one of them, B.V. Doshi, is in private practice in Ahmedabad. Some of these architects have been connected intimately for the last two or three years with the planning of Greater Delhi in conjunction with an expert team from the Ford Foundation of America. This has been very detailed work, from which they have learnt much and, indeed, I have learnt something about town planning from their efforts.

Yours sincerely, Jawaharlal Nehru

426. To Mohanlal Sukhadia: Preserving Jaipur³¹¹

13 July 1960

My dear Sukhadia,

I have today received a letter from our Town Planning organization. With this letter they have sent a note about Jaipur and more especially about the preservation of the old city walls and gates of Jaipur. They have also sent me some charts. I understand that they have sent this note and these charts to your Government also, and you may have seen them. I am, therefore, not sending my copies on to you.

It is difficult for me to judge of all this without examining them on the spot, but, as far as I can see from the note and the charts, the suggestions made by our

^{309.} File No. 7 (210)/60-66-PMS.

^{310.} Balkrishna Vithaldas Doshi (1927-2010); studied at J.J. School of Art, Bombay; senior designer for Le Corbusier, 1951-57; established his office Vastu-Shilpa in Ahmedabad, 1955; founder director, School of Architecture, Ahmedabad, 1962; worked in partnership with Joseph Allen Stein and Jai Rattan Bhalla; founder-director, Vastu Shilpa Foundation for Studies and Research in Environmental Design, Ahmedabad.

^{311.} Letter.

Town Planning organization appear worthwhile. They preserve the old city gates and, at the same time, provide for more traffic and the growth of Jaipur.

Yours sincerely, Jawaharlal Nehru

427. To S.P. Khanna: Planning Seminar at Bangalore³¹²

Please reply to this letter from Bangalore.³¹³ It is true that I intend going to Bangalore for the Centenary celebrations of Shri Visvesvaraya on the 15th September. I am not yet sure as to how long I shall be able to stay in Bangalore on that occasion. Perhaps I may have to leave Bangalore on the 16th. If the Planning Seminar is held on the forenoon of the 16th, it is likely to suit me better.

^{312.} Note, 27 July 1960. File No. 8/147/60-PMP, Vol. I, Prime Minister's Secretariat. 313. See item 423.

IV. EXTERNAL AFFAIRS

(a) China

428. To N.R. Pillai: Indian Troops at Nathu La and Kongka¹

I think some answer should be sent to the attached telegram² in which complaint is made about our aircraft etc.

- 2. So far as I know, no Indian troops have crossed beyond Nathu La, which might be verified from Defence. As for our aircraft flying over Kongka Pass, you might find out from Air Marshal Mukerjee but we need not have any kind of a specific or detailed answer. We may inform our Ambassador³ that our aircraft are performing their normal duties on our side and visit some of our posts for supplies.
- 3. You might inform our Ambassador that I propose to pay a very brief visit to some of our border posts in Ladakh early next month.⁴ He need not inform the Chinese about this. This is only for his own information.

429. To V.K. Krishna Menon: China Attack on Nepal Border⁵

Your telegram 239 June 30th about Nepal-Tibet border incident. There has undoubtedly been serious incident there and this has produced strong reactions in Nepal and India. Exact facts not known yet but it appears only one Nepalese killed by Chinese firing. A number of other Nepalese arrested and taken away by Chinese. Even Chinese admit certain breach of recent treaty with Nepal which laid down demilitarized zone on either side border. They admit having come into this zone in pursuit of some refugees. In addition to this their firing on Nepalese appears wholly unjustified.

- 1. Note, 26 June 1960.
- 2. CCB No. 7887; it has not been traced.
- 3. G. Parthasarathi, the Ambassador of India to China.
- 4. For Nehru's speech to the officers and men of the Indian Army at Leh, 4 July 1960, see item 78.
- Telegram, 1 July 1960, sent through the High Commission of India to Ghana. Krishna Menon was in Accra at the time. The telegram was repeated to the High Commission of India to the UK, and copied to N.R. Pillai and M.J. Desai.
- 6. The Times of India reported on 30 June and 4 July 1960 that Chinese troops attacked inside Nepal, near Mustang, on 28 June, killing one Nepal Army officer. The Nepal Government claimed seventeen civilians missing; China admitted to taking only ten prisoners.
- 7. By the Treaty of 21 March 1960, 20 kilometres on either side of the border was demilitarized.

- 2. It appears that large-scale fighting has been going on within Tibet between rebel elements and Chinese soldiers.
- 3. We do not think that recent Nepal-Tibet border incident indicates any particular forward policy. But it does indicate that general attitude of Chinese in Tibet is very objectionable. They throw their weight about and do not care much for frontiers and the like.

430. To B.P. Koirala: Nepal-China Incident of 28 June⁸

10 July 1960

[My dear BP],9

Thank you for your letter of the 7th July which reached me yesterday through our Ambassador. 10

We have, of course, followed with the greatest interest the recent developments on your border and the incident there has attracted world attention. The incident itself perhaps was not of major significance. But the whole context of things leading up to that incident and subsequently is, I think, of considerable significance. When I heard of this shooting by the Chinese and killing a Nepalese citizen and capturing others, I did not think that this was a prelude to some kind of invasion. But I did think that the general aggressive attitude of the Chinese was persisting and they had not got rid of their method of bullying and throwing their weight about. This was a bad outlook for the future.

I came to the conclusion some time ago that it is not at all an easy matter to understand the mind of the Chinese Government. They think and speak in a language which is different from ours (I am not referring to Chinese, but rather to the method of thinking and the use of words which have different meanings to what they mean to us). On the one hand they are convinced of their own rightness and consider people who might disagree with them as being either fools or knaves.

On the other hand, they have not yet got over the first revolutionary phase of their movement. They are quite extraordinarily one-sided in their outlook and have no room for what the other party might think. Urged by their revolutionary fervour as well as the sense of growing power that they possess, they inevitably tend to be expansive. A secondary reason is their enormous population which grows. They seem to believe that every piece of territory that once belonged to the Chinese Empire must now or in the future revert to them.

^{8.} Letter.

^{9.} The Prime Minister of Nepal.

^{10.} Harishwar Dayal.

[CHINESE EVEREST CLIMB]

You Said It



I bet it's a printer's devil! It ought to be "Chinese claim."
(From The Times of India, 1 June 1960, p. 1)

We came to the conclusion, some considerable time back, that the right way to deal with China is to be friendly and courteous and at the same time to be completely firm. They do not appreciate weakness and always try to take advantage of it. We have tried to follow this policy with them, but naturally the emphasis varies and depends upon the particular circumstances then prevailing.

I do not think that China intends to risk a major war. But wherever they can, rather quietly and stealthily, occupy some territory, they try to do so. It is in this way that they have occupied some of our mountain territory in Eastern Ladakh and on a basis of distorted history they lay claim to it. We reject that claim and we have taken adequate steps now to prevent any further incursion. We are fairly strong on our borders at present and our strength will increase. Our main difficulty has been the lack of communications in these distant regions. We have, therefore, undertaken a massive programme of road-building throughout our border regions. This, of course, is a major undertaking which takes time. Nevertheless, we are expediting it.

The position, therefore, insofar as we are concerned, is that we are progressively strengthening our long border with Tibet-China, and it is not an

easy matter for the Chinese to push through anywhere without a major military effort. I do not think they will make that major effort because that will involve not only for us but for them also far-reaching consequences. But I am quite sure that if we slacken anywhere on our border, they will try to creep in. This, however, will not now be an easy matter anywhere for them.

The other question still remains, that is, what we are to do about the area of what we consider our territory which is already occupied by them. This is, in extent, considerable, but is remote and very sparsely populated. It is difficult of access because it lies principally between 13,000 and 19,000 feet in altitude. The question becomes for us principally a military one, apart from the political aspects. I cannot give an answer now as to what we may do at a particular time in the future. For the present, we are prepared for any contingency and go on strengthening ourselves.

Premier Chou En-lai's letter addressed to you was a curious one. ¹¹ The apology, as far as it went, was satisfactory. But even if there was some confusion about the exact border, what business had his troops to shoot down people on the border, even if they were refugees. He seems to take this for granted. Then again his statement that the Nepalese group was mistaken for Tibetans is not easy to believe. I imagine, though I am not sure, that in appearance and in clothing the Nepalese would be different. But, anyhow, when they had captured some of your

[GRINDING LEGS AND SHAKING HANDS]



[From left: Chou En-lai, B.P. Koirala] (From *The Times of India*, 24 July 1960, p. 1)

11. The letter, dated 2 July 1960, is published in R.K. Jain (ed.), *China South Asian Relations* 1947-1980, Vol. 2 (New Delhi: Radiant, 1981), pp. 331-333; the source is not mentioned.

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people, surely they must have found out immediately that they were not Tibetans. Why then did they hold on to them for a number of days? From no point of view was this correct. Why also should they come into the de-militarized zone, even if Tibetan refugees had gone there? That is no justification for their troops to come in. What is more, they want the right to come into part of that zone even in the future.

According to our information, the military build-up of the Chinese in Tibet is considerable and extends to the borders. I do not think that this represents an attempt to prepare for an invasion of Nepal or India. But the mere fact of that build-up necessarily leads to apprehensions to both our countries.

All this thinking leads to the conclusion that we must guard our borders. This does not mean that large armies should be placed there, though any kind of intrusion should be met by a check-post. Numbers do not matter much in this connection except that they should not be too few. We are not placing these check-posts with a view to engaging in battle, but rather as symbols of our sovereignty over that area. The Chinese can only come in by violating that symbol and committing clear aggression.

In Ladakh, where I went recently, our forward sentries are within almost a stone's throw from Chinese sentries. Behind sentries on either side, there are larger posts. There is not much chance of either side, therefore, marching forward without coming into conflict with the other party. Of course, we have forbidden any such advance because we wish to avoid incidents. But the Chinese know very well that any attempt on their part to advance will be opposed vigorously.

As you perhaps know, some of our officers are in Peking at present examining the factual data in regard to our borders. It is a very laborious and time-consuming process. The Chinese methods even in dealing with a simple issue of fact are very peculiar.

With warm regards to you and to your wife,

Yours sincerely, Jawaharlal Nehru

(b) Tibet

431. To Swami Vidyananda Saraswati: Pilgrimages to Manasarovar¹²

27 June 1960

Dear Swamyji,13

I have your letter without date.

From such reports as we have been getting, internal trouble is continuing in Tibet, sometimes leading to conflicts between the Tibetan rebels and Chinese authorities. I imagine that it is because of this that the Chinese authorities have announced that pilgrims should not go to Manasarovar or Kailash. If It does not seem to me proper for pilgrim tours to be organised when the authorities there are against such tours. It is not a question of not wanting any facilities from the Chinese Government. The Government might well stop these pilgrims from going there and this will no doubt bring much hardship on the pilgrims. It will not be fair to the pilgrims to be asked to go there when it is known that they might not

[CHINESE MANASAROVAR]



[From left: Rammanohar Lohia, Chou En-lai] (From Shankar's Weekly, 10 July 1960, p. 13)

- 12. Letter.
- 13. Of Sri Geeta Satsang Kailasksetra, Naini Tal.
- 14. The Times of India reported on 15 June 1960 that China had informed the Indian Consul-General in Lhasa that it would be unsafe for pilgrims to go to Kailash and Mansarovar. This had been done in 1959.

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be able to complete their yatra. Our advice, therefore, would be that such tours should not be undertaken this year.

You say something about Chinese currency being made available. I do not understand this and we cannot ask the Chinese Government for any such facility when they have themselves said that pilgrims should not go.

Yours sincerely, Jawaharlal Nehru

432. To Satya Narayan Sinha: Nepal-China Incident for Parliament¹⁵

30 June 1960

My dear Satya Narayan,

I have your letter of June 30th with which you have sent me Ranga's¹⁶ letter. I think you might tell him that you referred his letter to me. Should a situation arise on our borders or elsewhere which requires an early consideration by Parliament, we would certainly advise an earlier summoning of Parliament.¹⁷ But although new developments are taking place in Tibet and also on the Nepal border, I do not think that the time is quite ripe for a Parliamentary discussion. The major fact appears to be that there have been internal troubles in Tibet. The other fact is of a border incident on the Nepal frontier with Tibet. So far as internal troubles in Tibet are concerned, we may refer to them but we can hardly discuss them in Parliament with any profit. So far as Nepal frontier incident is concerned, I am not at all sure that the Nepalese Government would like our discussing that incident in a big way. Therefore, I do not see any advantage in specially summoning Parliament which is going to meet anyhow in a month's time. To do so may well create a false impression in the country about the actual situation.

This applies also to a meeting of the Consultative Committee of Members of Parliament. There is very little that we shall be able to tell them in the way of facts apart from what has appeared in the press. If, however, some further development takes place, we shall certainly consider convening a meeting of the Consultative Committee.

Yours sincerely, Jawaharlal Nehru

^{15.} Letter.

N.G. Ranga, elected Congress Lok Sabha MP from Tenali, Andhra Pradesh, in 1957; from June 1959, Swatantra Party MP; President of Swatantra Party.

^{17.} The Parliament Session was to begin on 1 August 1960.

433. To Shankar Prasad: Ladakh Militia 18

15 July 1960

My dear Shankar Prasad,

I enclose a letter from Kushak Bakula about the Ladakh Militia¹⁹ and a copy of my reply to him.²⁰ Who is in charge of the Ladakh Militia? Is our Defence Ministry responsible for them? I do not know what their pay and allowances are. If, apart from the major question which I have dealt with in my reply to Kushak Bakula, any other grievances have to be looked into, you can forward these papers to the authority concerned.

Yours sincerely, Jawaharlal Nehru

434. To Kushak Bakula: Ladakh Militia and Regular Army²¹

15 July 1960

Dear Bakulaji,

I have your two letters of July 13 and 14.

So far as the Vihara at Delhi is concerned, we shall try to collect some money.²²

Your second letter deals with the Ladakh Militia, and you say that they have some grievances, in particular in regard to pay, because they do not get as much as our regular troops. I am surprised to read this. Of course, they do not get the same as our regular troops. In no part of India does a militia get the same pay as regular troops. The regular troops have to undergo very long and special training while the militia stand on a different footing, and is not meant for the same purpose as the regular troops. The two cannot be compared.

It should also be remembered that the regular troops have to go far away from their homes and are cut off from their families, some times for years.

This would also apply to pensions.

But if there are any other grievances which can be remedied, they will be looked into.

Yours sincerely, Jawaharlal Nehru

18. Letter to Secretary, Kashmir Affairs.

- For details, see Indian Army website: http://www.bharat-rakshak.com/LAND-FORCES/ Units/Infantry/116-Jak-Li.html; accessed 21 February 2014.
- 20. See item 434.
- 21. Letter
- 22. See also items 273, 277, 285 and 289.

435. To Kesho Ram: Kailas Pilgrimage²³

Please reply to this letter as follows:-

"Dear Swamiji,24

The Prime Minister has received your letter of the 11th July. He has already conveyed to you the request of the Chinese Government that no pilgrims should go to Kailas this year because of internal troubles in Tibet. If any pilgrims, nevertheless, go there, they will do so on their own responsibility. The Government of India cannot insist on the Chinese Government providing safe escorts. In the Chinese Government providing safe escorts.

Yours sincerely,"

436. To The Dalai Lama: Education of Tibetan Children²⁷

28 July 1960

Your Holiness,

I received your letter of the 10th July some days ago. I am sorry that I could not reply to you earlier.

I entirely agree that the existing facilities for the education of Tibetan children are inadequate. Even before the receipt of your letter I had asked that steps should be taken without delay to expand these facilities. I therefore welcome your proposals to start a school at Dharamsala and to expand the existing school at Mussoorie. One of our senior officers has been placed on special duty to review the question of the education of Tibetan refugee children in India and to suggest immediate steps for improving them. He is visiting Kalimpong, Sikkim and other areas where there are Tibetan refugees. I am told that he will also visit Dharamsala early in August. We shall ask him to call on you and have a personal discussion with you. You can rest assured that the Government of India will do everything possible to look after the needs of the Tibetan children.

Yours sincerely, Jawaharlal Nehru

- 23. Note, 16 July 1960.
- 24. Swami Vidyananda Saraswati.
- 25. See item 431.
- 26. According to The Times of India of 6 and 17 July 1960, on 4 July, Sampurnanand wished "bon voyage" to Swami Vidyananda Saraswati and fifteen pilgrims who set out from Naini Tal on 15 July; five more were to join en route.
- 27. Letter.

(c) Pakistan

437. To M.J. Desai: Canal Waters²⁸

Please refer to the attached telegram from our High Commissioner²⁹ in Pakistan.³⁰

- 2. I have no idea about the present deadlock in the Canal Waters talks except that this relates to transitional arrangements.³¹ I saw a telegram yesterday, I think, from Gulhati³² on this subject which says that the Bank people are going to discuss these matters with the Indian representatives and then put them across to the Pakistani representatives. Further all this was going to take some time.
- 3. I am naturally anxious that all these protracted negotiations should end and a final agreement be arrived at. I do not quite know what I can do to further this. If I knew a specific point over which matters have stuck, I could express my opinion in regard to it.
- 4. You may, therefore, tell our High Commissioner that he can inform General Shaikh that we are ourselves anxious to achieve a final settlement in the Canal Waters question and we are happy that the main points have been decided. So far as the interim arrangements are concerned, we thought that these would not offer any great difficulty. We do not know in detail what the points at issue are but our general instructions are to do everything to resolve these questions.
- 5. About Defence matters, we would be happy to come to an understanding in the context of both parties avoiding recourse to violence. If both of us were satisfied about the bona fides of the other, this itself will bring about a certain relaxation and relief. The question of common defence against a possible opponent is, of course, a much more complicated affair and is intimately connected with foreign policies.
- 6. The Pakistan High Commissioner Brohi³³ had a talk with me for nearly an hour a few days ago. As a matter of fact, he did not refer to any existing dispute between India and Pakistan, such as Canal Waters or Kashmir. He explained at length to me his own background, how he had been impressed in his youth and how he had been entirely opposed to the partition of India. When this took place, he kept out of politics and all that till he was more or less dragged in. Then again when military rule came, he reacted against it and wanted to keep out and in fact

^{28.} Note, 12 June 1960.

^{29.} Rajeshwar Dayal.

^{30.} The reference is to the telegram CCB No. 7274; it has not been traced.

^{31.} The deadlock was over the transitional arrangements in the Indus waters treaty being negotiated in Washington under the auspices of the World Bank.

N.D. Gulhati, Additional Secretary in the Ministry of Irrigation and Power and the chief Indian negotiator for canal waters talks with the World Bank and Pakistan.

^{33.} A.K. Brohi.

[AYUB DREAMS ABOUT INDIA] AYUB KHAN SAYS DREAM OF FRIENDSHIP WITH INDIA HAS NOT COME TRUE BECAUSE IT WAS ONLY A DREAM

(From Shankar's Weekly, 31 July 1960, p. 13)

did not accept some offers made to him by President Ayub Khan. When, however, the President appealed to him to help in improving relations with India, he could not refuse.

- 7. Mr. Brohi also assured me of the anxiety and good faith of President Ayub Khan in this matter of having friendly relations with India. Further that delay in achieving this result would make the problem more difficult. New generations are growing up who have not got their contacts in the old background, etc. etc.
- 8. As Mr. Brohi had talked about the past, I also referred to pre-partition developments in India, and how the Muslim League had fallen out with the Congress in the middle thirties in the UP. My concern then was to have a progressive government from the social point of view, especially because we wanted to have agrarian reforms. The Muslim League represented the big landlords then as, more or less, it did later too in Pakistan.
- 9. I went on to the days preceding partition and how conditions were created which almost compelled us to agree to the division. We felt that any forcible union at that stage would lead to continuing trouble. Various psychological conditions had arisen among our people and among the Muslims and they could not be dealt with by force. Also there was an apprehension that a very loose union of various parts of India would make the country weak and it would be very difficult to progress socially or economically. Because of these compulsions, we agreed most reluctantly to the partition, but we hoped that after this was agreed to, the two countries would become friendly again as the psychological

barrier had gone. It was a terrible shock to us to have to face the killings and migrations immediately after partition. These made the position infinitely worse and wherever the refugees went in India or in Pakistan, they became sources of infection and illwill.

- 10. All this could only be dealt with rather gradually, allowing these passions to subside. Fortunately conditions were much better now and the people of India and the people of Pakistan had largely got over those passions and were progressively in a mood to cooperate.
- 11. This was the general tenor of our talk. We did not discuss any specific matter but, when Mr. Brohi was leaving, he indicated that now that a frank approach had been made to the background, on the next occasion he saw me he would discuss more specific issues and put forward his own ideas on the subjects for me to consider. Meanwhile, he was going out of India and going to Europe for some time. Thus it was intended that when he comes back to his post here, we shall meet again.

438. To M.J. Desai: Changing Relations with Pakistan³⁴

I have read these three letters from our High Commissioner in Pakistan. It is evident that owing to the changing world situation and recent occurrences (the U-2 incident, Summit, Turkey, Japan), there is fresh thinking going on in Pakistan about their relations with India. That is good. But whether that will lead to anything will depend on how far that thinking leads them.

- 2. In effect, their external policy is largely conditioned by their dependence on the United States. Therefore, what advice the United States might give them must carry great weight. The US have had many shocks in recent weeks and must be considering a new appraisal of their policy. Whatever that may be, it will have some effect on the possible advice they might give in regard to the Indo-Pakistani relations.
- 3. I can well appreciate that because of various factors, it would be advantageous to both our countries to reduce our tensions on the border and even, if possible, to lessen some of our border forces. How can this be done? Obviously local commanders on the border cannot do it and it is odd that such a suggestion should be made. I do not know of any precedent of this kind. Apart from the basic fact that this is a political question as well as a Defence one and can only be dealt with by governments, it is obvious that this question cannot be considered separately for each area. It should, therefore, be made quite clear that this is not a business of local commanders.

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- 4. But we are perfectly prepared to consider this question at government level in its various aspects. The easiest course would have been to have a No-War Declaration as we have often said. If there are grave difficulties in the way of Pakistan agreeing to this or to a Non-Aggression Pact in a formal manner, we can consider the question somewhat indirectly and from the point of view, as our High Commissioner says, of Non-User of Force. In effect this is much the same; only it is a round-about and somewhat meeker way of saying the same thing. However we may put this, the point is that there must be a clear understanding of force not being used. Only then can the other question of possible withdrawals on the border regions arise. I repeat that there can be no question of local commanders coming to any agreements in such matters.
- 5. One other matter which we feel is important should be mentioned to our High Commissioner. This is the continuation, and even the increase, of incidents involving sabotage by Pakistani elements in J&K State. This is a serious matter. The damage done may be relatively little and it is obvious that a government does not change its policy because of these rather terroristic activities. But this kind of thing creates grave suspicions about the real policy of the Pakistan Government and comes in the way of relaxation of tension. If it is said that such incidents of sabotage have nothing to do with the Pakistani Government, I regret I cannot fully agree. Of course, the Government does not directly concern itself with such matters, but I have no doubt that the Pakistani Government can stop them if it so chose. Further that at lower levels at least Pakistani officials organise and encourage them. We have, in fact, enough evidence about this even in the trial of Shaikh Abdullah that is going on. Apart from that, we have also evidence. Therefore, unless this sabotage stops, it will be difficult to convince our people that the Pakistani Government wants a peaceful approach or a relaxation of tension.
- 6. I repeat, however, that we are prepared to consider the substance of a Non-Aggression or Non-User of Force approach, even though this is not formalised. Yet I do not understand how even this can take place without some definite arrangement between the two governments. For local military commanders to arrange this seems to me quite out of the question.
- 7. I have repeatedly said that I shall go to Pakistan to sign the Canal Waters Agreement when this has been finalised. I confess that as delay occurs in this, my difficulties in going there increase. But anyhow I shall go there. I hope that this can be arranged some time between the 20th and the 30th of July.³⁵ Our Parliament session begins on the 1st August and I must be back here on the 31st July, preferably earlier. When I go there I am prepared to talk with the President about our mutual problems. We have had little success in the talks between our

Nehru visited Pakistan 19-23 September 1960; he signed, on behalf of India, the Indus Waters Treaty in Karachi on 19 September 1960.

Finance Ministers.³⁶ But I think that Pakistan has taken a very unreasonable attitude in regard to financial matters. The real question, of course, comes back to Kashmir. It is not much good arguing about it. The fact is that it is quite beyond any possibility for the Government of India to agree to hand over any part of our territory to the Pakistan Government or to agree to any process which might lead to this. I do not want to shout this out, but that is a basic fact and the leaders of Pakistan should remember this. We can realise their difficulties with their public opinion or whatever else they have to contend with. Therefore, the only course open is not to try to reopen this question in a basic way, but to help to create conditions which will gradually lead to its settlement. This may take time. There is no other way.

8. I am not dealing with the question of Joint Defence as I have dealt with it previously. There can be no Joint Defence unless we give up completely our foreign policy and our general outlook to world affairs. We have absolutely no intention of doing it. In fact, recent events have shown the virtue of that policy and we are firmly entrenched in it. But in so far as India and Pakistan can come to formal or informal agreements, about our own affairs and our own defences, that itself may lead to some relief to each country.

439. To M.J. Desai: Violations of Cease-fire Line³⁷

I have just dictated a rather long note to you in connection with some letters from our High Commissioner in Pakistan.³⁸ After doing that, I have read his letter from Murree, dated June 15.

- 2. I am glad to notice in this letter his reference to the campaign of sabotage and subversion across the cease-fire line. This is a very important aspect of the Kashmir issue. So long as this continues, we shall always feel that Pakistan does not want any kind of a peaceful settlement. I hope, therefore, that this fact will be kept in mind and our High Commissioner can refer to it on suitable occasions.
- 3. I am inclined to think that various international events are compelling fresh thinking in many countries, notably in the United States and in Pakistan. Pakistan's fear of Afghanistan is not, I think, at all justified. But Pakistan can certainly be rather nervous about the general failure of the system of vested alliances to which it is a party.

^{36.} Held in Rawalpindi in March 1960.

^{37.} Note, 20 June 1960.

^{38.} See item 438.

440. To M.J. Desai: Berubari Union39

At first glance, the suggestion made by you appeals to me. ⁴⁰ I should imagine that the Berubari Union territory, which we may have to give to Pakistan, is more important for us than the limestone quarry, but obviously this requires more careful looking into and full discussion with the Assam authorities.

- 2. Unfortunately it is difficult to discuss this matter with the Assam Chief Minister now or in the near future. First of all, he is very ill. Secondly, there is a great deal of trouble in Assam. Thirdly, there is the prospect of a general strike.
- 3. A fact to be remembered is that at present the feelings between Assamese and Bengalees are very strained. Assam will not be particularly interested to take any step merely because it helps West Bengal while such a step causes some loss to Assam.
- 4. I should like to have this matter discussed by our Foreign Affairs Committee in all its aspects before taking it up with the Assam Chief Minister. It would be better to have a clear note prepared on this issue for the Foreign Affairs Committee. That note would be useful also when discussing it with the Chief Minister of Assam later.
- 5. Subject to good health and other considerations, the Chief Minister of Assam intends to come to Delhi about the 23rd or 24th July.

441. To M.C. Chagla: Negotiations on Canal Waters⁴¹

Your telegram 447 of July 7th⁴² conveying message from Eugene Black.⁴³ Please convey following reply from me to Black.

Begins. Your message regarding the deadlock in the Canal Waters negotiations over transitional arrangements has been forwarded to me by our Ambassador Chagla.

I must confess that this message has come as a surprise to me. When we met in May 1959 and discussed the broad principles of settlement of the Canal Waters question, I accepted, on behalf of the Government of India, your proposals in full, including the long transitional period involved. 44 These proposals involved

- 39. Note, 9 July 1960. File No. 4 (71)-Pak III/59, Annexure I, MEA. Also available in JN Collection.
- 40. Nehru was responding to Desai's note of 2 July 1960, see Appendix 58.
- 41. Telegram, 11 July 1960, conveying a message for Eugene Black. File No. 1/IWD/58, (Washington Papers), I.T. Section, Ministry of Irrigation. Also available in JN Collection.
- 42. See Appendix 67.
- 43. President, World Bank.
- 44. A delegation from the World Bank visited Delhi from 12 to 15 May 1959. For details, see SWJN/SS/49/item 1, here pp. 1-3.

heavy sacrifices for us, because they meant postponing the development of the areas to be irrigated by the Rajasthan and other Canals on which we had spent and are spending large sums of money in order to increase our food production which is of such vital importance to us. We hoped that on the basis of the understandings reached, the Canal Waters Treaty would be finalised soon after.

Unfortunately, many difficulties and deadlocks have arisen since then, contrary to the understandings reached in May 1959, and we have been seriously concerned at them. We have been anxious to arrive at an agreement over this issue with Pakistan. It was because of this that we went further in accepting certain proposals than we might normally have done. We appreciated greatly the great efforts, patience and perseverance that you and Mr. Iliff⁴⁵ have displayed in dealing with this problem and in grappling with the difficulties that have arisen. On 1st July, I sent a message to Mr. Iliff seeking his assistance in settling the remaining difficulties expeditiously so that the Canal Waters treaty could be signed fairly soon.

We have given careful consideration to Pakistan's needs and difficulties, and have accepted various limitations and sacrifices in order to reach a settlement. But you will appreciate that we cannot ignore our own needs and difficulties. Rajasthan Canal is of vital importance to us, and our planning is based on it and on the waters that will come to it. There is a yearning all over that area served by the Rajasthan Canal for water, and any great delay in providing adequate supplies of water to this Canal would create very difficult political, social and economic problems for us.

However, in view of what you have said, we have again given earnest thought to this matter from the point of view of making, as you have suggested, rock-bottom proposals on transitional arrangements. On this basis, we are sending further instructions to Gulhati who will work out the technical details of these proposals and communicate them to you.⁴⁶

I trust that you will appreciate that in these new proposals, we have stretched ourselves to the limit and that we cannot go any further. I earnestly hope that a settlement will now be arrived at soon.

I should like to express again our high appreciation of your and Mr. Iliff's labours to bring about a settlement of this vexed question. I earnestly trust that these labours will come to a successful end soon.

With kind regards. Ends.

2. Please pass a copy of this to Gulhati.

^{45.} A.B. Iliff, Vice President, World Bank.

^{46.} See M.J. Desai to N.D. Gulhati, Appendix 77.

(d) Other Neighbours

442. To Lalji Mehrotra: China-Burma Border Agreement⁴⁷

Chashmashahi, Srinagar 6 July 1960

My dear Lalji,48

Your letter of the 1st July⁴⁹ reached me here in Srinagar. I am very glad to learn that the Burmese leaders and Government gave you such a fine send off.

We have no complaint against the Burmese border agreement with China. I can well understand the Burmese desire to have such an agreement as at least a partial assurance of security. Therefore, the Burmese themselves are the best judges of this. There is just one aspect of it which perhaps we did not like so much. The Chinese Government was at least partly aiming at isolating India from our neighbouring countries, Burma and Nepal. This was certainly not Burma's intent. In Nepal subsequently, the Nepalese Government, feeling much the same way as Burma, yet were a little firmer in these matters. I have no doubt that the only policy to be pursued in regard to China by all these neighbouring countries is one of courtesy and friendliness allied always with firmness in regard to important matters. Any appearance of weakness has a bad effect.

Ultimately Burma, with or without anybody's help, cannot match China's strength if it is a war. But, it must be remembered that such a war is not likely to be confined to a border area or one country. It is likely to spread and bring in all manner of unforeseen consequences. The Chinese know that also. Therefore, they would hesitate to take such a step. What is necessary is to give some protection to the borders of the country, more as a sign of sovereignty and firmness than to fight a major war.

You refer to the training facilities being given to Indonesia. These are just to train their people. We are prepared to give those facilities in so far as we can to other friendly countries. Obviously we cannot thrust them on any other country.

I am glad that Madame Aung San⁵⁰ has come to New Delhi as Burmese

^{47.} Letter, copied to M.J. Desai. File No. 1205 (5) SD/60, MEA. Also available in JN Collection.

^{48.} Ambassador of India to Burma, 1956-July 60; and to Japan, July 1960-65.

^{49.} See Appendix 56.

Khin Kyi (1912-1988); wife of Burmese leader General Aung San; Member of Parliament, 1947-48; Ambassador to India, 1960-67. Website of the Daw Khin Kyi Foundation, http://dawkhinkyifoundation.org, accessed on 10 March 2014.

Ambassador. She is a very good friend of ours. I was not in Delhi when she came, but I shall certainly see her as soon as I return.⁵¹

Yours sincerely, Jawaharlal Nehru

443. Message for Sirimavo Bandaranaike⁵²

Please convey following message to Mrs. Bandaranaike.53

Begins. I am happy to learn of your success at the general elections and more especially at your accepting the high office of Prime Minister of Ceylon. I send you all my good wishes and look forward to close and friendly relations between our two countries in the great problems that face us.

Jawaharlal Nehru, Ends.

444. To K.D. Malaviya: Oil Prospecting in Nepal54

24 July 1960

My dear Keshava,

I saw your note about prospecting oil and natural gas in Nepal. I do not think that we should press for rights to explore the whole of Nepal for this purpose. That would not be politically desirable and is bound to create friction. Apart from this, have we not enough area to explore in India, and, if so, why should we add to it?

But one thing would be desirable and that is that in our carrying on our explorations in the Terai region of the U.P. etc. we could go across into Nepal.

Our policy in Nepal has all along been not to thrust ourselves there, but only to take up any matter when the Nepalese are anxious that we should do so.

Rather casually I mentioned this matter to the King of Nepal.⁵⁵ I did not wish to discuss this with him, but I told him that we were dealing with his Government.

- 51. Mrs Aung San accompanied by her daughter Aung San Suu Kyi arrived in New Delhi on 2 July; she met Nehru on 9 July.
- 52. Telegram to the Indian High Commission, Ceylon, 21 July 1960.
- Sirimavo R.D. Bandaranaike (1916-2000); widow of the former Ceylonese Prime Minister S.W.R.D. Bandaranaike.
- 54. Letter, copied to Subimal Dutt. File No. 17 (401)/60-66-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.
- 55. Mahendra was on a four-day private visit to New Delhi, 20-23 July 1960. According to The Times of India of 24 July 1960, Nehru "met King Mahendra for the third time today [23 July] to exchange views on matters of common interest including those relating to the northern border."

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I would suggest therefore that we should proceed cautiously and not undertake too many burdens in Nepal nor should we ask the Government there for any kind of exclusive rights over large areas.

Yours affectionately, Jawaharlal Nehru

(e) Elizabeth II's Visit

445. To Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit⁵⁶

2 June 1960

[Dear Nan,]

We are giving further thought to the question of the Queen's visit here.⁵⁷ This will be announced in London and here tomorrow without any dates being mentioned. The question of dates will, however, come up soon and this is somewhat dependent on her being here about the time of Republic Day.

We would like her to come here for the Republic Day and we are trying to find out how best the demands of protocol and convention should be satisfied.

There is no question of a visiting Head of State not being treated with the highest courtesy. Wherever such a foreign Head of State goes, he or she will be the first person and our President as the host would be number two.

The difficulty that had arisen was in connection with the Republic Day. There is nothing like this so far as I know in most countries. Some of the Communist countries have their own way of celebration. The fact that General de Gaulle took the salute at a special parade of the Queen's Bodyguard has no relevance. The Queen can have any number of special parades.

In the past, three Heads of State have been present here at the time of Republic Day: (I) President Soekarno;⁵⁸ (2) Ghulam Mohammad of Pakistan;⁵⁹ and (3) President Voroshilov last year. We have thus been observing a certain practice and convention and it is not an easy matter to break such a practice. We want naturally the Queen to have a great welcome here and I am sure she will have such a welcome. We have been slow in inviting her in the past years because we did not want any kind of a criticism even from some opposition groups. It is in

^{56.} Letter. Subject File No. 61, Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit Papers (First Instalment), NMML.

^{57.} See Nehru to Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit, 31 May 1960, SWJN/SS/60/item 193, and Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit to Nehru, 2 June 1960, Appendix 18.

^{58.} In 1950.

^{59.} In 1955.

this context that we have to see her visit now. If these opposition people get hold of some excuses to criticise her and our Government, they will seize hold of it. They might say that here is a sign of India being not quite independent and all that. Of course, all this will have no justification.

However, I need not repeat all these various arguments. We are now considering carefully how we can adjust our procedures on Republic Day to fit in with the Queen's presence here, avoiding anything that might hurt Indian sentiment or be exploited by our opposition groups as far as possible.

I am going to Poona today. On my return we shall consider this matter more carefully and probably make some suggestions to you. Meanwhile, it seems to me that there are four matters to be considered:

- (1) The Queen accompanying the President in his coach and eight on Republic Day.
- (2) On arrival, as soon as the President gets out, the National Anthem is played and the Bodyguards salute. On that particular occasion if the British Anthem is played in addition, I think that this will be objected to by large numbers of people. Of course, on other occasions, the British Anthem will be played.
- (3) The President sits on a small raised dais by himself. Should the Queen sit there on the same dais side by side with the President?
- (4) Should both of them take the salute jointly?

These are the four points that arise. In effect if the Queen drives with the President, it follows that she will sit with him too on the dais. Possibly joint salute also follows. But I do not think that the playing of the British National Anthem on any such occasion will be approved of by our people at all.

I shall write to you further after we have ourselves considered this matter more. Meanwhile, you might, on your own, have a further talk with Dickie⁶⁰ on the lines indicated above and see what he has to suggest. I do not think you should discuss this matter with anyone else except perhaps with Prince Philip with whom you can talk informally. Our whole object is to give the Queen a good popular welcome and not to mar this in any way.

Unless these matters are cleared up and decided, we cannot fix definite dates for her visit. Whatever procedure we may adopt will have to be for every future Head of State who might come here and not for the Queen only.

[Love.]

446. To R.R. Diwakar⁶¹

11 June 1960

My dear Diwakar,

I have your letter of the 9th June, in which you suggest that the Queen of England, when she comes here, might see a Children's film. I do not think this will be at all feasible. She will necessarily have a very crowded programme during the two or three days she might spend in Delhi. I do not think she is interested in children's films at all. Of course, we can present her with our children's films if you so wish.

Yours sincerely, Jawaharlal Nehru

447. To Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit⁶²

12 June 1960

[Nan dear,]

I have today received your letter of June 9 in which you have referred to a conversation you had with the Queen's Secretary.⁶³ On the 2nd June I sent you a letter on the subject of the Queen's visit.⁶⁴ Apparently, you had not received this when you wrote your letter of June 9.

I think that this question of protocol etc. involved in the visit should be broadly settled soon. This is so because, to some extent, the date of the visit depends upon such decisions. As you realise, this protocol business is a delicate one. We want to give the Queen a very fine reception, and I am quite sure that she will have it. But if we do something in connection with Republic Day which goes against the sentiment of the people, then there might be some criticism which we would not like. This is the main reason why we raised this matter.

As a matter of fact, it appears from your last letter that on the part of the Queen, the dates have already been suggested. This is January 21 for her arrival In India. Going to Pakistan from India on February 1, and returning on the 16th. Thereafter another week or ten days in India. These dates are quite agreeable to us as indeed any other dates would be. But obviously these involve her stay in India on Republic Day. We cannot send her away from Delhi on that day. Therefore, we have to consider the protocol or other arrangements in Delhi on

- 61. Letter.
- 62. Letter.
- 63. Michael Adeane (1910-1984); Private Secretary to Elizabeth II, 1953-72.
- 64. See item 445.

Republic Day in case she is present here then. This is not a matter merely of my decision. I have to take into consideration other people's reactions and, more particularly, my appraisal of the public reaction. As I have said, the public is likely to give a great welcome to the Queen, but the public has also certain ideas about Republic Day, and I do not want some Opposition groups to get a handle to raise some kind of an agitation on this subject.

Republic Day is and must essentially remain our national day with a certain ceremonial attached to it. It cannot be converted into something of which the principal part is the reception to the Queen. It would be different on any other day and indeed the Queen will certainly have special receptions on other days.

Now what can we do on Republic Day if the Queen is present? I feel that it will not be proper for the British National Anthem to be played on that occasion. Also I would prefer the salute to be taken by the President only, as before. Apart from this, anything else that is desired could, I think, be arranged. Thus the Queen can come to the Republic Day function with the President in his special coach. Even this would be an innovation because no one else has thus far come there in this way. But I think we could arrange that. She could also, of course, return from the function with the President.

The question of her sitting there has also to be considered. The best course would be for her to be seated on suitable sofas separately as we did with Voroshilov and Prince Philip. The idea of her sitting or standing with the President on the small dais does not seem to fit in unless she was taking a joint salute.

I think that you should talk to Macmillan about this quite frankly and get his reactions. Prince Philip has actually been here on Republic Day and therefore knows exactly the kind of thing that happens there. His view would be of help. Dickie has never been here on Republic Day, and perhaps does not quite know what happens then.

I agree with you, therefore, that you should see Macmillan at the earliest opportunity and put this position to him clearly. You will, of course, point out to him that what we are suggesting is very much in the interest of the Queen's reception here. If you have the chance, you could discuss this matter with Prince Philip who can speak with knowledge.

I have refrained from discussing this matter formally with my colleagues here as any such attempt would probably result in a leakage to the press. I have, however, discussed it privately with some of my colleagues. They felt a little nervous at the idea of the Queen taking a joint salute and all that.

The President is away.⁶⁵ He will be coming here soon, and I shall discuss this matter with him. He will then leave for Moscow. I have casually mentioned this to him, and my impression is that he would not like any major change in our normal procedures.

^{65.} Rajendra Prasad was in Simla, 1-14 June 1960.

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As soon as this hurdle is crossed, we can go ahead and finalise the dates of her visit and take in hand the other arrangements.

I should like you to send me a brief cable after you have met Macmillan. That will help me to deal with the matter further here.

I shall be in Delhi till the end of the month or even a little longer except for the 21st and 22nd of this month when I go to some villages in Surat District. In the first week of July I might pay a brief visit to Ladakh.

[Love.]

[Jawahar]

448. To Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit⁶⁶

13 June 1960

[Nan dear,]

Last night I sent you a letter in connection with the Queen's visit.⁶⁷ There is one thing I forgot to add in it.

Dr Radhakrishnan, our Vice President, is also Chancellor of the Delhi University. He spoke to me yesterday and said, on behalf of the University, that they would like to confer an Honorary Degree on the Queen if she is agreeable to it. He asked me to convey this to you so that this might be kept in mind.

When Prince Philip came here, the Delhi University conferred an Honorary Doctorate on him.⁶⁸ It was a good function. On the whole I think it would be desirable if we could have such a function for the Queen. Prince Philip will, of course, join it as a Member of the Delhi University.

This matter, of course, can be dealt with later. There is no hurry about it. The main thing to be decided, as soon as possible, is the date of the Queen's visit about which I have written to you last night. I shall expect an early reply from you to my letter.

[Love.]

^{66.} Letter

^{67.} See item 447.

^{68.} On 22 January 1959.

449. To Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit⁶⁹

14 June 1960

[Nan dear,]

I am writing to you again about the Queen's visit. Do not imagine that I am writing to you frequently because I am worried about it. But if an idea strikes me, I want to convey it to you.

The more I think of it, the more I dislike the idea of what is called a joint salute, that is, the President and the Queen jointly taking the salute. This does not fit in at all from any point of view. If it is considered necessary, we can, on another day, have a separate parade for the Queen herself. But on the 26th January, what we have is not just a military parade, but some kind of a national display, part of which is the military parade. On that occasion, I do not think it will be appropriate to associate the Queen with the salute, or to have the British Anthem played.

The President, you will remember, is the Supreme Commander of our Armed Forces.

Apart from this, we shall, of course, give every importance to the Queen on that day. She can come with the President in the coach and six. I shall receive them and introduce the Defence Minister and the Chiefs of Staff. Thereafter, the President himself could take her to her special seat and then go on to his seat on the dais. We are prepared to give any kind of a special seat to her, though to make her sit all by herself would somewhat separate her from Prince Philip or others. Anyhow, all these matters can be fixed up in the best possible way. But the joint salute must be avoided and the playing of the British Anthem on that particular occasion.

As I have said above, if it is considered necessary, we can have a special parade for her.

There will be one other occasion when some question of protocol might arise. That is "Beating Retreat" on the 29th January. This is a very fine show and I think the Queen will like it. Prince Philip was not present at the actual function, but he saw a rehearsal of it which was nearly as good. I do not think there will be any difficulty about protocol on this occasion, and the Queen can certainly sit with the President then.

[Love.]

450. To Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit⁷⁰

Your telegram 1446 June 17th. Queen's visit. If Macmillan's views are shared by Queen and Prince Philip, as I hope they will be, then there will be no further difficulty about programme for Republic Day or any other day. Details can easily be worked out later.

2. As soon as agreement is arrived at about these procedures on Republic Day, we can accept the dates of Queen's visit to India as suggested. Simultaneous announcement can be made in England and India about these dates. I hope that it will be possible for Queen to extend her stay somewhat to enable her to visit more places.

451. To Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit⁷¹

29 June 1960

[Nan dear,]

I have your letter of June 23rd about your meeting with Macmillan. The procedure on Republic Day has now been broadly settled. As soon as Macmillan writes to us formally about it, we can finalise the dates of the Queen's visit. So far as we are concerned, the dates can be announced any time now.

If Macmillan wants some kind of an elaborate chair for the Queen, we shall try to arrange such a chair for her as well as for Prince Philip. But, as a matter of fact, the whole Republic Day affair is rather informal, in the sense of sitting etc. Large crowds of children squat on the ground. Even during the procession, some of us move about. An easy chair or a sofa would be much more comfortable to sit on for the Queen. But, if it is preferred, we shall put a more elaborate chair.

We are now facing the threat of a general strike. This is a serious affair, even though it may not be on as big a scale as its promoters want it to be.

You have not told us as to when you intend coming to India. [Love.]

^{70.} Telegram, 18 June 1960.

^{71.} Letter, copied to N.R. Pillai.

452. To Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit⁷²

Chashmashahi, Srinagar, 3 July 1960

[Nan dear,]

I have received here in Srinagar today your brief note of June 28th, with which you have sent a letter of that date from the Queen's Secretary to you. There is one sentence in this letter which has taken me aback and I am rather disturbed by it. As you have sent me the original letter of Sir Michael Adeane, perhaps you have not kept a copy, so I am sending you a copy.

You will see that in the first paragraph reference is made to my suggestions about the arrangement of the ceremonies which are to take place on Republic Day when the President of India takes the salute. The letter goes on to say that the Queen is in entire agreement with what has been proposed, and then "She understands that besides the President of India and herself, there will be no Heads of State present, and that she and the Duke of Edinburgh will sit on the same dais with the President."

It is this business of sitting on the same dais which disturbs me as I had not suggested anything of the kind. Indeed I have been suggesting all along that we should put a sofa etc. away from this so-called Presidential dais. As a matter of fact this is really a saluting base. It is quite small and the poor President has mostly to stand on it taking salute. It would be odd if we make a bigger dais and make the Queen and Prince Philip sit there.

You have not been present at the Republic Day parade so far as I can remember. But Prince Philip has been there and he should know the general lay-out of the arrangements. In the past we have put sofas and easy chairs for very distinguished guests, like Voroshilov and Prince Philip. These sofas or easy chairs have not been on a dais but on the lawn next to the saluting base and in front of all the others. To have a special dais for the Queen there would hardly be appropriate. We can of course put special chairs for her and Prince Philip.

I suppose there has been some misunderstanding and when this is explained to the Queen she will readily agree. I have all along been anxious to prevent the slightest misunderstanding either on the Queen's side or on the side of our people. At my last Press Conference some questions were asked which were meant to criticise our action in inviting the Queen.⁷³ I dealt with them, but the point is that there are some opposition elements who wish to take advantage of any slip on our part and I do not wish to give them any pretext.

^{72.} Letter, copied to N.R. Pillai.

^{73.} See item 15, here pp. 87-88.

Events move fast. The last few months or even weeks have seen some strange developments. There has been the collapse of the Summit; the U-2 incident in Russia with all its consequences; the tremendous demonstrations in Japan resulting in the cancellation of President Eisenhower's visit, and all that. All this indicates how a wrong step leads to bigger consequences. Therefore we have to look ahead. I am quite convinced that the Queen will have a very fine welcome here. What I wish to avoid is even small jarring notes.

[Love.]

[Jawahar]

453. To MEA74

Our High Commissioner in London, Shrimati Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit, telephoned to me from London this afternoon. She said that the Queen's Secretary had approached her and mentioned that the Queen had received an invitation from the King of Nepal to visit Nepal. She would like to accept this invitation and visit Nepal for three days in the course of her visit to India. It was suggested that this visit to Nepal might take place during the second part of her visit to India, that is, after she returns from Pakistan and towards the end of her stay in India. The Queen will return from Nepal to Delhi for a day and then leave for Iran. These dates are somewhat conditioned by some festivals in Iran.

- 2. I told her that we knew about this broadly and we had no objection to this programme.
- 3. I asked the High Commissioner when she was coming to India. She said that she would let us know in two or three days' time. But her intention was to come here towards the end of July.

454. To Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit⁷⁵

11 July 1960

[Nan dear,]

Your letter of July 6 about the Queen's visit and various arrangements for Republic Day, etc. I think there will be no difficulty about this any more.

I have noted what you have said about the Degree of Delhi University. A Reception by Delhi University could, of course, be arranged. But I do not think it

- Note to N.R. Pillai, Subimal Dutt, M.J. Desai and M.R.A. Baig, the Chief of Protocol, MEA, 11 July 1960.
- 75. Letter.

will be an easy matter to fix this up during Republic week here which is full of receptions and other engagements. On the whole, I think this idea should be dropped.

You will receive from our Chief of Protocol the rough outline of the programme for the queen's visit to India. The Queen can leave India on March 1, as she desires, and she can certainly go to Nepal. All this will be included in the outline programme. I imagine that the Nepal visit should be fitted into the second half of her visit to India.

[Love.]

[Jawahar]

455. To Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit⁷⁶

12 July 1960

[Nan dear,]

A tentative outline programme for the Queen's visit is being sent to you separately. Inevitably this has to leave out many important places which might have been considered worth visiting. The main points to be noticed are that the Queen comes back to India for her second visit from East Pakistan to Calcutta. This is obviously more convenient and will save a little time.

Ajanta and Ellora have been included. Personally I think that she should visit these caves.

Bangalore has been left out, although it is a very attractive place from many points of view and is a State capital. Instead Ahmedabad has been included. Prince Philip, I believe, took a fancy to Ahmedabad or rather to some of the scientific work applied to industry that is being done there.

You will remember that January 30th is the anniversary of Gandhiji's assassination. We do not want any function on that day, especially in Delhi.

We would like her to see "Beating Retreat". This takes place on the 29th January. It is rather difficult to fix it on any other day, but it might be possible to have a full-dress rehearsal of it on the 27th. When Prince Philip came here, this was done and he saw the rehearsal which is as good as the other show.

On the 26th and 27th January, we have our folk dances. They are unique in their own way. But I do not know whether the Queen would care to see them. It is difficult to postpone them because that would mean keeping about nine hundred folk dancers staying on in Delhi for several extra days. It might be possible to have them on the 27th afternoon or some other time so as not to clash with the full-dress rehearsal of the "Beating Retreat".

A brief visit to Lucknow has been included because it is said that she wanted to visit a number of our Provincial capitals. There is nothing very much to be done at Lucknow, so far as I know.

A visit to Nepal has been included. So also a visit to Jaipur. [Love.]

[Jawahar]

456. To Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit⁷⁷

16 July 1960

[Nan dear,]

I have your letter of July 12th in which you refer to a talk with Lord Home. This refers to a Minister of the UK accompanying the Queen on her visit to India.

So far as we are concerned, there is no necessity whatever for a Minister to accompany the Queen.

You may remember that when we went to have lunch with Rab Butler, ⁷⁸ he expressed his strong wish to come to India. Macmillan casually said to him: why not go with the Queen as Minister-in-Attendance? Rab said that he rather not do so but go by himself.

I had mentioned this incident to some of my colleagues here. Perhaps it was because of this that Krishna Menon said something about a Minister accompanying the Queen.

However, you can make it perfectly clear that we have no wish at all that a Minister should accompany her.

[Love.]

[Jawahar]

457. To Harold Macmillan⁷⁹

21 July 1960

[My dear Prime Minister,]

Thank you for your letter of July 14, 1960.

Our High Commissioner in London wrote to me a few days ago about the subject of your letter. She pointed out that it was not customary for the Queen to

77. Letter.

79. Letter, copied to Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit.

Richard Austen Butler, the British Home Secretary, 1957-62. Nehru met him in London in May 1960.

be accompanied by a Minister of the U.K. Government when she goes to a Commonwealth country. I told her in reply that I saw no reason whatever why this convention should not be observed when the Queen came to India. There was no necessity for a Minister of your Government to accompany her. I presume that she has conveyed this message to your Government. I am, therefore, in full agreement with you, and a Minister of the U.K. Government need not accompany Her Majesty.

Yours sincerely, Jawaharlal Nehru

458. To N.R. Pillai80

Anything more extraordinary and preposterous than for the Maharaja of Jaipur⁸¹ to suggest a five-day stay in Jaipur is really difficult to imagine.⁸² Personally I think two days is far too much for Jaipur. However, this is entirely for the Queen to decide. Anyhow, you can make it perfectly clear to the U.K. High Commissioner that for the Queen to spend several days in Jaipur would attract comment of a not very pleasant type from most people in India.⁸³ You might also make this point clear to our High Commissioner.

2. I agree with what you say about Vijayanagaram's⁸⁴ invitation. The Queen is not going to Banaras. Even if she went, she would not be his guest.

459. To M.R.A. Baig⁸⁵

Indira Gandhi spoke to me today about the programme we are drawing up for the Queen of England. She said that it might be interesting for her to see an exhibition of our cottage products and handicrafts. She will, of course, see them in the Cottage Industries' Emporium. But, if this was not considered feasible, it might be organised elsewhere in a smaller way.

- 80. Note, 21 July 1960. File No. 1 (12)-Pt I/60, Vol. 3, MEA.
- 81. Sawai Man Singh.
- 82. See Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit to N.R. Pillai, 12 July 1960, Appendix 81.
- 83. On 22 July, N.R. Pillai noted: "I have already spoken to the High Commissioner, and he agrees."
- 84. Vijaya Ananda Gajapathi Raju (1905-1965); Maharajkumar of Vizianagaram, popularly known as Vizzy; international cricketer and cricket administrator; Congress, Lok Sabha MP from Visakhapatnam, Andhra Pradesh.
- 85. Note, 22 July 1960.

2. Another suggestion which has appealed to me, is that a kind of a costume parade might be organised, showing not only the variety of costumes in India, but their historical development. I think that the Queen and others will like this. The best place to arrange this would be Vigyan Bhavan where this was done months before. A ramp was erected in the middle of the auditorium and the parade passed on this ramp. Or else it might even be done at Rashtrapati Bhavan, though that will not be quite so effective.

460. To N.R. Pillai86

I have looked through this proposed programme. Except for one matter, I have no particular comments to make. So far as we are concerned, we are agreeable to what is said in the attached programme, but obviously it may be difficult to find time for all this.

- 2. What I consider quite objectionable is for the Queen to spend three full days at Jaipur. It is for the Queen and Prince Philip to decide. But it has to be noted that during a brief visit to this great country three days in Jaipur is rather out of proportion.
- 3. Udaipur is worth visiting. But if Jaipur is to have three days, I do not see how Udaipur can be fitted in.

(f) Europe

461. To Willy Brandt: Newspaper Comments⁸⁷

15 June 1960

My dear Burgermeister,88

Thank you for your letter of the 30th May 1960 which I received a few days ago. I had myself just returned to Delhi after travels abroad. I had not seen the remarks of Mrs. Pandit to which you refer, nor any remarks in newspapers of the Federal Republic.⁸⁹ I have tried to find out, but have failed to discover these remarks. I

- 86. Note, 28 July 1960.
- 87. Letter.
- Willy Brandt (1913-1992); Mayor of West Berlin, 1957-66; leader of the German Social Democratic Party, 1964-87; Chancellor, Federal Republic of Germany, 1969-74; Nobel Peace Prize, 1971.
- 89. Brandt's letter has not been traced. Brandt had requested a meeting with Nehru during the latter's visit to London in May 1960; they met at lunch on 6 May at the residence of Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit. *The Hindu*, 5 and 6 May 1960. See also Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit to Nehru, 13 June 1960, Appendix 28.

find it difficult, therefore, to deal with this question.

I do not think we need attach much importance to some newspaper comments. What you said in the Berlin House of Representatives on May 12 in regard to our meeting was quite correct. 90

It was a pleasure to me to meet you in London.

With regards and good wishes,

Yours sincerely, Jawaharlal Nehru

462. To Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit: Meeting with Willy Brandt⁹¹

16 June 1960

[Nan dear,]

I have just received your letter of June 13th about Mayor Willy Brandt's letter to me. ⁹² Only two days ago I sent him a reply telling him that I knew nothing about this matter. ⁹³ Now that you have written to me, I shall have a further letter sent to him.

[Love.]

[Jawahar]

(g) Union of Soviet Socialist Republics

463. To K.P.S. Menon: Soviet Legal Procedures⁹⁴

6 June 1960

My dear KPS,

I have today, on my return to Delhi, received a letter from Mr A. Gorkin, Chairman of the Supreme Court of the U.S.S.R. 95 With this letter he has sent me a bundle of papers containing information about the laws and legal procedures of the U.S.S.R. and the Union Republics. These are interesting documents.

- 90. See Appendix 6.
- 91. Letter.
- 92. See Appendix 28.
- 93. See item 6.
- 94. Letter.
- 95. See Appendix 3.

I enclose a reply to Mr Gorkin, ⁹⁶ which I should like you to send him. Copies of his letter and my reply are also enclosed for your record.

Yours sincerely, Jawaharlal Nehru

464. To A. Gorkin: Soviet Legal Procedures 97

6 June 1960

Dear Mr. Chairman, 98

I have just received your letter of April 4, 1960, 99 with which you have been good enough to send me various papers about the Fundamentals of Criminal and Criminal-Legal Legislation of the U.S.S.R. and of the Union Republics, as well as a number of draft laws and regulations. I am grateful to you for having remembered my request and sent these papers to us. 100 I am sure they will be of great help to us in understanding the legal procedures in the Soviet Union and more especially the way the public are invited to participate in combating violations of public law and order. Please accept my thanks.

It was a great pleasure to me to meet you and your fellow Soviet lawyers when you came to India. Your visit has undoubtedly helped in mutual understanding which should always be the firm basis for the friendly relations between our two countries.

With all good wishes to you,

Yours sincerely, Jawaharlal Nehru

^{96.} See item 464.

^{97.} Letter.

^{98.} Chairman of the Supreme Court of the USSR.

^{99.} See Appendix 3.

^{100.} A. Gorkin accompanied by five delegates representing the legal profession had visited India, 5-20 January 1960.

465. To Asoke K. Sen: Soviet Lawyers' Delegation 101

6 June 1960

My dear Asoke,

When the Soviet Lawyers' Delegation came here, you may remember that we discussed the question of public participation in the maintenance of law and order. They promised to send me some material about their laws and procedures. They have now sent me a bundle of papers on these subjects.

I am enclosing a copy of the letter of the Chairman of the Supreme Court¹⁰² and my reply to him.¹⁰³ The various papers he has sent are for the present with our External Affairs Ministry. I should like to keep them in this Ministry for reference. But, should your Ministry wish to see them, I shall have them sent to you.

Yours sincerely, Jawaharlal Nehru

466. To K.P.S. Menon: Chamanlal's Work on Gypsies 104

13 June 1960

My dear KPS,

I suppose you know or remember Chamanlal who was a journalist in the old days and who once created a sensation by throwing a brief case from the journalists' gallery in the old assembly. Since then he has gone through many changes. He has written books on odd subjects and on South America and various aspects of Japanese life etc. About two or three years ago he became a Buddhist monk. So, now he is Bhikku Chamanlal. He is somewhat eccentric. At the same time he has a remarkable way of getting on with people. Recently he has been travelling about in Africa and did good work there. He managed to go to South Africa and addressed big audiences which was very unusual.

So far as we are concerned, we give him some facilities and sometimes a little money, though not much. For the rest, we leave him to function according to his own ways. We feel that in the balance he does good work in his own way.

One of his latest interests is the gypsy. He has been attending gypsy gatherings in France and elsewhere and I believe he is writing a book on the gypsies and

^{101.} Letter, copied to N.R. Pillai and Subimal Dutt.

^{102.} See Appendix 3.

^{103.} See item 464.

^{104.} Letter, copied to Subimal Dutt.

probably trying to make out that there are a lot of them in India. He is now working in a museum in London on this subject.

I am writing to you because I have just heard from him. He says that he will be going to Moscow in the last week of June for a ten day stay there to study Russian gypsies. I do not want you to go out of your way for him. But I would like you to give him such facilities as are easily available.

This will be about the time when the President is there. Chamanlal knows the President well. Possibly, he may want to see him. If the President so wishes, Chamanlal may see him.

Yours sincerely, Jawaharlal Nehru

(h) Africa

467. To M.J. Desai: Visits to Africa 105

I agree that it is important for us to pay much more attention to the countries of Africa and more particularly those countries which have achieved or will achieve independence soon.

- 2. I do not know if it is possible for me to visit Africa. There may be just a possibility roundabout September or early October because that fits in with the Nigerian Independence Day. ¹⁰⁶ I had greatly considered the idea of going myself to Nigeria on that occasion. But it is not possible for me to go to many countries in the course of one tour.
- 3. I think it would be a good thing if Shrimati Indira Gandhi agreed to visit some countries in Africa on our behalf. If I cannot go to Nigeria for the Independence Day I would like her to go there accompanied by someone else. She has, I think, finally decided to pay a visit to Mexico in October. So, I do not know how far it will fit in with her programme. I shall enquire.
- 4. But apart from my going or Indiraji's going, we should think in terms of a small expert team visiting these places from trade and like points of view.

105. Note, 7 June 1960.

106. Nigeria became independent on 1 October 1960.

468. To Dag Hammarskjold: Indian Officers for Africa 107

7 June 1960

Dear Mr Hammarskjoeld,

I have read with interest your letter of May 20,¹⁰⁸ which our Permanent Representative in New York, Shri C.S. Jha, has sent on to me. I entirely agree with your estimate of the importance of the swift and far-reaching developments which are now taking place in Africa and appreciate your anxiety to help in the process. These newly independent countries will need large scale assistance particularly in the economic and technical fields, and here is an opportunity for the more developed countries of the world to join in a cooperative endeavour to give them every possible assistance.

As you know, we in India have always been in favour of economic assistance being channelled to the less developed countries through the UN. I am convinced that despite the limitation of its resources, the United Nations can, through its Technical Assistance Board, perform useful services in the planning and execution of development schemes in the African countries. Your letter suggests, however, that the functions of the United Nations representatives should not be restricted entirely to the field of economic development. This is a somewhat novel idea and I am not sure how far it would be practicable or even desirable for the United Nations to attempt some sort of local political representation in the member countries. I understand that when your Under Secretary, Shri C.V. Narasimhan, was in Delhi some months ago, our officials discussed a somewhat similar proposal with him in a different context. He must have reported to you the substance of this discussion.

I do not wish, however, to go into this matter at length in this letter. In fact we are unable to spare the services of any of the three officers you have mentioned. Kewal Singh¹⁰⁹ is not in particularly good health and I doubt whether he would be suitable for a tough assignment in Africa. S. Sen has only recently gone to Canberra, and R.S. Mani is designated for an important diplomatic assignment in an Asian country where we need a senior person.¹¹⁰ We are short of experienced personnel for our senior diplomatic posts and I very much regret that we are unable to spare any officer.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely, Jawaharlal Nehru

^{107.} Letter. File No. 31 (12)-UN I/60, MEA. Also available in JN Collection.

^{108.} See Appendix 10.

^{109.} The Ambassador of India to Sweden, August 1958-August 62.

^{110.} R.S. Mani, the Ambassador of India to Chile, was in July 1960 appointed Ambassador to Burma.

469. To M.J. Desai: Racism¹¹¹

When I was in London, the question of the racial policies of the South African Government was very much to the fore. There were vague talks of boycott of South African goods. The Prime Minister of Malaya¹¹² chiefly and, to some extent, the Prime Minister of Ghana, made brave statements to this effect. When I told them that, so far as India was concerned, we had cut off not only our diplomatic relations, but also our economic relations twelve years ago, they were much surprised. I explained to them that there was no question of boycott by us in the normal sense of the word. We had, in fact, stopped all imports from, and exports to, the South African Union. Wherever I mentioned this, it came as a surprise to people there.

- 2. I have seen in the newspapers that Tengku Abdul Rahman, Prime Minister of Malaya, has said something to the effect that they will not accept tenders or place orders in South Africa. This has been boosted up in the Malayan Press as a great lead being given to the rest of Asia and Africa. We cannot have any objection to Malaya taking credit for this step.
- 3. I think, however, that we should do something about this, that is, explain to other Governments, more especially in Africa and Asia, the policy we have pursued, and intend to pursue, in this matter. For the moment I am referring to economic matters only, though the fact of our severance of diplomatic relations might also be mentioned.
- 4. I suggest, therefore, that a note be prepared, brief and concise. This should state that in view of recent developments in regard to the apartheid and the racial policies of the South African Government, world-wide interest has been roused by these policies and it might be said that morally the South African Union Government is almost isolated from all other countries of the world. Probably the only country which has remained quite silent to, and sympathetic with, those policies is Portugal with its African possessions. We in India have been long conscious of this policy and, indeed, people of Indian descent as well as, of course, the Africans have suffered from it greatly in South Africa. We welcome this widespread and world-wide indignation and we trust that this will lead to coordinated action, more especially in Asia and Africa, as well as, we hope, in other countries.
- 5. So far as we are concerned, we have faced this problem for the last dozen years. Twelve years ago, because of these racial policies, we broke off our diplomatic relations with the South African Union Government and also put a ban

^{111.} Note to N.R. Pillai, Subimal Dutt and M.J. Desai, 16 June 1960.

^{112.} Tunku Abdul Rahman.

^{113.} Kwame Nkumah.

on imports of South African goods to India and exports of Indian goods to South Africa. We have pursued this policy throughout this period and intend to continue to do so. We shall be glad to coordinate these policies with other countries of like mind so that this combined pressure might produce some marked effect and, at the same time, meet the widespread public demand. We should be glad to know from the Governments interested in this what they propose to do in the matter.

- 6. I have given above the substance of a note we might prepare. This note should be sent to all the African and Asian Governments (excepting China) with whom we have diplomatic relations. It should be formally presented to each Government. It should also be sent to our diplomatic missions in other countries though, perhaps, it might be worded somewhat differently for them or the note might be the same but the covering letter might be somewhat different.
- 7. I suggest that the Commonwealth Secretary might have such a note prepared. It might be considered by SG and FS also and I could see it.
- 8. Covering letters might be sometimes a little different. Thus, in writing to Malaya or Ghana, we should express our appreciation of what they have said in regard to these matters and assure them of our full support.

470. To Sylvia Pankhurst: Ethiopia 114

16 June 1960

Dear Miss Pankhurst, 115

I am glad to learn that you are bringing out a special issue of "Ethiopia Observer" on Indo-Ethiopian relations. Please accept my congratulations on your sustained efforts in the cause of freedom and development of the African people.

I take this opportunity to convey to the people and Government of Ethiopia the greetings and good wishes of the people and the Government of India.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely, Jawaharlal Nehru

^{114.} Letter.

^{115. (1882-1960);} prominent in the suffragette movement in England; member of the Labour Party; campaigned against the Italian occupation of Ethiopia; began a weekly journal, *The Ethiopian News*, 1935; moved permanently to Ethiopia at the invitation of Haile Selassie, 1956; helped to found the Social Service Society there; edited a monthly periodical, *Ethiopia Observer*; author of several books, including *India and the Earthly Paradise* (1926).

471. To V.K. Krishna Menon: Withdrawing IAF Officers from Ghana¹¹⁶

When I was in England last, Nkrumah spoke to me about our Air Force Officers in Ghana. He said that they had done good work but he was having some difficulties because of dual controls. There were Israelis, there were the British and all that. Therefore he thought it best for our Air Force Officers to return to India. I did not wish to argue this matter with him and I told him that if he did not want our Officers we shall ask them to come back. Thereafter he said that he would write to me on this subject.

- 2. I have now received a letter from Nkrumah in which he says that his Government have approached Air Ministry in London to supply them with personnel for training etc. and, as a consequence, the two Indian Air Force Officers in Ghana on contract should be withdrawn at the earliest opportunity in order that Royal Air Force can take over expansion programme.
- 3. I do not particularly like all this business but if Nkrumah does not want our officers, we shall of course ask them to come back. I suggest that you might have a talk with Nkrumah. Tell him that I have received his letter of 8th June (which only came today) and, as desired by him, we shall withdraw our officers. I have spoken to Air Marshal Mukerjee and he agrees.

472. To MEA: Congo¹¹⁸

The Belgian Ambassador¹¹⁹ saw me this morning and gave me the attached communication on behalf of his Government. You will see that in this a wish is expressed that we should establish friendly relations with the new State of Congo.¹²⁰ I told the Ambassador that we would certainly establish such relations.

2. I think we should take steps to this end. We need not wait for a fresh approach to us from the new Congo Government.

^{116.} Telegram, 28 June 1960. Krishna Menon was in Accra at the time.

^{117.} In 1959, the services of two IAF officers, Air Commodore Jaswant Singh and Squadron Leader L.M. Katre, had been loaned to Ghana to help set up the Ghana Air Force.

^{118.} Note to N.R. Pillai and M.J. Desai, 30 June 1960.

^{119.} Francis Leo Goffart.

^{120.} See item 467, fn 106.

473. To M.J. Desai: Africa Maps for Parliament¹²¹

When I suggested to you the preparation of an outline map of Africa with the new and the old countries marked in it, it was my intention to get this printed with a note for distribution to Members of Parliament when occasion arose. We are bound to have Questions about African territories there and such a note and map would have been much more understandable than brief answers.

- 2. The note you have attached is helpful, 122 but it is not the kind of note I can circulate to Members of Parliament. The same information will have to be given in a different way.
- 3. On reconsideration, I think it will be better to have two outline maps of Africa, (1) Africa as it was before these major changes began to take place, and (2) Africa as it is now or is likely to be in the next few months. This will bring out the changes.
- 4. The note should, to begin with, explain these changes and give a list of the new countries that have arisen (new names with particulars about their area and population and their new status). There may be some countries which are in the process of change. These can be indicated.
- 5. Then it should be stated in the note where we have diplomatic representations, and where we intend to have them soon.
- 6. You might ask one of our young officers in the Ministry to have such outline map prepared and a note on the lines I have indicated above. This can be considered by the Foreign Affairs Committee as they will have to determine about our representation in these countries. But the note and the map should really be prepared for circulation among MPs. A separate brief note might be prepared for the Foreign Affairs Committee which would be in addition to the other note and will indicate what matters have to be considered by the Committee.

474. To Dinesh Singh: Doing More in Africa¹²³

13 July 1960

My dear Dinesh, 124

Thank you for your note of July 12th about your visit to Cairo, West Germany and Ireland. 125 I am particularly interested in what you have written about your talks in Cairo.

- 121. Note, 9 July 1960.
- 122. See Appendix 59.
- 123. Letter.
- 124. Congress, Lok Sabha MP from Banda, Uttar Pradesh.
- 125. See Appendix 83.

We all agree that we should pay much greater attention to Africa than we have been doing lately. We have always felt that Africa and the African people are important. But, according to our habit, we do not throw our weight about and push ourselves in whether we are wanted or not. Also, we have been absorbed in our own problems and difficulties. However, we must think more of Africa, and it will be a good thing if important people from India visit these new countries of Africa.

We have invited Indiraji to represent us at the independence celebrations of Nigeria, and she will take that opportunity to visit two or three other countries in Africa also.

So far as I am concerned, I am anxious to go there, but I really do not know when I shall be able to do so.

When Balvantrayji¹²⁶ comes here, we shall discuss the role of the Indian Council for Africa. ¹²⁷ I think that this Council can play an important role and should therefore be encouraged. As you have already taken some people from other parties, it will not be advisable to push them out. But care should be taken that the policy of the Indian Council for Africa is on right lines and is broadly in agreement with our policy. Also, the work of this Council need not be limited to purely cultural affairs. But, in political and like matters, it should not go too far or take sides too much.

I believe Dr. Dadoo¹²⁸ and some African leaders are coming to India as our guests in the course of the next month or two.

Yours sincerely, Jawaharlal Nehru

475. To MEA: Dinesh Singh's Tour 129

I am enclosing a note by Shri Dinesh Singh, M.P., on his recent tour abroad. The main reason for his going abroad was an invitation from the West German Government to visit Germany. As you know, the West German Government has

- 126. Balvantray Mehta, Congress, Lok Sabha MP from Gohilwad, Bombay State, and President, Indian Council for Africa.
- 127. The Indian Council for Africa came into being in 1959; Indira Gandhi was its Chief Patron. See Shanti Sadiq Ali, "The Indian Council for Africa", in *The Journal of Modern African Studies*, Vol. 7, Issue 3, October 1969, pp. 523-524.
- 128. Yusuf Mohamed Dadoo, leader of the people of Indian origin in South Africa; played an important role in the anti-apartheid movement.
- 129. Note to N.R. Pillai, Subimal Dutt and M.J. Desai, 13 July 1960. File No. CUL-20/59 AFR II, MEA.
- 130. See Dinesh Singh to Nehru, 12 July 1960, Appendix 83.

been inviting odd people to go to visit their country. I do not particularly fancy this type of invitation, but, when Shri Dinesh Singh asked me about it, I agreed to his going.

- 2. From Germany, he went to Ireland and spent a week or so there, chiefly because our present representative in Dublin¹³¹ is an old friend of his. On his way back, he spent some days in Cairo.
- 3. Shri Dinesh Singh's report is interesting insofar it deals with Africa and his talks in Cairo. He has visited several countries in Africa on more than one occasion and has developed contacts with people there. He has been there as a member of the Indian Council for Africa. I think that this Council is worthy of encouragement by us.¹³²
- 4. I have an impression that we have invited Dr. Dadoo and one or two African leaders to come to India as our guests.

476. To O. Pulla Reddi: Return of IAF Officers from Ghana¹³³

I have received another letter from the Prime Minister of Ghana.¹³⁴ I enclose a copy of it. I also enclose a copy of a letter¹³⁵ written by Major General H.T. Alexander¹³⁶ to Air Commodore Jaswant Singh.¹³⁷

- 2. It is clear that after all this, it would be unbecoming for any of these two officers to remain in Ghana and we should immediately send a telegram asking them to come back.
- 3. You will notice that the Prime Minister of Ghana differentiates between Air Commodore Jaswant Singh and Squadron Leader Katre¹³⁸ and he is gracious enough to say that Katre can stay on. It seems to me obvious that it will be highly improper, in the circumstances, for Katre to stay on when Jaswant Singh has
- 131. Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit, the High Commissioner of India to the UK, was concurrently accredited as Ambassador to the Republic of Ireland.
- 132. On 16 July, Subimal Dutt stated in a note to M.J. Desai: "I have discussed with Shri Dinesh Singh. My personal feeling is that we should make the Indian Council for Africa a live organization and provide it with finance. The reasons I shall explain to Commonwealth Secretary later."
- 133. Note to the Defence Secretary, 14 July 1960.
- 134. See Appendix 53. See also item 471.
- 135. See Appendix 75.
- 136. (1911-1977); British Army officer; Chief of Defence Staff, Ghana, 1960-September 1961.
- 137. Kanwar Jaswant Singh, the first Chief of Air Staff, Ghana, May 1959-August 1960.
- 138. Lakshman Madhav Katre (b. 1927); joined Royal Indian Air Force, 1945; Chief of Air Staff, September 1984-July 1985.

been pushed out. If Katre stays on, he will have to function under the new set-up there, that is, under the Israelites or the British. Therefore, both Jaswant Singh and Katre should be asked to come back as soon as possible.

- 4. In the last paragraph of Dr Kwame Nkrumah's letter, reference is made to full payment being made to our officers, that is, I take it, they are prepared to pay them for the full term of their contractual period. I rather doubt if it will be proper for us to agree to this. Our High Commissioner in Ghana has said in a letter that he is not very happy about our officers accepting their full emoluments. Of course, anyhow, the Ghana Government will pay them the sums actually due to them, including what is due for the period of leave earned and passage to India.
- 5. Please let me have your views soon, so that I can send a reply to Dr Nkrumah.

477. For Kwame Nkrumah: IAF Officers 139

Please convey following massage to President Nkrumah.

Begins. Quote. I received your letter of the 8th June on the 28th June. Just about that time, our Defence Minister was visiting Accra on the occasion of the inauguration of the Republic of Ghana. I communicated your message to him immediately and I believe he had a talk with you on the subject. The report of this talk left some doubt in my mind. On the 14th July, I received your second letter which was dated 29th June. This letter made it quite clear what you wished us to do in this matter, and so we issued immediately instructions for the withdrawal of our Air Force officers from Ghana. I hope this has been done and that this meets your wishes in this matter. In the circumstances, it is better for Squadron Leader Katre also to come away.

It is not necessary for you to pay them for the full period for which they had originally been engaged. They should be paid for the actual term served as well as such leave as may have been due to them.

Jawaharlal Nehru. Unquote. Ends.

^{139.} Telegram, 15 July 1960, to Khub Chand, conveying a message for Kwame Nkrumah. 140. See Appendix 53.

478. To Y.D. Gundevia: UN Restoring Normalcy in Congo¹⁴¹

I think that the reply to this telegram should be sent directly to the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Congo Republic. 142 It should be en clair and as follows:-

"To: His Excellency Bomboko,

Minister for Foreign Affairs,

Republic of the Congo,

Leopoldville (Africa).

The Ministry of External Affairs of the Republic of India acknowledge with thanks the message from the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Republic of the Congo. The Security Council of the United Nations has already taken action in this matter and it is hoped that this action will help in restoring normal conditions in the Republic of the Congo. 143 The Ministry of External Affairs of the Indian Republic sends its assurances of high regard."

(i) Middle East

479. To K.D. Malaviya: Opportunities in Iraq144

7 June 1960

My dear Keshava,

When you telephoned to me this morning, Inder Chopra, our Ambassador at Baghdad, was with me. We were discussing the types of work we could do in

141. Note, 15 July 1960. File No. CPD-26/60-AFR II, Vol. II, MEA.

142. English translation of the telegram from Justin M. Bomboko, the Foreign Minister of Congo available in the MEA records:

"Leopoldville, 12th July.

To: Ministry of Foreign Affairs

New Delhi, India.

With view assuring public order our country have been obliged take recourse intervention U.N.O. and immediately that of United States as member U.N.O. Pray support this request sole guarantee independence our country – Bomboko Minister for Foreign Affairs Republic of the Congo."

143. The Republic of Congo had on 13 July charged Belgium with committing "aggression" and asked for the "early dispatch" of military assistance by the UN. The next day the UN Security Council called on Belgium to withdraw its troops from the Congo and authorized the Secretary-General to provide to the Republic of Congo such military assistance as might be necessary until the national Congolese forces were in a position to "meet fully their tasks." The Times of India, 15 July 1960.

144. Letter, copied to N.R. Pillai. Malaviya was in Moscow at the time, and the letter was sent

c/o the Embassy of India, Moscow.

Baghdad. A little later N.R. Pillai showed me the letter and note you had sent him about our helping in oil prospecting in Iraq and in training Iraqis for this purpose. 145

I think that it will be desirable for you to send a small expert team to Iraq for giving training in geological and geophysical methods. This might be the first step. On receiving a report from that team, we might consider what other steps could be taken.

We have a proposal before us to send some people to represent us at the National Day celebrations in Baghdad on July 14th next. This is the anniversary of their revolution. I have been thinking that if it is convenient to you, you might go over to Baghdad on this occasion for two or three days. Such an occasion is not suitable for any real or serious talks because all the time is taken up by official functions and ceremonial. Nevertheless, it might be a good thing for you to go there and perhaps have a good talk with the Prime Minister 146 about various matters, not oil only. In fact, I would not suggest that you should talk too much of oil on that occasion. 147

We have been developing our exports to Iraq and hope to do better still in future. The Iraqi Government, that is, the Prime Minister, is very friendly to India and looks to us often for greater contacts. In this matter our Ambassador, Inder Chopra, has done good work.

For all these reasons I think it would be good for you to pay a brief visit to Baghdad for the 14th July celebrations. After your return, you can finalise the question of sending an expert group there.

You will be dealing with the Soviet Government in Moscow. I quite agree with you that we should come to further agreements with them. It is, however, better to proceed step by step in a concrete way rather than vaguely and over a much larger field.

Yours affectionately, Jawaharlal Nehru

^{145.} Malaviya's letter and note addressed to N.R. Pillai is not available; however, Nehru's letter seems to be based on Malaviya's note to the Secretary, Mines and Fuel, 3 May 1960, see Appendix 5.

^{146.} Abdul Karim Kassem.

^{147.} V.H. Coelho was deputed to attend the National Day celebrations in Baghdad. *The Times of India*, 13 July 1960.

480. To M.J. Desai: Aden¹⁴⁸

I think that when Deputy Minister Lakshmi Menon passes through Aden on her way to Mogadiscio, 149 she should spend a day or so at Aden. She should call on the Governor there and meet the Indian community informally. If it is convenient and feasible, she could meet some of the leading Arabs there. There has been some friction between Indians and Arabs there. Her presence and meeting these people might help to ease matters.

- 2. Last week in Poona I met a certain Mr Joshi who has long been resident in Aden, practised as a lawyer and is now a member of the government. ¹⁵⁰ He was very anxious that I should visit Aden, the ostensible reason being the opening of a Gandhi Memorial Hall or some such thing. He really wanted me there just to help in improving relations between the local Arabs and the Indian community. I told him that if and when it is feasible, I might go to Aden. But this could only be done on my way to some other place in Africa. I could not just visit Aden for opening a memorial hall and come back to India. Possibly, if I went to Ethiopia, Aden would be a natural place to stop en route.
- 3. Because of all this I think that Deputy Minister should spend a day or two at Aden.

481. To G.B. Pant: An Ambassador to Saudi Arabia 151

15 June 1960

My dear Pantji,

Perhaps you know that M.K. Kidwai has been our Ambassador in Jedda in Saudi Arabia. Previously, we had a legation there when he was a Minister. Later, this mission was raised to an embassy and he became Ambassador. He has done good work there in many ways, but he has been too long there now and so we have decided to send him elsewhere.

Although he happened to fit in at Jedda and grew into the post, normally he would not have been considered to have all the qualifications necessary for an Ambassador. But as he was doing well in Jedda, we kept him. Now he is being

^{148.} Note, 11 June 1960, copied to Lakshmi Menon.

^{149.} The Italian variation of Mogadishu, the Capital of the Somali Republic; the Somali Republic became free on 1 July 1960.

^{150.} V.K. Joshi, the President of the Indian Association in Aden, was Minister of Public Works and Civil Aviation.

^{151.} Letter.

^{152.} Mustafa Kamil Kidwai first went to Saudi Arabia as the Consul General of India in Jedda in July 1951.

transferred to, I think, Mauritius which is really a smaller post.

The question that arises now is whom to send to Jedda. It is not easy to find a suitable person. We can only send a Muslim there. Our Ambassador occasionally, I suppose, has to visit Mecca which is nearby and non-Muslims are not allowed within the precincts there. We had chosen a young Muslim, Safrani, who is now our Consul-General at Damascus. ¹⁵³ He has, however, told us that he does not consider himself suitable for this post at all because he is not an orthodox Muslim and he cannot pose as such when he does not feel so. Thus, in order to go to Mecca a person has to wear a peculiar garb of unstitched cloth. If Safrani feels this way, we thought it would not be suitable to send him to Jedda.

In thinking of other names a suggestion has been made to us that Basheer Ahmed Sayeed, who retired from the Madras High Court Judgeship some months ago, might be considered. I have known Basheer Ahmed for about thirty years. I have nothing against him, nor do I have a particularly high opinion of his capacity for this kind of work. He came to me after he left the High Court at the age of sixty or above and said that his services were at my disposal. I forgot about him. Now his name has been suggested and I feel that perhaps for this particular post he might do. Anyhow, I cannot think of anyone else for the present.

Our first Minister in Jedda was a Muslim from Banaras.¹⁵⁴ He did not do well and there were a number of complaints against him of carrying on business there. Then came Kidwai and he has, on the whole, done well.

I am writing to you to have your reaction about Basheer Ahmed Sayeed for this post.¹⁵⁵

Yours affectionately, Jawaharlal Nehru

^{153.} Abid Hasan Safrani was the Consul General of India in Damascus, 1959-62, and Ambassador, 1962-64.

^{154.} Maulana Abdul Majeed Hariri, a scholar of Arabic, was the head of Indian mission, 1948-49.

^{155.} M.K. Kidwai, Ambassador to Saudi Arabia since 1957, continued in the post until January 1961; M.N. Masud succeeded him as Ambassador in July 1961.

482. To C. Subramaniam: Basheer Ahmed Sayeed for Jedda¹⁵⁶

15 June 1960

My dear Subramaniam, 157

There is going to be a vacancy in our mission at Jedda in Saudi Arabia. The present Ambassador there who has been there for a long time is being transferred. We are having a good deal of difficulty in finding a suitable person for Jedda. He has to be a Muslim and a person who is likely to fit in. It has been suggested to us that Basheer Ahmed Sayeed, till recently a Judge of your High Court, might be considered for this. Basheer Ahmed came to me after retirement from the Judgeship and placed his services at my disposal, so he said. Perhaps, he is not terribly bright, but it may be that he will fit in at Jedda.

I am writing to you to find out what you think of this proposal. You might ask Kamaraj too. This should not be mentioned to Basheer Ahmed or to anyone else.

Yours sincerely, Jawaharlal Nehru

483. To M.J. Desai: Reassuring Iraq¹⁵⁸

I have seen a number of telegrams from our Ambassador in Baghdad. They deal with his meetings with the Foreign Minister there¹⁵⁹ as well as Prime Minister Kassem. I think he has explained to them adequately our position in regard to Kashmir. It does not seem necessary for him to pursue this matter again and again, unless something further happens.

In one of his telegrams I also noticed a certain anxiety that our position in regard to Israel should he further explained. He suggested that some kind of a pamphlet should be issued by us on the subject. I do not think we need issue a special pamphlet on this subject to satisfy Premier Kassem. We need not show too great an anxiety to explain everything to him again and again.

The Ambassador has asked me to send a message to Premier Kassem on the occasion of their national day. Certainly such a message should be sent.

^{156.} Letter.

^{157.} Minister, Government of Madras.

^{158.} Note, Srinagar, 6 July 1960.

^{159.} Hashim Jwad.

484. To Mohammed S. Ghazy: Good Wishes to Arabs 160

16 July 1960

Dear Mr Ghazy, 161

I am glad to learn from your letter of the 7th July about "The Arab Dispatch". Every such cause which has for its aim the bringing together of nations and the quest for the human values of brotherhood must have our good wishes. And so I send you all my good wishes.

Yours sincerely, Jawaharlal Nehru

(j) North Vietnam

485. To Pham Van Dong: US Military Mission MAAG 162

24 June 1960

My dear Prime Minister, 163

Thank you for your letter of 10th June¹⁶⁴ which you sent through our Consul-General in Hanoi. 165

We have noted the views of the Government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam on the decision of the Vietnam International Commission on the strengthening of the US military mission called "MAAG". 166

I regret it is not possible for us, at this stage, to get the International Commission to hold off the implementation of its decision. I find, however, from a communication received from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the U.S.S.R., through our Ambassador in Moscow, that the U.S.S.R. Co-Chairman has taken up this question with the U.K. Co-Chairman of the Geneva Conference. I trust the Co-Chairmen of the Geneva Conference will consider the matter expeditiously

- 160. Letter, sent to the address: The Arab Dispatch, 721 15th Avenue S.E., Minneapolis, Minnesota, USA.
- 161. An Egyptian student at the University of Minnesota and chairman of the University Foreign Students Council. Press release of 1 October 1959 issued by the University of Minnesota, accessed on 21 April 2014 from the website of the University of Minnesota, http://conservancy.umn.edu/bitstream/51378/1/1959December-OctoberPressReleases.pdf.
- 162. Letter.
- 163. The Prime Minister of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam.
- 164. See Appendix 25.
- 165. A.G. Meneses.
- 166. The Military Assistance Advisory Group.

in the light of the provisions of the Geneva Agreement and issue necessary directions to the International Commission.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely, Jawaharlal Nehru

(k) Disarmament

486. To Bertrand Russell: On Peace¹⁶⁷

6 June 1960

Dear Lord Russell,

Thank you for your letter of the 19th May. 168 This came here when I was away on tour in Europe and the Middle Eastern region. Soon after my return, I had again to leave Delhi for Poona for an important meeting of our Congress. I returned only today to Delhi, and I have just seen your letter.

I was in Cairo when news of the collapse of the Paris Conference came to us. I discussed this with President Nasser, and we issued a Joint Statement soon after. 169 As perhaps you might not have seen this, I enclose a copy of it.

I entirely agree with what you have written, and we are constantly giving thought to this matter. I confess that my mind is not clear as to what exactly we can do. The "uncommitted nations" are a varied lot, and they differ amongst themselves greatly. I have felt that too many public statements, though they might occasionally do good, sometimes merely irritate others. Private approaches may be more helpful and at least might prepare the ground for a public approach.

With regards and good wishes,

Yours sincerely, Jawaharlal Nehru

^{167.} Letter. File No. 5 (28)-UN II/60, MEA. Also available in JN Collection.

^{168.} See Appendix 9.

^{169.} See SWJN/SS/60/item 156.

487. To V.K. Krishna Menon: UN Association 170

17 June 1960

My dear Krishna,

I enclose a copy of a letter from Bertrand Russell to me. 171 This might interest you.

I do not remember what kind of disarmament proposal the UN Association¹⁷² put up.

Yours affectionately, Jawaharlal Nehru

488. To Harold Macmillan: Safeguards for Nuclear Reactors¹⁷³

19 June 1960

My dear Prime Minister,

Just before I left England on my way back, I received your letter of May 11, 1960, about "safeguards". To this letter a Memorandum was attached.

I am sorry for the delay in sending you an answer. We wanted to give careful consideration to the views set out in the Memorandum and to consult our Atomic Energy Commission on the subject. My return to India was delayed as I spent nearly two weeks in Egypt, Turkey, Lebanon and Syria.

We have now given careful consideration to the Memorandum you were good enough to send. I am enclosing our own Memorandum¹⁷⁴ which gives our views on this subject.

Yours sincerely, Jawaharlal Nehru

MEMORANDUM

Safeguards

There is no difference of opinion between the United Kingdom and India regarding the objective of nuclear disarmament. In fact, as the United Kingdom is well aware, it was India that first raised at the United Nations the issue of the cessation of tests of nuclear weapons. Since then, it has been repeatedly stated on behalf of

170. Letter.

171. See Appendix 32.

172. United Nations Association of Great Britain and Northern Ireland (UNA-UK).

173. Letter.

174. See below.

India that constructive steps to achieve full nuclear disarmament are a pressing need of the present world situation. India favours not only the contracting but also the banning of the use of atomic energy for warlike purposes.

- 2. India is willing to exert every effort to assist in the evolution of a system to prevent the diversion of fissionable materials to military purposes, provided such a system takes into account certain basic considerations. For example, it must be consistent with the honour and dignity of every nation to which it is made applicable. Equally, it must be universally applied if it is to have any significant value. Thirdly, it must take into account the fact that atomic energy has become an absolute necessity for the peaceful development and prosperity of several countries, and that fissionable material is, so to speak, the life blood of the future economy of many States. It is, therefore, the responsibility of nations to cooperate in arrangements for the most rapid exchange of technical knowledge and materials required to put the atom to its most beneficial use.
- 3. The Government of India have given the most careful consideration to the system of safeguards, which have been under consideration in the International Atomic Energy Agency, and which are supported by the United Kingdom and the United States, and have come to the conclusion that it satisfies none of the three criteria mentioned in the preceding paragraph. The effectiveness of the proposed system, if adopted, in preventing a country from developing a nuclear weapons potential would be inversely proportional to the state of industrial and technological development of the country. It would have the least effect in the highly industrialised countries, while it would be most effective in under-developed countries, which have to seek external aid in order to develop their peaceful atomic energy programmes and which are therefore least capable of producing nuclear weapons on their own. The system would therefore be highly discriminatory in its effect, and would widen the gulf between the technologically advanced and the underdeveloped countries. A system of safeguards should be universally applicable to all nations without discrimination. The proposal that a system of safeguards should be applied to those countries which are now seeking to develop atomic energy for peaceful purposes, and which are urgently in need of energy for essential developmental programmes, and which would at the same time leave the present nuclear powers completely free from control would not be reasonable. In a realistic approach, it must also be taken into account that the less developed nations, and particularly those which have recently emerged from colonialism, are naturally apprehensive that external controls and inspection in so vital a sector as power production would tend to result again in a loss of independence unless it can be demonstrated to the contrary. Such a demonstration is possible only if the present nuclear powers are willing to subject themselves fully to the same system as may be proposed for the less developed nations.
- 4. It is the earnest hope of the Government of India that the nuclear powers will very soon reach agreement on the banning of nuclear tests, with an agreed

detection system. Such a ban will itself become a part of a universal system against the diversion of nuclear materials to military purposes. For no country which is not already a producer of nuclear weapons would embark on a regular production of such weapons without carrying out at least some tests, which would be detected by the proposed system and immediately reveal the intentions of the country concerned. Thereafter, when the States directly concerned implement proposals, which have now been made by both sides, to ban the manufacture of nuclear weapons, under control, a system for keeping nuclear energy within the ambit of peaceful utilisation will have been achieved. The Government of India have given very careful consideration to what steps should be taken in the meanwhile to achieve the dual objectives of an acceptable system of safeguards and, what is equally important, a system which will not hamper the rapid development of the atomic energy programmes of nations. In the light of this consideration, the Government of India have come to the view that the following approach to a system of safeguards is the most appropriate one.

5. In the first place, no conditions should be attached to the supply of plant and equipment, including nuclear reactors or components thereof. It does not appear to be practicable or feasible to attach safeguards to the many components of such plant and facilities, most of which can be utilised not only for reactors but for other non-atomic industrial purposes. It seems to the Government of India that any system which attempted to bring all such machinery under control would break down because it would not be realistic. It would not be in the interest of either manufacturing or importing countries to place such onerous restrictions on the flow of equipment and facilities. Conditions on plant and equipment would imply restrictions on the manner of operation of facilities owned by a State, and lying within the territory of the State, and would thus result in interference with national sovereignty. While it may become necessary for all States to accept certain limitations of their national sovereignty in the common interest, such limitations of their sovereignty cannot be required only of some States. In this connection, it is necessary to take into account that a nation cannot produce a nuclear weapon simply by virtue of its having received such plant or equipment. It would need in addition a continuous supply of nuclear material, and moreover, its technological and industrial capabilities would have to be sufficiently developed. If such a level of development is reached by a country, it would be able to produce its own reactors and facilities without the need to obtain them from elsewhere. Thus, the impact of the safeguards on plant and equipment would fall on those industrially less developed nations which were in fact not in a position to utilise such equipment for the production of materials for weapons, while not affecting greatly the industrially developed countries. It should also be remembered that even if plant or equipment were to be supplied under restrictive conditions, there would be nothing to prevent the receiving country from duplicating such facilities, and its ability to do so would be in direct proportion to its industrial development.

- 6. Secondly, the attachment of safeguards to the supply of unprocessed source material, such as uranium and thorium concentrates or ores, is again inexpedient for the same reasons as have been explained in the preceding paragraph of this Memorandum. There is currently a very great over-production of such materials, and they are now becoming freely available as articles of commerce. The Government of India are unable to accept the position that safeguards should be applied to the supply of such material required for peaceful programmes, when large amounts of such materials are freely supplied by some countries to others for military purposes. Several countries, including many of the industrially under-developed countries, have sizeable deposits of these materials, and if onerous conditions are attached to their supply from other sources, the countries concerned will resort to developing their own resources, even if the end product is obtained at a cost which may be higher than that at which it could be made available under safeguards. In these circumstances, the sale of such materials should at the very most be accompanied by an undertaking by the recipient country that the materials supplied will be used solely for peaceful purposes.
- 7. Finally, as already stated, the only system of safeguards which would be practicable and effective would be one which envisaged world-wide controls applicable to all nations without discrimination. Until the Powers concerned are able to reach agreement on the measures which would lay the foundation of such a system, it would appear to be necessary to introduce a system attaching safeguards only to the supply of special fissionable materials, because some material of this category could be used directly for making atomic weapons. Such a system should prescribe and fix at reasonable level the quantities to be supplied free of safeguards, and accounting and inspection should be required "to the extent relevant" as prescribed in Article XII of the Statute of the International Atomic Energy Agency. Generally speaking, it may be inferred that if a country is not able to produce fissile material, it will also not have the capability to produce an atomic weapon. On the other hand, if a country is determined to produce an atomic weapon and has the requisite technical knowledge to do so, then considerations of cost will not deter it from producing its own fissile materials. These dangers can be avoided only by a universal ban on the manufacture of nuclear weapons, under the requisite controls, and by banning the testing of such weapons. The Government of India are ready to give their adherence to a practical and effective system on this basis so as to assist in achieving an effective measure of world security.

489. To N.R. Pillai: Nuclear Safeguards 175

I have written a letter to Mr Macmillan in regard to the "safeguards" for nuclear reactors. ¹⁷⁶ With this I am adding a Memorandum. I think you saw the original draft which Dr Homi Bhabha prepared. That draft has been revised to some extent though it remains essentially the same.

- 2. I should like you to read through our Memorandum and suggest any changes which you think may be needed.
- 3. In any event, the Memorandum should be typed afresh on proper paper, etc, before it is sent to Mr Macmillan.
 - 4. A copy of the Memorandum should be sent to Dr Bhabha.

490. To MEA: Soviet Proposals 177

I have rather hurriedly read Shri Rajan's 178 note on the Soviet disarmament proposals. 179 I have also read Foreign Secretary's and Secretary-General's notes. 180 It is a little difficult for me to express a detailed opinion about the Soviet proposals. The question is an intricate one, and I have not been following it with the care that it deserves. But, of course, I have been broadly in touch with developments.

- 2. My general impression is that these new Soviet proposals are certainly an advance on previous proposals for disarmament, and further that they indicate a definite desire to meet some of the objections raised or points made by the Western Powers. Thus they create an impression in my mind of a serious and sincere attempt on the part of the Soviet. This in itself inclines me favourably to them as a whole.
- 3. I agree, therefore, with Foreign Secretary that, in a sense, these proposals are fair and deserve to be generally supported, though further clarifications are necessary. The real difficulty is the massive fear of either party lest the other gain an advantage. The Western Powers will be extremely reluctant to liquidate their foreign bases, or any of them, in the early stages. For our part, we have always felt that foreign bases are undesirable for any country to have. But we cannot quite ignore the deep-rooted fears of the Western Powers, however unjustified they might be.

^{175.} Note, 19 June 1960. File No. U-IV/110 (39)/64, MEA.

^{176.} See item 488.

^{177.} Note to N.R. Pillai and Subimal Dutt, 19 June 1960.

^{178.} B. Rajan, Deputy Secretary, UN Division, MEA.

^{179.} See also item 15, fn 105.

^{180.} See Appendices, 38 (a) and 38 (b) respectively.

- 4. Personally I feel also that the proposal for the destruction of nuclear carriers is important. It does not do away with fear, as the nuclear weapons can be carried by slower carriers. But to some extent, it does lessen fear of large scale sudden attacks. Even so, I suppose the inter-continental rockets would remain. I do not know what has been said about them in these proposals.
- 5. The real question is how we should express our views on these proposals: when we should do so, and to whom we should express them. I agree with Foreign Secretary that we should state to the Soviet that we are greatly interested in the success of the disarmament discussions and, in our view, the Soviet proposals are as a whole a constructive approach to this problem. They should not be taken as rigid proposals which cannot be varied, but rather as a good basis for further discussion broadly on the line suggested. The approach in other words should be a flexible one. To the Western Powers, we should express our hope that they will not reject these proposals but will deal with them as a constructive approach to the problem. There appears to us to be room for agreement with such variations as may be deemed necessary.
- 6. I also agree that no formal communication giving our support to the proposals in general should be sent to the Soviet Government at this stage. Publicity might prevent us from being helpful at a later stage.

491. Talk with the Press 181

P.M. Hopes Disarm Talks Will be Resumed

New Delhi, July 7 – Prime Minister Nehru said here today that he was sorry that the Soviet delegation withdrew from the disarmament talks at Geneva, but he hoped that the talks would begin again.

"After all," he added, "the subject has to be dealt with through talks. There is no other way."

Pandit Nehru was replying to a question asked by pressmen on his arrival at the airport from Kashmir.

The Prime Minister declined to comment on the recent Sino-Nepalese border incident. 182 – PTI

181. Report, 7 July 1960. National Herald, 8 July 1960.

^{182.} In another account of his talk with correspondents at the airport, the newspaper reported Nehru as having told them "that he was deeply grieved to learn about Mr. [Aneurin] Bevan's death." Nehru, according to the report, added: "He was a great man and a personal friend. He was ill for a long time and his long illness was a distressing affair. We were hoping he would recover. I saw him some months back. Quite apart from his policies, which for my part often appealed to me, he was a man of great stature and very lovable."

492. To Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit: Bertrand Russell's Hopes 183

11 July 1960

[Nan dear,]

Your letter of July 6 in which you refer to your talk with Bertrand Russell. I am afraid he over-estimates what I could do on the question of war and peace by addressing the U.N. General Assembly. We shall go on working for peace and all that, and perhaps, some time or other I might make a special appeal here or elsewhere. But, for the moment, I do not think there is any virtue or profit in this. You will remember that the U.N. General Assembly will be meeting just about the time of the American elections. That also comes in the way of any effective step being taken in the U.N. I am not referring to the multitude of problems and difficulties which we are facing in India and which make it difficult for me to leave India. But if I am convinced that my going abroad would really serve the cause of peace, I would not hesitate to do so. But I am not so convinced.

[Love.]

[Jawahar]

493. To Subimal Dutt: US Disarmament Proposals 185

The US Ambassador came to see me this afternoon and gave me a letter dated July 6th from President Eisenhower. With this letter were attached various papers including, especially, the latest proposals for disarmament put forward by the US Delegation in Geneva. I am sending you all these papers.

- 2. The Ambassador said that his Government was deeply distressed at the turn of events and at the walking out of the Soviet Delegates from the Geneva Conference. For two years they had sat there discussing these matters and just when there seemed to be some prospect of advance being made, it was particularly unfortunate that this break should occur.
- 3. After long discussions, two principles have been agreed to in the course of these talks. One was the Principle of Balance and the other was the Principle of Control. In the latest Soviet proposals, both these principles were not acted upon. If those proposals were agreed to and American armies and their bases abolished from Europe and elsewhere, this would mean that so far as Europe was concerned, America would be far away and Russia would be quite near and

^{183.} Letter.

^{184.} See also item 486.

^{185.} Note, 13 July 1960.

^{186.} See Appendix 64.

capable of quick action. This would create a position of acute imbalance.

- 4. As for control, although the principle was agreed to, in effect what was proposed by the Soviet Delegation did not amount to adequate control.
- 5. It was because of this that the US Government could not accept the recent proposals made by the Soviet Union.
- 6. Soon after the Soviets presented their proposals, the US Delegate, Mr Eaton, ¹⁸⁷ informed the Soviet Delegate ¹⁸⁸ that he would go to Washington to discuss all these various proposals and he hoped that he would be able to come back with something constructive. This was in the third week of June. Mr Eaton came back a few days later with his new proposals, but he was given no chance to discuss these in the Geneva Conference as the Soviet Delegation walked out. Just before that he had personally gone to Mr Zorin, the Soviet Delegate, and discussed the new American proposals.
- 7. The US Ambassador said to me that all these recent happenings filled the United States Government with apprehension. What was Mr Khrushchev aiming at? Apparently he was trying to isolate the United States. He talked repeatedly of dealing only with the new Administration in the US. But in these matters US policy was a bi-partisan policy and there will be no marked change in it, whatever the Administration.
- 8. I told the Ambassador to convey my thanks to President Eisenhower for his message and told him that we would examine it with every care and if I had any useful suggestions to make, I shall certainly convey them to him. I was sorry that the Geneva talks had broken up. After all, no progress can be made by sitting far from each other and criticising from that distance. The only way was to meet and talk.
- 9. The papers that have been given to me contain the first full account of the new US proposals for disarmament. They should naturally be carefully examined by our Ministry. I shall have to send a reply.
- 10. The matter is important enough for some of our Members of the Foreign Affairs Committee to consider. I suggest, therefore, that you might send a copy of President Eisenhower's a letter and the US proposals for disarmament to the Home Minister, the Finance Minister, and the Defence Minister. You might send me a separate copy which I can consider at leisure. Also please send a copy to SG.

^{188.} Valerian A. Zorin.

494. To Nikita Khrushchev: Khrushchev's Talks in Paris 189

14 July 1960

My dear Mr. Chairman,

You were good enough to send me last month a confidential record of the talks you had had in Paris with President de Gaulle, Mr. Macmillan and President Eisenhower. ¹⁹⁰ I have now acquainted myself with this record of events which were important in the context of recent history. I am grateful to you for having sent this to us for our record.

Our President, Shri Rajendra Prasad, on his return from the Soviet Union, has told us about the cordial reception he had from the friendly Russian people wherever he went there. ¹⁹¹ He has come back much impressed with the great achievements of the Soviet Union, as all of us are who have had the privilege of visiting it. I am deeply grateful to you, Dear Mr. Chairman, for the welcome and hospitality shown in the Soviet Union to our President.

I trust that you are keeping well.

I am,

Yours sincerely, Jawaharlal Nehru

495. To MEA: J.B. Priestley's Conference Proposal 192

I agree generally with F.S.'s note. ¹⁹³ I would indeed go a little further than he has done. I see no harm in such a conference being held In India, on the lines suggested by Mr. Priestley, ¹⁹⁴ in February next. ¹⁹⁵ There are only two factors which should be borne in mind. One is that our Government as such cannot sponsor it nor can I do so. That would inevitably tend to give the conference a somewhat official character insofar as we are concerned, and the nature of the conference would change somewhat. But, if the conference is held here, I would not keep aloof from it or from its members. What part I may play in it, would depend on

^{189.} Letter.

^{190.} See Appendix 103.

^{191.} Rajendra Prasad spent two weeks in the Soviet Union, 20 June-5 July 1960, and visited Moscow, Leningrad, Kiev, the Caucasian Black Sea coast, Tajikistan and Uzbekistan.

^{192.} Note to N.R. Pillai and Subimal Dutt, 21 July 1960. File No. 5 (22)-UN II/60, MEA.

^{193.} See note of Subimal Dutt, 20 July 1960, Appendix 91.

^{194.} J.B. Priestley (1894-1984); British author, novelist, playwright, essayist, broadcaster, scriptwriter and social commentator.

^{195.} See Appendices 49 and 82.

circumstances.

2. The second point to be kept in mind is the sponsorship of such a conference. It would not be desirable to give it the colour of a Communist sponsorship or an anti-Communist sponsorship, though the latter is unlikely. The World Peace Council is too much associated with Communist organisations and should, therefore, be ruled out for this purpose. That means also its prominent members. It should not be difficult to get some non-official Indians to sponsor it. They would include a number of Congress Members of Parliament as well as, perhaps, some other Members of Parliament who are not members of Communist or anti-Communist groups. Some non-Members of Parliament should also be associated with it. Mr. Priestley has said that the purpose of the conference would not be to pass resolutions, but to discuss. I appreciate this and like this approach.

3. It will not be difficult to arrange for facilities to hold such a conference in some city in India. Probably Delhi would be the most suitable for this purpose.

- 4. Mr. Priestley has said that no burden of expenditure will fall on us here. More especially, that the cost of travel of members attending would be met by them. Some local costs for holding of the conference could easily be met in India.
- 5. It is not clear from Mr. Priestley's letter as to how many people might be expected to attend this conference. I take that since it is a conference for a quiet discussion, the number will be limited, say not more than fifty persons from outside, probably less. Some limitation would have to be put on the number of Indians attending, so that the Indian element does not overwhelm the conference.

6. If you agree with this, you can send an answer to our High Commissioner accordingly. She would communicate this answer to Mr. Priestley. 196

496. To Chester A. Ronning: Nuclear Safeguards 197

22 July 1960

My dear High Commissioner, 198

You gave me today a letter from your Prime Minister, Mr. Diefenbaker. This was in regard to the safeguards question which is likely to be discussed at the General Conference of the International Atomic Energy Agency. 199

196. On 1 August 1960 Subimal Dutt reported Nehru's views to Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit.

198. The High Commissioner of Canada to India.

^{197.} Letter, copied to M.J. Desai. File No. U-IV/110 (39)/64, MEA. Also available in JN Collection.

^{199.} The fourth regular session of the General Conference of the IAEA opened in Vienna on 20 September 1960.

This matter has been raised repeatedly and we have given a good deal of thought to it. The Prime Minister of the United Kingdom, Mr. Harold Macmillan, wrote to me on this subject. Just about a month ago I sent him a reply. To this reply I attached a memorandum on this question of safeguards. This memorandum was prepared after full consultation with our Atomic Energy Department and represents our considered views. I am sending you a copy of this. Perhaps, you would send this to Mr. Diefenbaker with my compliments and regards.

Yours sincerely, Jawaharlal Nehru

497. To Dwight D. Eisenhower: Disarmament²⁰¹

24 July 1960

Dear Mr President,

Thank you for your letter of July 6,²⁰² which I received from Ambassador Bunker on July 13. I am grateful to you for sharing your thoughts with me on the question of disarmament.

I must confess to a feeling of disappointment at the recent turn of events in regard to disarmament. This is a matter in which all countries, big and small, are vitally interested. Nevertheless, a special measure of responsibility rests on the Big Powers. We had hoped that the talks which were planned in Paris would open the way to an agreement and thereby relieve millions all over the world of fear and suspense. Unfortunately our hopes have remained unfulfilled.

Some days ago, in one of my press conferences, I stated that the Soviet proposals represented a constructive approach to the problem of disarmament. It was not my intention to identify myself with the details of the Soviet scheme. But I felt that these proposals could be made the basis of further discussion. We have since carefully examined the revised plan, which your Government intended to place before the ten-nation Disarmament Committee, and a copy of which you have been good enough to send me with your letter. There can be little doubt that if a scheme is to be acceptable to the Big Powers immediately concerned, it has to embody the principles of balance and control. We recognise that any realistic scheme of disarmament will have to provide for control at different stages. We are equally of the view that little progress is likely to be made, if all the emphasis, even in the initial stages, has to be on control, and the various stages of disarmament are left vague. Some time and somehow, the talks which came to an

^{200.} See item 488.

^{201.} Letter.

^{202.} See Appendix 64.

^{203.} See item 15, here pp. 90-91.

end so inconclusively at Geneva, have to be started again. It is our feeling that if some measure of disarmament on an agreed basis could be achieved, that itself would pave the way for further fruitful discussions.

I place these views before you, Mr President, with the full knowledge that you will not misunderstand me. Like other countries in the world, we in India also are deeply interested in the problem. Indeed, the Indian delegation in the past sessions of the General Assembly always took a prominent part in discussions on disarmament. If you think that we can be of any help in hastening the process of understanding, we shall be glad to do so.

With warm regards,

Yours sincerely, Jawaharlal Nehru

(l) General

498. To M.C. Chagla: US Aid²⁰⁴

6 June 1960

My dear Chagla,

Your letter of May 15th. 205 Also, your letter of May 25th. I received these on my return to India from my European and West Asian tour. Soon after, I had to go to Poona for a meeting of the All India Congress Committee. Hence the delay in answering. I only returned from Poona this afternoon.

You have written to me about the scheme of Eisenhower Exchange Fellowships. I do not know much about this, but I seem to remember seeing some papers in this connection some time ago. I shall enquire further into this matter. It is not particularly easy to send a Parliamentary Secretary or any promising Member of Parliament away for a year or so.

You refer to the artificial insemination programmes at the Kansas State University. Artificial insemination has been practised here on a fairly large scale for a considerable time past. I think not only our military dairies, but also our own Agricultural Department as well as the State Agricultural Departments are fully acquainted with this process and are practising it. During the recent Agriculture Fair here, 206 both the American and the Soviet exhibits did much propaganda for this.

204. Letter.

206. See item 16, fn 115.

^{205.} See Appendix 8.

I agree with you that our Ministers should not rush to the United States without adequate cause and proper preparation. That has been our view all along, and we have tried not to encourage this kind of thing. Difficulties often arise because of the American Ambassador here inviting people and pressing them to go. We are not at all keen on large numbers of people going from here to America and trying to seek interviews with important persons there.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

499. To Asoka Mehta: Socialist International Seminar²⁰⁷

13 June 1960

My dear Asoka, 208

I have your letter of June 11.209

We have not encouraged in the past political international organisations to have their conferences in India. It becomes a little difficult to discriminate between, one and the other, and we have seen in the past that such meetings sometimes tend to adopt what we call "cold war" attitudes. But individuals who want to come here have to face no difficulty and visas are easily issued unless there is some special reason to the contrary.

What you have suggested, however, is a seminar and presumably fifteen or so persons will come to attend it from abroad. This stands on a somewhat separate footing, and there will be no objection to it on our part.²¹⁰

^{207.} Letter. File No. 30 (16)-UN I/60, MEA. Also available in JN Collection.

^{208.} PSP, Lok Sabha MP from Muzaffarpur, Bihar, and Chairman, Praja Socialist Party.

^{209.} See Appendix 26.

^{210.} In his note of 13 June to Nehru, Subimal Dutt had suggested that "we need not object" to the seminar being held in India as its object was "to discuss problems of Asia and Africa and not organizational matters concerning the Socialist International." "At the same time," he added, "Prime Minister need not say specifically that he approves of the project." Subject File No. 42, S. Dutt Papers, NMML.

500. To Miguel Serrano Fernandez: Sympathy for Earthquake Losses²¹¹

20 June 1960

My dear Ambassador, 212

Thank you for your note of today's date.

The catastrophe which your country has had to face is so terrible that it is difficult to grasp it.²¹³ Any help that we can give cannot go far. But it is a token of our deep sympathy and our admiration at the way your Government and people are dealing with the consequences of this disaster.

I am sorry to know that you have had an accident and hurt your foot.

^{211.} Letter.

^{212.} The Ambassador of Chile.

^{213.} An earthquake of a magnitude of 9.5, the largest recorded in the 20th century, occurred in Chile on 22 May 1960, causing a large number of casualties, widespread devastation, and rendering about two million people homeless.

V. DEFENCE

501. To Vishnu Sahay: Expenditure on Border Areas in UP1

You will remember speaking to me about the controversy about the UP in regard to the expenditure on the border areas. I have received a letter from the Chief Minister,² which I enclose, as well as my reply to him.³

502. To Sampurnanand: Sharing Costs on Border Areas

7 June 1960

My dear Sampurnanand,

I have your letter of 2nd June about the scheme for more intensive administration and development of border areas.⁵

I have not gone into this subject deeply but the Finance Minister did speak to me about it. I could well understand your difficulties. In fact the very considerable help that the Central Government have agreed to give for the development of these areas is in acknowledgment of those very difficulties. The other border States concerned have, I believe, agreed to the proposals made by the Central Government. Essentially the development of these areas should be the concern of the State Government Where, however, border defence is concerned, the Central Government should certainly assist. Sometimes the two might overlap. Some ad hoc arrangement has, therefore, to be made.

To make the Central Government entirely responsible even for development of these areas would not I think be good in the long run for the State.

Anyhow, this work has to be proceeded with as rapidly as possible. We can consider the financial aspects or allocations later. The work should not suffer. The Finance Minister has left Delhi for a longish tour abroad. On his return, we shall discuss this matter further.

- 1. Note, 7 June 1960. File No. 20/4/60-K, MHA.
- 2. See Appendix 17.
- 3. See item 502.
- 4. Letter. File No. 20/4/60-K, MHA. Also available in JN Collection.
- 5. See Appendix 17.

503. To V.K. Krishna Menon: Recruitment of Assistants⁶

9 June 1960

My dear Krishna,

Evidently the PM's Office has been having some correspondence with your Ministry regarding representations received from candidates who appeared in the Armed Forces Headquarters Assistants Grade examination held by the UPSC in May 1958. The representation is from people who qualified in that examination. It does seem rather odd to me that these people who actually qualified and passed the examination out of a vast number who appeared, should as a result have nothing offered to them. My PPS has written a note about the case of these people, which I am enclosing for your information. I think that some little imagination might be applied to the case of these people.

[Yours affectionately, Jawaharlal Nehru]

504. To A.C.N. Nambiar: Astaldi on Border Roads 7

16 June 1960

My dear Nanu,8

Thank you for your letter of the 11th June with which you have sent a brief note from Dr. Astaldi. The note does not give much information except that they have built many roads in mountainous regions. We are entrusting the building of our mountain roads near the border to our army and they are doing fairly well. We have also formed a special Roads Board for these regions. I shall draw their attention to what Astaldi has written.

Yours affly, Jawaharlal Nehru

^{6.} Letter.

^{7.} Letter. A.C.N. Nambiar Papers, NMML. Also available in JN Collection.

Ambassador of India to the Federal Republic of Germany until 1958; he was in Geneva at this time.

^{9.} See SWJN/SS/59/item 205.

505. To N.R. Pillai: Kalinga Airlines and Air Dropping in NEFA¹⁰

This matter is a little more complicated than I had previously thought. About three days ago, Shri B. Patnaik came to see me and I mentioned to him about the Kalinga Airlines carrying out air dropping in the NEFA area. Is said that I had heard that some of the pilots were foreigners and we did not like the idea of foreign pilots functioning in that area. Shri Patnaik said that it was true that there were some foreign pilots. One senior one was the General Manager of Kalinga and there were two other pilots. He did not know how these men were actually functioning in that area. Anyhow he said that these persons were very reliable and that he had employed them for ten years or so.

- 2. This afternoon I sent for Air Marshal Mukerjee to discuss this matter. He told me that Shri Patnaik had been to see him after he had met me. The Air Marshal pointed out to me that some of these foreign pilots had previously been serving in Indamer organisation which had misbehaved in the past and for this reason their licence had been withdrawn. Apparently, the type of misbehaviour was not to observe the rules about weight, etc, and pilfering of IAF stores, etc. Apparently, some of these pilots were now connected with Kalinga. Shri Patnaik told the Air Marshal that he had not paid any personal attention to Kalinga airlines, although it belonged to him, and these various changes had occurred without his knowing them.
- 3. The Air Marshal discussed with Shri Patnaik the possibility of having some separate central organisation for air dropping in NEFA and round about areas. With this organisation Shri Patnaik could also be associated. In fact, it would be more or less a joint venture to which the Kalinga Airlines would contribute two aircraft and Indian Airlines possibly three aircraft for air dropping purposes. Shri Patnaik appeared to like the idea.
- 4. The Air Marshal told me that he had been informed by the General Manager of Indian Airlines¹⁴ that the Kalinga people were again giving trouble in NEFA in the sense that they were not observing rules and regulations. They tended to carry overweight. For this reason the General Manager of the Indian Airlines was actually thinking of withdrawing their licence.
- 5. All this is rather complicated. I pointed out to Air Marshal Mukerjee that for my part I felt rather attracted to the idea of having a separate organisation as

^{10.} Note, 29 June 1960. File No. 14 (5) NEFA/60, MEA. Also available in JN Collection.

^{11.} See Appendices 45 (a) and 45 (b).

^{12.} Founded by Biju Patnaik.

^{13.} For famine relief.

^{14.} P.C. Lal.

he had suggested with which Kalinga Airlines might be associated. But, in any event, I was anxious that the air dropping operations at present being carried on in NEFA should not stop as this would cause much inconvenience to the NEFA people. He said in reply that he agreed that this air dropping should not stop. As a matter of fact, the Indian Airlines were prepared to carry on this air dropping for two or three months more. But in view of the proposal to have a new central organisation for this purpose, he suggested that we need not take any immediate action against Kalinga air dropping in NEFA. This matter might be kept pending until further developments. Meanwhile the question of having a central organisation for air dropping in those areas might be investigated. If the principle was agreed to, it should not take long to give effect to it. To begin with, Indian Airlines and Kalinga could lend some aircraft for this purpose to the new company. But for future official working, it would be necessary to get some new aircraft suited for air dropping in those areas. The Dakotas, anyhow, were ageing.

6. I suggest that Secretary General might convene a meeting of Defence Secretary, Communications Secretary, Air Marshal Subroto Mukerjee, Shri Shankar Prasad, Chairman, Indian Airlines Corporation, Shri Raha, ¹⁵ Director General, Civil Aviation, and Shri Lal, General Manager, Indian Airlines, to discuss this proposal to have a central organisation for air dropping in the hill areas. If you think it necessary, you can add to the persons mentioned above.

7. Meanwhile no action need be taken about the air dropping being carried out by the Kalinga Airlines. Air Marshal Mukerjee agrees with what I have written above.

8. It should be noted that the question of our cancelling the agreement with the Kalinga Airlines need not arise. Even if we wanted to stop their functioning in NEFA, this would result in their licence being withdrawn as Civil Aviation was thinking of doing. But, for the moment, this should not be done and what I have said above should be given speedy and careful consideration.

506. To G.B. Pant: Speeding Up Border Roads Construction 16

8 July 1960

My dear Pantji,

As you know, we are trying to push ahead with the construction of border roads, and we have formed a special Board for this purpose, of which I am pro forma Chairman. The Board is really run by the Defence Ministry, and the officer in charge is Lieut.-General B.M. Kaul. He is very much a live wire, and he is going

^{15.} K.M. Raha.

^{16.} Letter.

ahead with all speed and wants to build these within two years, although normally these would take about seven years. Certainly this involves some expenditure, but we have agreed to face that.

These border roads come within the domains of various States—J.&K. State, Punjab, Himachal Pradesh, Uttar Pradesh, NEFA as well as Sikkim. The usual State procedures are very slow. We are paying for these roads. Some of the States concerned have agreed to cooperate fully with our Road Board and with Kaul. In effect, they have handed over to him the basic charges. These States are the J.&K. State, Punjab, NEFA and Sikkim. Work is going on there fast. But two States are not very cooperative and want to proceed in their own leisurely way with their own staff. These two States are Himachal Pradesh and Uttar Pradesh. Indeed, the U.P. engineers told B.M. Kaul that they would take about seven years for the whole process in so far as their own area was concerned.

How can we get these two States to wake up and agree to the Central authority to functioning there adequately? Himachal Pradesh can certainly be sent this precise direction. Uttar Pradesh may well be a little difficult to handle as Sampurnanand does not like the Centre coming into the picture. But it would be a pity to delay matters in Uttar Pradesh, and I think we should, in a friendly way, point this out to Sampurnanand.

Yours affectionately, [Jawaharlal]

507. At the Border Roads Development Board 17

1. The Deputy Chairman¹⁸ reviewed the progress of work done since the second meeting of the Board held on the 12th May 1960. In course of his general survey, he mentioned about the preparatory work done so far, the steps taken to procure stores, machinery and equipment from the available sources of Army, Ordnance Factories, Corporations, like DVC, Hirakud, Bhakra Nangal and the orders placed on the Director General, Supply and Disposals, for the machinery and equipment, which have to be imported. Appendix I to the Paper on machinery, equipment and stores circulated for the information of members, gives details of action taken for provisioning them. The Deputy Chairman also informed the Board about the formation of the General Reserve Engineer Force, which will be composed of civilians, skilled and unskilled, working in disciplined groups. They would be

^{17.} Minutes of the meeting, chaired by Nehru, of the Border Roads Development Board, 16 July 1960, circulated on 25 July 1960. File No. 14 (1)-KS/60, Ministry of Home Affairs.

^{18.} V.K. Krishna Menon was the Deputy Chairman, Border Roads Development Board.

organised in "task forces" and would be subject to the Army Act for administration and disciplinary purposes. He mentioned certain urgent problems, two of which required consideration immediately: the question of air lift to transport men and equipment to areas, which cannot be approached by road; and the foreign exchange required to procure machinery and equipment required by the PWD and the D.G.B.R.

2. The Board then went into detailed examination of the problems, which required consideration in the various sectors.

(i) Jammu & Kashmir.

The Board approved the proposal to re-align the road from Sonamarg to Zojila Pass and to widen and improve the road from Kargil to Leh so that class 5 traffic could ply on this road by the end of October 1960. This will be carried out by the Director General Border Roads. The Board also noted that, on account of non-availability of airlift, the work on Leh-Chusul-Dungti route had to be confined to survey and reconnaissance.

The question whether a road should be built from Chusul to Shyok on the alignment proposed at present or along the Pangong Lake, was discussed. It was decided that, for the present, we need only build a road along the lake and not on the proposed alignment. The latter can be undertaken later, if necessary.

(ii) Punjab.

Director General Border Roads¹⁹ mentioned that the State Public Works Department was widening the existing track from Manali to Rahla. It is proposed to survey a route for a road from Rahla to Grampo. This will be in addition to the rope-way, which is being planned by the State Government. The Prime Minister enquired whether it is really necessary to build a road on the Rohtang route as a suitable rope-way should serve the main purpose for which the communications are being opened up in this area. A rope-way would be useful throughout the year whereas the road may be unusable for the better part of the year. After discussion it was decided to proceed with the installation of a rope-way capable of coping with the expected traffic on this route, and to re-consider the question of building a road over the Rohtang Pass.

(iii) Himachal Pradesh.

The Board discussed the question whether the jeepable road from Tapri to Labrang, which has steep gradients, should be widened or whether the original alignment

19. Major General K.N. Dubey.

of Hindustan-Tibet road should be taken up and completed as early as possible. The Prime Minister observed that construction of new roads should always be on an alignment which can be developed into a road on which 3-ton lorries can ply. It was decided that the construction of Hindustan-Tibet Road on normal gradient should be taken up and completed speedily. There should however be a link at a suitable point between this road and the jeepable road, which has been built on steep gradients.

(iv) Uttar Pradesh

The work in this sector has been confined to survey. The Board agreed that the roads from Malari to Nelang, and those beyond Niti and Mana village, which the State PWD is unable to build on account of lack of resources may be taken over by the Director General Border Roads. The terminal points of the roads should be decided in consultation with the General Staff.

(v) Sikkim.

The Board noted that the widening of short stretches of Siliguri-Gangtok Road and the strengthening of the bridges on this road had been taken up. The road from Gangtok to Chungthang would be completed by the end of this year. The Director General Border Roads stated that some of the bridges on Siliguri-Gangtok Road, which were built last year, though capable of taking 3-ton vehicles, are not up to the classification specified by the Board. The Chief of the Army Staff stated that the replacement of these bridges was not an immediate necessity from the point of view of General Staff and that he would be satisfied so long as the road was capable of class 9 traffic. It was, therefore, decided that these bridges need not be re-built to take class 18 load.

The question of improving the road Gangtok-Natula [sic] was discussed and it was decided that this road should, if necessary, be made fit for traffic for 1-ton lorries up to the point where the last military post is located. This is about four miles below Natula Pass. The last four miles should be left jeepable as at present.

It was agreed that the question whether we can take over the rope-way from Gangtok to Natula, which is not in use at present should be investigated.

(vi) Bhutan.

The question of assistance for constructing roads via Bhutan was mentioned. The Prime Minister said that this matter need not be discussed in this meeting but should be considered in all its aspects together with the Ministry of External Affairs.

(vii) NEFA/Assam

The Board approved the taking over by the Director General Border Roads the maintenance of the road from Foothills to Bomdilla and the steps taken to re-align this road. The Board also agreed that the link roads from Foothills, Kimin and Lekhabali should be connected with the Assam North Trunk Road and a road link to the Ghat opposite Dibrugarh.

- 3. The Board approved the proposal to ask for a supplementary grant of Rs. 13.5 crores under Demand No. 133 and Rs. 7.5 lakhs under Demand No. 83 towards anticipated expenditure to be incurred during 1960-61 on the construction of border roads and on the Secretariat and the headquarters office of the Director General Border Roads.
- 4. The Prime Minister enquired about the amount of foreign exchange required for the Border Roads Organisation. The Financial Adviser²⁰ stated that the total value of the additional plant and machinery required by the Director General Border Roads and the Public Works Departments was estimated at about Rs. 12 crores and the foreign exchange content thereof at about Rs. 7½ crores. This foreign exchange is over and above the sum of Rs. 4.76 crores allocated to the Board and which has almost been committed in full. The estimates would require to be examined in detail before a final assessment can be made. The Deputy Chairman pointed out that the above figures did not include the cost of airlift or cost of acquisition of aircraft and helicopters for the Border Roads. He also pointed out that this expenditure may be incurred in rupees in which case foreign exchange will not be required for the purpose. He further stated that he had already apprised the Prime Minister of the position. The Prime Minister observed that this matter should be taken up separately.
- 5. Items 4 and 5 of the Agenda were not examined separately. They came up for consideration during detailed examination referred to in para 2 above.

508. To Bajrang Bahadur Singh: Hindustan-Tibet Road²¹

31 July 1960

My dear Bhadri,

Thank you for your letter of the 27th July.

I am closely following the progress of the Hindustan-Tibet road. The road should not go right up to the frontier, but should end at some considerable distance from the border.

20. S. Jayasankar.

21. Letter.

You know that a Border Roads Board has been constituted to expedite the building of these roads near our borders. It will help you if you keep in touch with them. This Board largely consists of military engineers. But I am there as Chairman.

Yours sincerely, Jawaharlal Nehru

509. To V.K. Krishna Menon: Sampurnanand's Role²²

31 July 1960

My dear Krishna,

I enclose a letter from Pantji with which is attached a copy of a letter from the Chief Minister of Uttar Pradesh. This is in regard to border roads. General Kaul²³ had mentioned to me that the U.P. Government was delaying matters and not fully cooperating. When this matter was referred to Sampurnanand, he sent the attached letter which gives a somewhat different picture.

A copy of Sampurnanand's letter has already been sent to General Kaul by Pantji.

Yours affectionately, Jawaharlal Nehru

^{22.} Letter.

^{23.} Lieutenant General B.M. Kaul.

VI. MISCELLANEOUS

(a) General

510. To Manubehn Gandhi: Your Book1

6 जून 1960

प्रिय मनु,²

तुम्हारा एक पुराना पत्र मेरे पास पड़ा है। यह 27 अप्रैल का है। उस समय तो मैं देश के बाहर था। वापस आने पर, थोड़े ही दिन बाद पूना गया और आज ही वहां से दिल्ली आया हूं।

तुम्हारी छोटी पुस्तक ''बापू के जीवन में प्रेम और श्रद्धा'' मुझे मिली, और मैंने उसे कुछ देखा

भी। मुझे अच्छी लगी।

मुझे खुशी है कि तुम्हारा स्कूल और कॉलेजों में काम अच्छी तरह से चला है। इस से बहुत लाभ होता है।

> तुम्हारा जवाहरलाल नेहरु

[Translation begins:

6 June 1960

My dear Manu,4

An old letter of yours is lying with me. It is dated the 27th April. When it came I was out of the country. Just a few days after my return I went to Poona and from there I have come back only today.

I have got your little book Bapu ke Jivan me Prem aur Shraddha,⁵ and have

glanced through it. I liked it.

I am glad that your work in colleges and schools is proceeding well. This is a very useful activity.

[Yours affectionately, Jawaharlal Nehru]

Translation ends]

1. Letter. Manubehn (also spelt Manuben) was in Mahuva, Saurashtra, at the time.

A relation of Mahatma Gandhi who called her his "granddaughter;" one of his closest associates during his Noakhali, Bihar and Delhi sojourns (December 1946 to January 1948).

3. Tr. Kashinath Trivedi (Varanasi: Akhil Bharat Sarva-Seva-Sangh, 1960).

4. See fn 2 in this section.

5. See fn 3 in this section.

511. To Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit: Azim Husain for Cairo⁶

9 June 1960

Nan dear,

Somewhere on my journeys, I must have received your letter of the 17th May, in which you refer to Azim Husain. I think it is likely that Azim might be sent to our Embassy in Cairo. About the timing of this, it is difficult to be exact now. But Ratan⁷ intends coming to India some time in August, probably near the end. A short gap would not matter. But, as you have said, in a sensitive place like Cairo, there should be no big interval.⁸

I do not think there was any serious talk about Mani going there. His name was rather casually mentioned once together with others.

I have just received a letter from Rita, which she sent from Cairo. She must now be with you in London with her children. Give my love to her.

Love

Jawahar

512. To M.A. Rauf: Thornton Wilder's Works9

9 June 1960

My dear Rauf, 10

Thank you for your letter of 1st June and Thornton Wilder's¹¹ book which you have sent me. This book certainly belongs to a very high class. I read it many years ago and liked it very much. I have also read "The Bridge of San Luis Rey" and perhaps some other book of Thornton Wilder. He is a very sensitive writer and to read him is a pleasure.

- 6. Letter.
- 7. R.K. Nehru.
- M. Azim Husain became Ambassador to UAR and concurrently to Libya with effect from 26 October 1960.
- 9. Letter.
- 10. The Ambassador of India to Belgium.
- 11. American novelist and dramatist; won three Pulitzer Prizes.
- 12. A novel published in 1927.

513. To Kesho Ram: Family Pension due to J.N. Mehta¹³

This case appears to be a genuine one.¹⁴ I agree, therefore, that you might make a lump sum grant of Rs. 2,000/- to him from the Discretionary Grant.

As for my writing to the Chief Minister of Punjab, I would not like to do so I at present, partly because he is rather unwell and partly because he is heavily engaged with the Akali agitation. I am prepared to write to him later. Meanwhile you might write to the Chief Secretary giving all the facts and saying that I am interested in this case and in fact I am trying to help him. I would have written to the Chief Minister myself, but I did not wish to trouble him at this moment. If necessity arises, I shall write to the Chief Minister later. But we hope that as his case appears to be an obvious and simple one, there will be no difficulty about payment being made.

514. To Pyarelal: Replying to *Modern Age* Article on Gandhi¹⁵

10 June 1960

My dear Pyarelal,16

Your letter of the 10th June with its enclosures. I have glanced through Adenwalla's ¹⁷ article in the "Modern Age". ¹⁸ I do not know who Adenwalla is, nor do I know the importance of the periodical "Modern Age". ¹⁹ Since, however, they have offered to publish a reply, I think it might be worth while for you to send such a reply. Obviously you cannot deal with this whole period in two pages or, for the matter of that, in twenty. At the same time, you cannot expect a magazine to give much more space.

I think the best way to deal with this matter is not to go into a long history or long justification, but rather to point out the obvious distortions of fact in the

- 13. Note, 9 June 1960. File No. 2 (382)/60-70-PMS.
- 14. In May 1960, one J.N. Mehta, a student in England, had complained to Kesho Ram that the Punjab Government owed him Rs 5,112, the accumulated arrears of a family pension granted after his father, Bishamber Dass, had been murdered in the 1947 riots when J.N. Mehta was about twelve years old.
- Letter.
- 16. Pyarelal Nayar, Private Secretary to Mahatma Gandhi in his later years.
- 17. Minoo Adenwalla, Professor, Lawrence University, Wisconsin.
- 18. "Gandhi and Indian Nationalism Reappraised" in *Modern Age: A Conservative Review*, Winter 1959-60, Volume 4, Number 1, pp. 69-81.
- 19. A quarterly journal published by the Institute for Philosophical and Historical Studies, Chicago.

original article, and to refer briefly to the positive side.²⁰ I am returning the papers you had sent.

Yours sincerely, Jawaharlal Nehru

515. To Amiya Chakravarty: Robert Frost's Book²¹

10 June 1960

My dear Amiya,22

Several months ago, you sent me a letter and also a book by Robert Frost.²³ I really do not remember if I acknowledged this letter or book. As by chance I read your letter again and saw the book by Robert Frost, I felt how remiss I had been. Please accept my apology.

Please convey my gratitude to Robert Frost for the fine message he sent me. I have no idea where you are now. Not knowing any other address, this letter is being sent to Boston.

With all good wishes,

Yours sincerely, Jawaharlal Nehru

516. To Bruce Dixon: Earl Babst's Ninetieth Birthday²⁴

11 June 1960

Dear Mr. Dixon,²⁵

I have received your letter of May 31 in which you suggest that I might write a letter of congratulation to Mr Earl Babst²⁶ on the occasion or his ninetieth birthday. It is a little difficult for me to send such a personal letter as I have had no contacts

- 20. Pyarelal's rejoinder was published in *Modern Age*, Summer 1960, Volume 4, Number 3, pp. 302-304.
- 21. Letter. JN Supplementary Papers, NMML. Also available in JN Collection.
- 22. Professor of Comparative Oriental Religions and Literature, Boston University, USA.
- 23. Robert Lee Frost (1874-1963); popular American poet; four Pulitzer Prizes; US Congress Gold Medal, September 1960.
- 24. Letter.
- 25. A resident of 314 Nassau Street, Cedar Rapids, Iowa, USA.
- 26. Earl D. Babst (1870-1967); American lawyer, industrialist and businessman; president, and later chairman, of the American Sugar Refining Company; known for introducing changeover from bulk containers to identifiable packaging in the marketing of food products.

in the past with Mr. Babst and, I am sorry to confess, I know very little about him. But, of course, he has my good wishes on his birthday.

Yours sincerely, Jawaharlal Nehru

517. To K.P.S. Menon: Children's Pictures from USSR²⁷

14 June 1960

My dear KPS,

When you were here, you handed over to me a letter and some pictures by children. These have been lying with me for some time. I do not know if you have acknowledged them. I am, therefore, sending back this letter to you. Please send my thanks for it and say that I much appreciated their message and the children's pictures.

Yours sincerely, Jawaharlal Nehru

518. To N.R. Pillai: Not Signing Statements²⁸

Will you kindly write to Sir Julian Huxley²⁹ and tell him that I am rather allergic to signing any statements for world circulation even when I agree with them?³⁰ In India, we are trying to do our best in regard to this question of population control and I believe we are making progress. I am sorry, therefore, that I cannot join this manifesto.

519. To Kesho Ram: Bahadur Shah's Descendant³¹

I should like to have some further information about this request made by Mirza Md. Bedar Bukht.³² In this information can be obtained from (l) our Home Ministry, (2) External Affairs Ministry, (3) West Bengal Government, and (4) the petitioner himself.

- 27. Letter.
- 28. Note, 16 June 1960. File No. 28 (50)/58-60-PMS, Vol. II. Also available in JN Collection.
- 29. English biologist and philosopher.
- 30. See Huxley to Nehru, Appendix 16.
- 31. Note, 20 June 1960.
- 32. A descendant of Bahadur Shah Zafar, the last Mughal Emperor of Delhi. See also item 520.

- 2. You can ask the External Affairs Ministry if they have any information in regard to this gentleman. Do they have any records about payments to him by the old Government of Burma or by the Nizam or any other papers?
- 3. The Home Ministry must have some papers about him. Only a year or two ago, we received a number of applications, but I do not remember if this gentleman also sent any application. Anyhow, the Home Ministry might be able to give us the facts.
- 4. The West Bengal Government should be requested to send us any information about him and their advice. I am writing myself to Dr. B.C. Roy, Chief Minister, and shall send him a copy of the representation.
- 5. You should send a letter to Mirza Md. Bedar Bukht, acknowledging his representation to me which, you can tell him, I have read. I should like to have some further information. What was the pension his family got from the Government of Burma (which presumably was a part of the Government of India in those days)? When did this pension begin and when did it end? What pension did he get from the Nizam of Hyderabad? When did this begin and when did it end?
- 6. In his letter he refers to Maulana Abul Kalam Azad having helped him and his family. Did Maulana Sahib give any regular help or occasional help? If it was any regular help, what was it?
- 7. How many children has he got? What are their ages? Are they going to school or college?
- 8. Send him a cheque for Rs. 500/-. This is a provisional payment while we are enquiring into this matter further.
- 9. Have three copies made of his letter to me, one to be sent to External Affairs, one to the Home Ministry and one will be sent with my letter to Dr. B.C. Roy.

520. To B.C. Roy: Help for Bahadur Shah's Descendant³³

20 June 1960

My dear Bidhan,

I enclose a copy of a letter I have received from Mirza Md. Bedar Bukht, a descendant of the last Mogul Emperor of Delhi. I suppose your Government must know him and must have some particulars about him. I shall be grateful if you will have these sent to me. I should like as full information as possible, both about his past history and how he has been helped and what his present condition is, children, etc. Do they go to school or college?

33. Letter.

I should like to help him. What do you advise?

Yours affectionately, [Jawaharlal]

521. To Vishwanath Sharma: Festschrift for Sri Prakasa³⁴

20 जून 1960

प्रिय विश्वनाथजी.35

आपका पत्र 7 जून का मिला। मैंने उस पर काफी विचार किया। यह उचित है कि श्री श्रीप्रकाशजी का हम अभिनन्दन करें विशेषकर जब 70 वर्ष की उमर उनकी पूरी होती है। है हमारे देश के वे बहुत चुने हुए लोगों में से हैं, और उनका जीवन बहुत मानों में एक आदर्श रहा है।

आप मुझ से कहते हैं कि मैं इस अभिनन्दन ग्रंथ में उनके बारे में लिखूं, और उसकी वजह बताते हैं कि मेरा उनसे घनिष्ट सम्बन्ध रहा है। यही कारण है कि मेरा कुछ उनके बारे में लिखना कठिन हो जाता है। जिन लोगों को हम बहुत करीब से जानते हों और जिन से प्रेम हो जाता है, उनके बारे में लिखना बहुत कठिन हो जाता है।

यह सही है कि कामिनी देवी जी ने मुझ से कुछ चर्चा किया था। ठीक मेरी समझ में उस समय नहीं आया था कि वह क्या चाहती हैं। मैं जित्ता इस मामले में विचार करता हूं, उत्ता ही पेंच में पड़ जाता हूं।

> आपका जवाहरलाल नेहरु

[Translation begins:

20 June 1960

My dear Vishwanathji,37

I have your letter of the 7th June. I have given much thought to what you have written. It is quite appropriate that we should felicitate Shri Sri Prakasaji, especially when he completes seventy years.³⁸ He is one of the outstanding people in our country, and his has been an ideal life in many ways.

You want me to write about him in the felicitation volume because, as you say, I have had a very close association with him. But this is the very reason it is difficult for me to write something about him. It is very difficult to write about people whom we know very closely and with whom we have a bond of affection.

^{34.} Letter.

^{35.} Of Kashi Vidyapeeth, Varanasi.

^{36.} On 3 August 1960.

^{37.} See fn 35 in this section.

^{38.} See fn 36 in this section.

It is true that Kamini Deviji had broached the matter to me. But I could not clearly understand then what she exactly wanted. The more I think about this matter the more I get confused.

Yours sincerely, Jawaharlal Nehru

Translation ends]

522. To Richard J. Walsh: Reviewing *Glimpses of World History*³⁹

20 June 1960

Dear Mr. Walsh,40

Thank you for your letter of June 15 and the two Reviews of the condensed edition of Glimpses of World History⁴¹ which you have sent. I agree with you that the New York Times Book Review is a good one.

I am looking forward to receiving the book.

Yours sincerely, Jawaharlal Nehru

523. To Nargis A.D. Captain: Gandhi's Samadhi at Rajghat⁴²

26 June 1960

My dear Nargis,⁴³

Thank you for your letter of the 12th June. It must be ages since you wrote to me last.

You have obviously written to me after reading what Mira⁴⁴ has written about this proposed memorial to Bapu⁴⁵ or perhaps some other people have spoken to you about it. Probably, you have not yourself seen the models or visualised what

- 39. Letter.
- The President of the John Day Company, New York, which published several books of Nehru's.
- 41. 'The condensed edition was prepared by Saul K. Padover; see also item 550.
- 42. Letter.
- 43. Grand-daughter of Dadabhai Naoroji; she was then living at Panchgani, District Satara.
- 44. Mira Behn also spelt Ben, (Madeleine Slade), a disciple of Mahatma Gandhi.
- 45. The reference is to the Gandhi Samadhi. *The Times of India* of 22 June reported that Mira Behn had commented on the design. But where or what she wrote has not been traced.

exactly this memorial is likely to be. I have read Mira's article. All I can say is that I do not agree with it at all, except perhaps in some matters. Mira talking about prostitutes and others using the Samadhi area as a rendezvous simply indicates that she is too angry to be able to understand or judge anything. The statement she makes is patently ridiculous and reduces the value of any criticism she might make.

About one thing I am inclined to agree, that is, about the black granite cube. This has not been finally decided upon, and I hope that it will not be erected.

As for the main idea, apart from the granite cube, I confess that I like it. The essence of the idea is in simplicity. I can understand some people not liking it, but to talk in the manner of Mira about it seems to me quite absurd. I think that it is the novelty of the idea that takes some people aback. We are too used to formal designs to accept something new. Probably, when this is made, many of those who have not taken kindly to the idea, might well approve of it. It is essentially a simple design (apart from the granite cube which I do not like and which I hope will not be erected), and the whole place will be a garden. Anyhow, many of us considered this repeatedly and very carefully, and came to a decision. I was a party to that decision, and I cannot upset a decision so arrived at by not only the Cabinet, but by others concerned. I wish you could see the design yourself and not rely on Mira's fantastic description of it.

I hope you are keeping well.

Yours affectionately, Jawaharlal Nehru

524. To the Ministry of Defence: Restoring a Mango Grove⁴⁶

I am sending you a petition which was handed over to me personally by Chaudhuri Khaliq-uz-Zaman⁴⁷ today. Chaudhuri Khaliq-uz-Zaman came to India from Pakistan a short while ago because of the death of his mother who lived in Lucknow.

The petition gives the facts of the case. I was told that the mango grove referred to in the petition has not been used for any purpose by the Defence people and for about seventeen years or so the yield of mangoes was sold by auction annually. No one being particularly interested in maintaining the quality of the trees or the fruit, these are deteriorating. I know that mangoes from this

^{46.} Note to V.K. Krishna Menon and O. Pulla Reddi, 27 June 1960.

^{47.} A prominent leader of the All India Muslim League before Partition and the first President of the Pakistan Muslim League.

grove used to be considered particularly good because they were carefully tended in the old days.

I should imagine that there is no difficulty in giving a lease of this small grove to the petitioners to whose family it belonged for a long time in the past. Could you please enquire into this matter and let me know?

525. To A. Appadorai: Alan de Rusett's Article⁴⁸

27 June 1960

My dear Appadorai,49

Your letter of June 18th came a few days ago. As it involved a good deal of reading, I put it aside. Today, by the accident of Dr Djuanda, the Indonesian First Minister, not arriving here in time, I devoted the waiting period to reading Alan De Rusett's⁵⁰ article⁵¹ as well as your reply to it.⁵² I was much interested in both these articles.⁵³

I shall gladly meet you. I shall try to fix a time in a day or two.

I am returning the number of "International Relations" which you have sent me.

- 48. Letter.
- Director and Professor of International Relations, Indian School of International Studies, New Delhi.
- 50. Alan W. de Rusett, Senior Lecturer in International Relations in the Department of Social Studies of the University of Leeds until 1972.
- 51. De Rusett's article was published in International Relations (London), see Appendix 1 (a).
- 52. See Appendix 1 (b).
- 53. In a subsequent issue, *International Relations* carried two rejoinders, one by R.S.M. and the other by de Rusett; see "On Understanding Indian Foreign Policy: Continuation of a Discussion," *International Relations*, vol. 2, no. 4, October 1961, pp. 220-233.

526. To Manubehn Gandhi: A House for You⁵⁴

28 जून 1960

प्रिय मनु,

तुम्हारा 24 तारीख का पत्र मिला।

तुम्हारे मकान के बारे में मैंने कई बार श्री चौहान जी को लिखा और कहा ।⁵⁵ उन्होंने जवाब दिया कि वह कोशिश करते जा रहे हैं, लेकिन बम्बई में मकान मिलना बहुत कठिन है। फिर भी वह कोशिश करेंगे। इसके बारे में उन्हों से तुम बातचीत कर लेना।

भावनगर कांग्रेस[™] के समय पर जाने का जो तुमने लिखा है, उसके बारे में अभी निश्चय करना

कठिन है। हो सका तो मैं तुम्हारे कार्य-क्षेत्र में जाना पसंद करुंगा।

तुम्हारा जवाहरलाल नेहरु

[Translation begins:

28 June 1960

My dear Manu,

Your letter of the 24th.

I have written and spoken to Shri Chavanji several times about the house for you.⁵⁷ He replied that he is going on making efforts, but it is very difficult to find a house in Bombay. Yet he will try. You may talk to him directly about this.

You have suggested my visiting at the time of the Bhavnagar Congress.⁵⁸ It is difficult at this stage to decide. If possible, I would like to visit the place of your

activity.

[Yours affectionately, Jawaharlal Nehru]

Translation ends]

^{54.} Letter.

^{55.} For a previous reference to Manubehn's requirement of a house in Bombay, see SWJN/SS/ 44/item 382.

^{56.} The sixty-sixth session of the Indian National Congress, held at Bhavnagar from 16-17 January 1961.

^{57.} See fn 55 in this section.

^{58.} See fn 56 in this section.

527. To Anna R. Maskel: A Children's Bill of Rights⁵⁹

29 June 1960

Dear Miss Maskel,60

I have received, through our Consulate-General in New York, your letter of the 19th May, 1960.⁶¹ I have also received some of the children's letters that you have sent, and a copy of the "Bill of Rights for Children the World Over".⁶² I am very grateful to you for your letter and those papers. I have read the Bill of Rights for Children with great interest and appreciation. Undoubtedly, the world would be a very different place to live in if effect could be given to this Bill of Rights for Children.

Please convey my thanks and my affection to the children.

Yours sincerely, Jawaharlal Nehru

528. To B. Ramakrishna Rao: Book Random Reflections⁶³

30 June 1960

My dear Ramakrishna Rao,64

I find a book waiting for me here. This is a selection of your speeches and the book is called "Random Reflections". Thank you for sending it. I shall profit by your wisdom whenever I have the chance.

You have all my good wishes for your new and very responsible post.

- 59. Letter.
- Anna R. Maskel (1907-2003); school teacher; taught in many places, including the Etz Chaim Yeshiva, Brooklyn, and the Roger Sherman School, New Haven, Connecticut.
- 61. According to a press release of the MEA dated 27 July 1960, Anna R. Maskel wrote that the sixth grade students of the Roger Sherman School had drawn up a "Bill of Rights for Children the World Over" and they wished to present Nehru with a copy of the Bill "in appreciation of the fact that you have such a very warm interest in children." She added "that the Bill represented the culmination of almost a whole year's work, and that the message they wish to get across to the peoples of the world was, 'We care'."
- 62. See Appendix 11.
- 63. Letter.
- The Governor of Kerala up to 30 June 1960; the Governor of Uttar Pradesh from 1 July 1960.

529. To Kesho Ram: Not All Goodwill Missions are Official⁶⁵

Please reply to this letter and say that the gentleman he has named went to Germany on his own and not in any Mission, so far as we are concerned. In a sense, any individual who goes to a foreign country can say that he is there to propagate goodwill. We cannot object to any one calling himself an ambassador of goodwill.

2. It is likely that this particular description of a Goodwill Mission to West Germany might be misunderstood by some people as it is not a very correct description. But it is difficult for us to contradict this.

530. To Roland Bramley: Vitamin B-1266

1 July 1960

Dear Dr. Bramley,67

Thank you for your letter of the 28th June.⁶⁸ It is very good of you to take the trouble to tell me about the good effects of Vitamin B-12. Professor Kosambi⁶⁹ told me about your advice some little time ago. I shall certainly consult my doctors here.

Fortunately I am keeping good health, or as good health as one can expect at 70 years of age. I am fairly active still and I work hard. Tomorrow morning I am going on a brief visit to Kashmir and Ladakh. During the few days I will be there, I shall be visiting some of our Ladakh areas at an altitude of 14,500 ft. I have been there previously, and I am interested to know how I shall react to that altitude now.

- 65. Note, 30 June 1960.
- 66. Letter.
- 67. A medical doctor residing at 29, Devonshire Place, London, W.1.
- 68. Bramley wrote that when he had met Nehru at a reception in London in May 1960 he had advised him to have one weekly injection of Vitamin B 12 because "you appeared as if you needed them more than anyone in the world." He reiterated his "unsought for advice" as he felt "that a man with so great responsibilities has no time to think of himself."
- 69. D.D. Kosambi, scientist and Indologist; was in the Mathematics Department of the Tata Institute of Fundamental Research, Bombay, at this time.

531. To Acharya Ramamurti: Dhirendra Mazumdar⁷⁰

1 जुलाई 1960

प्रिय राममूर्ति जी,"

आपका 24 जून का पत्र मिला। श्री धीरेन्द्र मजूमदार⁷² मेरे पुराने साथी हैं और मुझे उनसे प्रेम है। इस समय जबिक वे 60 वर्ष के होने वाले हैं मैं उन्हें अपनी प्रेम और बधाई भेजता हूँ। लेकिन ऐसे समय पर लिखने का कुछ मेरी समझ में नहीं आता, और मेरे पास समय भी नहीं है। फिर भी मैं चंद सतरें आपको लिखकर भेजता हूँ।⁷³

आपका जवाहरलाल नेहरु

[Translation begins:

1 July 1960

My dear Ramamurtiji,74

I have your letter of the 24th June. Shri Dhirendra Mazumdar⁷⁵ is an old colleague of mine and I have much affection for him. On his completing sixty years I send my love and greetings to him. But I do not know what to write on this occasion, and I do not have time also. However, I am sending you a few lines.⁷⁶

Yours sincerely, Jawaharlal Nehru

Translation ends]

70. Letter.

- 71. (1913-2010); Gandhian social activist; taught in Queen's College, Varanasi; joined Shram Bharati, a non-government organization based in Khadigram, District Munger (now Jamui), Bihar; later became its Director; during the seventies, played a major role in Jayaprakash Narayan's movement in Bihar; started Mahila Shanti Sena, a peace movement. *Mahila Shanti Sena Newsletter*, 7 June 2010, pp. 1-3.
- 72. A close associate of Mahatma Gandhi; head of Sevagram; settled in Munger after Independence; started Khadigram; implemented the concept of Gramdan in the villages in Munger. The website of Bombay Sarvodaya Mandal, http://www.mkgandhi.org/vinoba/anasakti/shubhmurti.htm, accessed on 7 April 2014.
- 73. See item 532.
- 74. See fn 71 in this section.
- 75. See fn 72 in this section.
- 76. See fn 73 in this section.

532. On Dhirendra Mazumdar⁷⁷

श्री धीरेन्द्र मजूमदार से मैं कोई 40 वर्ष हुए पहले मिला था। बनारस में हिन्दु यूनिवर्सिटी को छोड़कर वह कुछ साथियों के साथ असहयोग आन्दोलन में शरीक हुए थे। उस समय मेरा उनका काफी साथ रहा। और बाद वर्षों में भी उनसे कभी कभी मिलता रहा।

इस लम्बे ज़माने में मैंने देखा कि उनका जीवन देश के कामों में और जन सेवा में लगा, और बहुत कठिनाइयों का उन्होंने सामना किया। फिर भी अपने लक्ष से नहीं हटे।

जो लोग धीरेन्द्रजी को जानते हैं उनका आदर और उनसे प्रेम करते हैं। 60 वर्ष के अब वह हो गए हैं। मैं आशा करता हूं कि अभी बहुत वर्ष उनके जीवन में बाकी हैं। और मेरा यह पूरा विश्वास है कि इन वर्षों में भी वे अपनी जनसेवा जारी रखेंगे।

मैं उनको अपना प्रेम और बधाई भेजता हूं।

[Translation begins:

I met Shri Dhirendra Mazumdar about forty years ago. He left the Hindu University at Banaras along with some of his friends to join the Non-Cooperation Movement. At that time we were closely associated. Even later I met him occasionally.

During this long period I have observed that his life has been dedicated in the service of the country and the people. He has faced many difficulties, but he has not deviated from his goal.

Those who are aquainted with Dhirendraji respect and love him. He is now sixty. I hope he has many years of life ahead of him and I am sure that he will continue to serve the people in these years.

I send my love and greetings to him.

Translation ends]

533. To M. Narayan Nair: Shankaracharya and Joshi Math⁷⁸

9 July 1960

Dear Shri Narayan Nair,79

I have your letter of the 4th July. Thank you for drawing my attention to the fact that the *math* established by Sankaracharya⁸⁰ is Joshi Math and not at Badri Nath.⁸¹

- 77. Message, 1 July 1960, sent to Ramamurti; see item 531.
- 78. Letter. Master File, Jawaharlal Nehru Memorial Fund, NMML.
- 79. A resident of 106, Straight Mile Road, Jamshedpur.
- 80. Adi Shankaracharya (788-820).
- 81. In *The Discovery of India*, Nehru had mentioned Badrinath as one of the places where Shankaracharya established a *math*.

534. To Leon Gutterman: Wisdom Magazine82

10 July 1960

Dear Mr. Gutterman,83

I am grateful to you for your letter of July 1st as well as your telegram. I have also received two copies of Wisdom Magazine⁸⁴ which you have kindly sent. It is indeed a very fine production, and I congratulate you upon it.

You are good enough to suggest in your letter that you can send copies of this number of "Wisdom" for distribution to those who might be interested. I am passing on this suggestion to one of my colleagues who will deal with it.

With all good wishes,

Yours sincerely, Jawaharlal Nehru

535. To Sampurnanand: Not Contributing to Pant's Festschrift⁸⁵

11 July 1960

My dear Sampurnanand,

I have today received your letter of the 7th July in which you suggest that a birthday volume should he presented to Pantji⁸⁶ on the occasion of his next birthday. You have asked me to contribute to it.

This kind of request almost always puts me in a great difficulty. I find it peculiarly hard to write about intimate colleagues of mine. One can write a few lines which are not of much significance, or else one should write something worthwhile. Worthwhile writing is beyond me at this moment, partly because of want of time and partly because I cannot write about my intimate friends and colleagues. So you must forgive me.

- 82. Letter.
- 83. President and Publisher, Wisdom, Beverly Hills, California.
- 84. Wisdom, a glossy magazine founded in 1956 and published by The Wisdom Society for the Advancement of Knowledge, Learning, and Research in Education, featured in each issue articles on a notable personality; it ceased publication in 1964.
- 85. Letter.
- 86. Govind Ballabh Pant.
- 87. 10 September 1961; but Pant died on 7 March 1961.

536. To Vijendra Shanker Yajnik: Astrologers88

11 July 1960

Dear Shri Yajnik,

I have your letter of the 7th July. I do not think you need worry about the palmists and astrologers in India or those fatalistic people who believe in them.

You can see me when you come to Delhi, if I am here then.

Yours sincerely, Jawaharlal Nehru

537. To Kasturbhai Lalbhai: Gandhi Archives89

11 July 1960

My dear Kasturbhai,90

Your letter of the 8th July with which you have sent me copy of a previous letter from you dated 23rd February.

Pyarelalji has been put in charge of preparing a full life of Gandhiji by the Gandhi Smarak Nidhi. For this purpose he has got with him a large number of original papers or photostats. Many of these were collected by him, but they will come to the Gandhi Smarak Nidhi ultimately after he has done with them.

I think that photostats have been made of most of these papers. Anyhow, I am drawing the attention of the President of the Smarak Nidhi to this.

Yours sincerely, Jawaharlal Nehru

538. To Radha Raghavan: Family Marriage92

12 July 1960

My dear Radha,93

I had your letter two days ago. I am glad to learn that Raghavan is continuing his progress.

- 88. Letter, sent to the correspondent at P.O. Box 54, 7, Byramji Town, Nagpur.
- 89. Letter. File No. 2 (114)/56-66-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.
- 90. A prominent industrialist from Gujarat.
- 91. Gandhi National Memorial Trust.
- 92. Letter.
- 93. Wife of Nedyam Raghavan, the Ambassador of India to France.

You have referred to the marriage of Jai Dev to Veena. It is true that I did not know anything about this marriage when it took place. As it happened, the very next day our Vice-President, Dr. Radhakrishnan, told me about it. He had attended the ceremony.

You need not worry about the fact that I was not informed. The marriage took place in a hurry and in rather extraordinary circumstances as the bride and bridegroom had to leave immediately for Paris. I quite understood this. Of course, I would have been glad to see them and give my blessings. But the whole thing was such a rushed affair that I cannot blame them for not coming to me.

Anyhow, they have my blessings and good wishes.

Yours sincerely, Jawaharlal Nehru

539. To Humayun Kabir: Antique Photographs⁹⁴

13 July 1960

My dear Humayun,

A member of an old and well-known Meerut family, Sahaibzada Shiekh Fakhruddin, ⁹⁵ came to see me today. He produced three photographs which had been received by his family some seventy years ago or more. Two of these are of Russian Dukes or grand Dukes and one is of the Duke of Connaught presented to the family in 1885.

I told him that these pictures were of no use to me and asked him why he should not keep them as his family heirloom. What could I do with them? But he insisted and said that they could be kept in our museum here or the picture of the Duke of Connaught might be presented to his great grand-daughter, the Queen, when she comes here. ⁹⁶ So, he left them with me.

I just do not know what to do with them. I am sending them to you.

^{94.} Letter.

^{95.} Died 1977. Personal communication from a descendant of Shiekh Fakhruddin in Meerut.

^{96.} See item 15, fn 102.

540. To Mahmud Tafazzoli: Persian Translation of *Glimpses* of World History⁹⁷

15 July 1960

Dear Mr. Mahmud Tafazzoli,

Our Ambassador in Tehran⁹⁸ has forwarded to me a copy of your translation of my "Glimpses of World History".⁹⁹ I am grateful to you for this gift which I appreciate.

I am afraid I cannot judge of the translation owing to my ignorance of Persian. But I am told that it has received high praise in Iran and has been much appreciated by scholars and the public generally. I congratulate you upon this work.

I hope that this translation of yours will help in bringing a greater understanding between Iran and India.

With all good wishes,

Yours sincerely, Jawaharlal Nehru

541. To H.C. Heda: On British General Election 100

22 July 1960

My dear Heda, 101

I am quite ashamed to have delayed so long in sending you a foreword for your book on the British General Election. ¹⁰² Indeed I thought that your book must be already out and so there was no need for me to write anything. But yesterday Indiraji reminded me of it. So I am sending you a foreword for it if you can still use it. ¹⁰³

- 97. Letter.
- 98. T.N. Kaul.
- 99. Nigahi Ba Tarikhe Jahan, (Tehran: Amir Kabir, 1958)
- 100. Letter. File No. 9/2/60-PMP, Vol. 5, Prime Minister's Office. Also available in JN Collection.
- 101. Harish Chandra Heda, Congress, Lok Sabha MP from Nizamabad, Andhra Pradesh.
- 102. Elections in Britain: Report (Bombay: Allied Publishers, 1961).
- 103. See item 542

542. Foreword to Heda's Elections in Britain: Report¹⁰⁴

My colleague in the Lok Sabha, Shri H.C. Heda, had a unique opportunity to watch the last General Election in the United Kingdom. He was invited to go there on this occasion by the United Kingdom Government and every facility was given to him by the various Parties whose candidates were contesting the election. This experience of his helped him to understand the election methods and processes in the United Kingdom and to compare them with our own. He has rightly decided to share his experiences with a wider circle in India, and for this purpose has written this book.

In many ways conditions are different in India. Our country is much bigger, our electorates are huge and we have, to a large extent, still to deal with the illiterate voter. Because of this, we have had to devise special methods. On the whole, we have fared remarkably well during our last two General Elections, in spite of the difficulties that faced us.

While there are obvious differences in the conditions prevailing in the United Kingdom and in India, there are many basic similarities. By and large, our Parliamentary system and our election laws and procedures are based on British precedents, adapted to the special conditions in India. Therefore, we can learn much from them.

Television now plays a great part in elections in Western countries. We have no television here yet, and even the appeal of the radio is limited. The personal approach through public meetings is still perhaps the most important factor in India.

Many of us are troubled at the complexity and high cost of these elections. We have discussed this often, but found no satisfactory way out. Also, election laws become more and more intricate, and sensitive persons are often reluctant to face all the complexities that accompany elections. Yet this is an essential part of the democratic process. The question before us is how to simplify this process.

I have not read Shri H.C. Heda's book fully. I have glanced through it, and it has seemed to me that the account of the last British General Election will not only be interesting but profitable to readers in India who are interested in elections and the democratic process. I suppose there is no lack of such persons in India.

^{104. 22} July 1960. File No. 9/2/60-PMP, Vol. 5, Prime Minister's Office. Also available in JN Collection. See also item 541.

^{105.} Held in May 1955.

543. To Charlotte Saxe: Promoting Peace 106

23 July 1960

Dear Miss Saxe, 107

Thank you for your letter of July 10th, 1960, which I have read with much interest. You know that I would gladly do anything to help the cause of peace and understanding. We shall continue our efforts to this end even though sometimes they do not appear to bear any fruit.

Yours sincerely, Jawaharlal Nehru

544. To R.K. Pandeya: The Boy Died Nobly 108

23 July 1960

Dear Shri Pandeya, 109

Your letter has grieved me. The story of the boy Kunchun and his early death is very sad, and yet because he died in trying to save another person, he died well, however sad it might be. We all have to die some time or other, but it is given only to few of us to die nobly.

Yours sincerely, Jawaharlal Nehru

545. To D.V. Tahmankar: Vishwasrao Dattaji Chowgule¹¹⁰

24 July 1960

My dear Tahmankar,111

I have your letter of the 15th July.

It is true that our Ministry has not thought highly of Shri Vishwasrao Dattaji Chowgule¹¹² and he has not only been accused of smuggling, but his general

106. Letter.

107. A resident of 1744 Dalewood Place, Cincinnati 37, Ohio, USA.

108. Letter.

109. Convenor, Bharat Sevak Samaj, Rewa Branch, Rewa.

110 Letter

111. London Editor, Deccan Herald, Praja Vani, Bangalore, and Secretary, the Lokamanya Tilak Memorial Trust.

112. Chairman, Chowgule Group of Companies.

activities have appeared to us to be anti-national. However, since you have written about him, we shall make further enquiries and have a further assessment.

Yours sincerely, Jawaharlal Nehru

546. To Amiya Chakravarty: Pasternak¹¹³

24 July 1960

My dear Amiya,

Thank you for your letter of July 12 and the photostat of a part of a letter from Boris Pasternak. It was very good of Pasternak to write as he did. Without knowing me at all, he evidently created an idealised image of me.

I send an inscribed photograph for Robert Frost.

Yours sincerely, Jawaharlal Nehru

547. Centenary of M. Visvesvaraya¹¹⁴

The 100th birth anniversary of Dr. M. Visvesvaraya is an event of significance in India, and I am glad that it is being duly celebrated. In these days when we talk of planning so much, we must remember that Shri Visvesvaraya was the father of planning in this country. In him theory and practice were combined, and in many places in India what he has done stands as witness to this great man.

548. To D.P. Karmarkar: Pritam Singh¹¹⁵

25 July 1960

My dear Karmarkar,

I wrote to you from London on the 10th May, 1960, about Pritam Singh, an eminent Indian Surgeon who had been recommended to me by Sir Cecil Wakeley, an ex-President of the Royal College of Surgeons in England. You sent me a reply

113. Letter.

115. Letter.

^{114.} Message, 25 July 1960, sent to S.T. Chari, Industrial India, United India Building, Sir P.M. Road, Bombay.

on July 1st. I have just received the attached letter from him. ¹¹⁶ This shows that he will be coming here soon. I shall, of course, meet him, and you should also meet him.

Pritam Singh appears to be a very high class and we must take advantage of his presence here. How exactly I cannot say straightaway.

Yours sincerely, Jawaharlal Nehru

549. To Humayun Kabir: Harindranath Chattopadhyaya 117

27 July 1960

My dear Humayun,

Harindranath Chattopadhyaya¹¹⁸ came to see me yesterday. You know him well of course. He is rather irresponsible in some ways, but there can be no doubt about his amazing ability in many ways. I do not quite know how we can profit by that, but I feel that he can be helpful in India or abroad. I should like you to give thought to this.

Yours sincerely, Jawaharlal Nehru

550. To Saul K. Padover: Abridged *Glimpses of World History*¹¹⁹

27 July 1960

Dear Prof. Padover, 120

I have just received your letter of July 23. I am glad to learn from it that you like the appearance of the condensed edition of my book which you were good enough to prepare. ¹²¹ As a matter of fact, I have not received the book yet. I have not

- 116. On 4 July, Pritam Singh wrote to Nehru expressing his desire to return to India at the earliest. He wished to be appointed an honorary surgeon at any major hospital in Delhi, and wanted to meet Nehru during his forthcoming visit to India in August.
- 117. Letter.
- 118. Independent, Lok Sabha MP from Vijaywada, Madras, 1952-57.
- 119. Letter.
- 120. Visiting Professor of American History, University of Malaya, Kuala Lumpur.
- 121. Glimpses of World History; see SWJN/SS/49/p. 665.

seen it. But I shall certainly send you an autographed copy of it when I get it.

Yours sincerely, Jawaharlal Nehru

551. To MEA: N.B. Khare on South Africa 122

Dr. N.B. Khare, ¹²³ who was a Member of the Viceroy's Executive Council, some time before Independence, ¹²⁴ has had a notice sent to me through his lawyers. ¹²⁵ He has taken exception to a statement I made at a press conference to the effect that the Government of India broke off diplomatic and economic relations with South Africa twelve years ago or so. He says that this is not only not correct, but, according to him, is defamatory to him as, in fact, it was when he was in the Executive Council that this was done.

- 2. I sent his notice to the Law Minister who has sent me the attached reply. 126
- 3. Could you kindly have a brief note prepared as to when and how we broke off diplomatic and economic relations with South Africa. My own recollection is that this was a somewhat gradual process. We summoned our High Commissioner there¹²⁷ first of all. Later our Mission there was closed. On some other date about that time or later, we put a ban on South African goods coming to India and Indian goods going to South Africa.
 - 4. Please have these dates and facts verified. 128
- 122. Note to N.R. Pillai and M.J. Desai, 27 July 1960. File No. AFR (S)-44/60-AFR I, MEA. Also available in JN Collection.
- 123. President of the Hindu Mahasabha, 1949-51, and Hindu Mahasabha, Lok Sabha MP from Gwalior, Madhya Bharat, 1952-55.
- 124. Member in charge of the Commonwealth Relations Department, GOI, May 1943 to July 1946.
- 125. See Appendix 94.
- 126. See Appendix 98.
- 127, R.M. Deshmukh.
- 128. According to a note of B.N. Lokur, Secretary, Department of Legal Affairs, Ministry of Law, dated 28 March 1961, "Minister (A.K. Sen) had advised that no reply need be given to the notice, but if the proposed suit is filed, the Prime Minister should enter appearance and defend the suit. He had also advised that an application may be made to the Court for rejection of the plaint on the ground that it disclosed no cause of action." File No. AFR (S)-44/60-AFR I. MEA.

552. To N.K. Seshan: Kanya Kumari 129

Please reply to this letter¹³⁰ and say that I am glad he has drawn my attention to an error in my book. I know that the temple of the Virgin Goddess is at Kanyakumari or Cape Comorin.

553. Gangadhar Rao Deshpande¹³¹

I am deeply grieved to learn of the passing away of Shri Gangadhar Rao Deshpande. Perhaps the younger generation today does not know much of his activities lasting more than half a century. Right from the days of Lokamanya Tilak, he was in the vanguard of the struggle for freedom. Later, under Gandhiji, again he played a leading part. In his death we lose one of the bravest of the captains of our freedom struggle and a link with those brave days of struggle has broken.

(b) Edwina Mountbatten Memorial Fund

554. To M.O. Mathai 133

14 July 1960

My dear Mathai,

I think that you should inform Lord Mountbatten and Mrs. Pandit about this revised list. 134 When we get their reactions, we shall finalise it.

About the additions to the names that you have made, I think that Messrs. Williams and Parker should be included. So also the Maharaja of Mysore. ¹³⁵ It is desirable to have a Muslim. But neither of the two names that you have suggested, was at all intimately connected with Lady Mountbatten. However, you may send these, and Lord Mountbatten and Mrs. Pandit can choose.

- 129. Note, 30 July 1960. Master File, Jawaharlal Nehru Memorial Fund, NMML.
- 130. The letter dated 24 July 1960 from A. Ramaswamy Reddy of Palavantham, Aruppukottal, was addressed to the MHA; it had been forwarded to Nehru.
- 131. Message, 30 July 1960. PIB and National Herald, 1 August 1960.
- 132. Popularly known as "Karnatak Kesari;" he died in Belgaum on 30 July 1960 at the age of 89.
- 133. Letter
- 134. The matter related to an Indian committee of the Edwina Mountbatten Memorial Trust. Edwina Mountbatten died on 21 February 1960.
- 135. Jaya Chamaraja Wodeyar.

We cannot have a sub-committee before a committee is formed. Nor is it the proper procedure to nominate a committee and a sub-committee thereof. It is for the committee to choose its own sub-committee.

Yours affectionately, [Jawaharlal Nehru]

555. To Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit¹³⁶

16 July 1960

[Nan dear,]

What has happened to the Edwina Mountbatten Memorial Fund? I have had no news about it since I left London. I asked Mathai to write to you on the subject, so that you might finalise the names of the Indian Committee. Mathai had suggested the addition of two or three names, notably, two Englishmen, one the President of the Associated Chambers of Commerce and the other President of the U.K. Citizens' Association. I think that this addition would be desirable. I saw the latter, Parker, this evening. He had come over from Bombay. He expressed his readiness to join the Committee. He seemed to think that the target we should aim at should at least be rupees twenty five lakhs in India.

I suggest that you might, in consultation with Dickie, 137 more or less finalise the names of this Committee so that we can approach these people and get their consent. We could also make other preparations, so that when the time comes to launch a drive, we should be quite ready for it.

[Love.]

Jawahar

556. To M.O. Mathai: Wrong Names for Committee 138

22 July 1960

My dear Mathai,

In your note sent day before yesterday you suggested the addition of two names to the Edwina Mountbatten Memorial Committee for India. I do not think those names are suitable for this purpose. It is not a question of politics but of not

136. Letter.

137. Mountbatten.

138. Letter.

having people whose names might be considered controversial from some point of view or other. This particularly applies to V.P. Menon. 139

[Yours affectionately, Jawaharlal Nehru]

557. To M.O. Mathai: F.C. Badhwar for Treasurer 140

22 July 1960

My dear Mathai,

Your letter of today. I quite agree with you that there should be a separate Treasurer. F.C. Badhwar¹⁴¹ would be a good choice. The only thing is that we are including his wife in the Committee. Would it be quite right to have both husband and wife there?

I suppose there is no immediate hurry for the Treasurer because we are not likely to start functioning for another two or three months.

I think that we should always get the approval of Lord Mountbatten and the London Committee to any step that we take in regard to membership of the Committee, etc.

I am returning to you Vijaya Lakshmi's letter.

Yours affectionately, [Jawaharlal Nehru]

^{139.} A retired civil servant, V.P. Menon was at this time a member of the Swatantra Party.

^{140.} Letter.

^{141.} Fateh Chand Badhwar (1900-1995); engineer; joined the East Indian Railway, 1925; Chairman, Railway Board, 1951-54; President, Delhi Bird Watchers Society; was associated with the Himalayan Club.

VII. APPENDICES

1. (a) Alan de Rusett's Article¹

[Refer to item 525]

ON UNDERSTANDING INDIAN FOREIGN POLICY ALAN DE RUSETT

UNTIL quite recently, an outstanding complaint of informed interpreters of India's independent role in world affairs was that the nations of the West had a remarkable capacity for misunderstanding it. It was hard indeed to find a book, article or speech on India's foreign policy that did not at one point or another hammer home this theme. Their authors might be Indians or citizens of Western countries, sympathetic apologists or critical commentators, but they were generally agreed that too many Americans and Europeans were looking at Indian policies in general, and at Mr.

Nehru in particular, through mists of misapprehension.

In early 1956, even before India's reaction to the Suez and Hungarian crises of that year had further confused matters, Mrs. Pandit had observed that " after eight years of independence, India's foreign policy still gives rise to grave doubts in the Western mind", and had attributed this largely to out-dated Western modes of thought and failure to understand her "country's background and its human aspirations".1 Shortly afterwards, Professor Appadorai and some of his distinguished colleagues in the Indian Council of World Affairs, surveying their Government's policies in the United Nations, concluded that India's attitude toward the problem of collective peace enforcement was "rarely understood".2 Further regret at Western incomprehension came from both past and contemporary editors of the Times of India, when Sir Francis Low explained that "much misunderstanding exists in the West, and especially in America, on the subject of India's relations with Communist China",3 while Mr. Frank Moraes affirmed that "the West has still to understand and appreciate fully "4 the vital nature of India's interest in the peace of Asia. And so on, down a long list of publications. Misunderstanding, always misunderstanding.

Recently, however, this chorus of complaint has died down; the occasion for it now appears to be passing away. The fog over India's foreign policy has been manifestly lifting for some time in the West. It is difficult to say when this happy development began; maybe it started even in the dark year of 1956, when misunderstandings were exaggerated by anger, and a desire to begin leisurely repentance may have set in, at least so far as Britain was concerned. Certainly, throughout 1958, statesmen and publicists in the West

¹ Mrs. V. L. Pandit. "India's Foreign Policy". Foreign Affairs. April 1956. Vol 34, No. 3, p. 432.

² India and the United Nations. Carnegie Endowment, New York, 1957, p. 208.

³ Sir Francis Low. Struggle for Asia. Muller, London, 1955, p. 189.

⁴ Frank Moraes. Jawaharlal Nehru. Macmillan, New York, 1956, p. 446.

⁵⁴³

^{1.} International Relations, vol. 1, no. 11, April 1959, pp. 543-556. Facsimile.

have been recognizing the main features of India's international policies, and accepting them as a thoroughly independent Indian contribution to the infinite, if trying, variety of international life. They have almost ceased to explain them away as slightly mistaken variations on Western themes; they no longer try vainly to fit them within the rigid framework of a simple two-world balance of power system; nor do they class them as immoral because they do not serve the purposes of a universal system of collective security by

majority rule on the classical model.

This has meant that the nature and purposes of India's foreign policy have become generally better understood by informed andwhat is more important-influential people in the West; its national roots and emotional motivations are more intelligently appraised, too. But understanding does not connote agreement. We appear now to be at the stage of recognising the realities of India's position, without accepting all the Indian theories and assumptions that go with them. The main pillars of her policy are now described more accurately, but the Western mind has its doubts and reserved judgments on the nature of their foundations. But at least we no longer pretend that the pillars are not what they are, just because we do not like what they stand up in. "Non-alignment" is accepted at its honest face value, as demonstrated fairly consistently by the Indian Government in a variety of situations, and is not so often confused with Neutrality on the one hand or with Fellow-Travelling on the other. It is respected, as one respects a rock, if one wishes to avoid shipwreck; it is a fact, albeit an awkward one at times.

Similarly, Indian determination to further the ending of all oversea colonialism is recognised, and the strength of its emotional roots is appreciated; Western policy-makers no longer pretend that it is a slightly misguided version of the British evolutionary policy of colonial development, or seek (with any hope of success) to divert it against their enemies by rational arguments about the greater sins of overland imperialism. Indian sensitivity to racial discrimination in the special context of assertions of "white" superiority of claims to hegemony is warily watched and understood, and not blurred over by exaggerated talk about Commonwealth bonds of the priority of defence against Communism. Finally, the paramount interest of Indian leaders in the economic development of their country is better appreciated, its desperate urgency more freely acknowledged, and there is accordingly less sophisticated or ungenerous talk of "blackmail" and the like, when they seek economic aid impartially from every quarter, East and West, national and international.

All this is gain. It represents a victory for good sense and intelligent analysis. But if the degree of understanding so far achieved is exaggerated, and its present limits not recognised both in India and the West, it could all be lost again very easily. In fact, if there is no progress from agreement on the facts of India's foreign policy

towards a consensus on the facts of international life as a whole, it may well be lost. The history of international relations is strewn with examples of great nations falling out with one another all the more bitterly because they had previously overestimated the degree of their mutual understanding. And in the case of India and the West, this could well happen as a result of Western reluctance to stir the embers of controversy over fundamentals when in practice things appear to be going well. This is, after all, a typically British fault, which has plagued our relations before now with great allies, like America and France, and may yet put our relations with the Communist world on a false footing. We all too readily imagine that it is possible for States to work harmoniously together, while their peoples are given, generation after generation, quite different visions of the way the world works, how peace is maintained within it, and how justice can best be promoted. So we are repeatedly taken by surprise when the empirical policy of "agreeing to differ" in practice suddenly breaks down, amid bitter mutual recriminations, and the depth of disagreement over fundamental assumptions is revealed.

Statesmen may be excused when they avoid public debate on questions of basic principle, especially between friends, and in precious moments of apparent harmony. But as between serious students of international relations this is unforgivable; scholars shouldn't rest when they find that the same international societythe one and only world in which all nations live—is being described, explained and analysed in quite different ways in different continents, by men who are in free communication with one another, and all in good faith. Moreover, they should be particularly disinclined to rest when, as today in most democracies, there is close liaison between official and expert unofficial thinking, and when through many journals and institutes of higher education the informed public mind is shaped by the results of this collaboration. And this appears to apply with particular force to the situation in India. One cannot but be struck, when reading—for example the works of Professor Appadorai and his colleagues,1 by the harmony that exists between official and unofficial Indian thinking on the world at large and on India's right role within it. Nor can one fail to note how large a proportion of these experts in international relations is made up of men directly concerned with the education of the rising generation that will soon participate in the management of India's life.

This being so, good relations with India today and in the future will not be served by our allowing the impression to spread that the greater understanding of India's foreign policy now prevailing in the West denotes an increasing acceptance of representative Indian

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¹ In particular, India and the United Nations, ibid; and Professor Appadorai's Report in the Appendix of New States and International Organisations, by Benjamin Akzin, UNESCO, Paris, 1955.

explanations and justifications of that policy, or of the assumptions concerning international society from which these derive. "grave doubts in the Western mind" to which Mrs. Pandit referred in early 1956 may have changed in quality since then, but they have not disappeared. Our position is akin to that of the young lady who complimented a lecturer on NATO with the words: "Before your lecture I was very confused about NATO. Now I am still confused, but at a much higher level". The West still has its doubts-but they are on a higher level than many of the rather primitive fears and misapprehensions that prevailed, at least in the popular mind and those that shaped it, in earlier years. They are more in the nature of disagreements between analysts of a complex social situation, who respect each other's views and intentions, but doubt each other's judgments. The time would seem ripe, therefore, for an intensification of discussion between educators of opinion on international relations in India and in the democracies of the West. Now that we have got the facts of India's foreign policy more or less straight, let us try to move towards a consensus on the facts of life in world society.

Such a "dialogue" should undoubtedly centre today first of all on one all-important central issue, profound disagreement on which sends out waves of misunderstanding all round, engulfing many another issue. That is: on how peace is maintained in a society of sovereign States, such as the whole world forms today. As a modest contribution to this desirable exchange, or attempted meeting of minds, we will try here very briefly to identify the nature and cause of those "doubts" that repeatedly arise in Western minds when they wrestle with informed Indian assertions and assumptions in this field. In doing so, we shall be guided by the works of Professor Appadorai, Dr. Karunakarah, and others who have made a special study of their country's role in the organization of international peace, and we will, as it were, treat them as having opened the discussion—which, indeed, they have done, most

lucidly.

Prevalent Indian and Western views on the maintenance of peace appear at first sight to differ only in emphasis. Western spokesmen give primary attention to the establishment and preservation of a balance of power in international society, which demands that careful and persistent attention be given to armaments and alliances, so extensively has the power of a large and potentially expansionist part of the world disturbed past equilibrium. When and where there is a reasonably secure balance, and on innumerable matters that do not closely affect relative power, they are prepared to negotiate, compromise, and conciliate, and have done so repeatedly. In such situations, they accept help and advice from all nations of goodwill, but they are fearful of doing anything that may upset the equilibrium of power—for which they have such an absolute responsibility—and this does, indeed, circumscribe the area in which

they feel that compromise and acts of good faith can be safely exercised.

Indian spokesmen acknowledge the needs of national defence: "A responsible statesman cannot take risks" says Mr. Nehru, "I am not a pacifist. I can imagine conditions in India when we may have to fight. Why, after all, do we keep an Army, an Air Force and a Navy? They are not very big, but they are very competent".1 They also acknowledge India's moral obligation to go to the defence of others: "When a man's liberty or peace is in danger, we cannot and shall not be neutral; neutrality, then, would be a betrayal of what we have fought for and stand for "2 is one of Mr. Nehru's many affirmations of this position. However, all this is kept in a minor key: "Why shout it out?" asks Mr. Nehru.3 Instead, the whole of Indian emphasis is placed upon the need for peaceful talk, behaviour, postures, and procedures; as Professor Appadorai so well summarises it—" To keep the peace, try peaceful means-negotiation, inquiry, mediation, conciliation and arbitration; listen to the viewpoints of both parties to a dispute expressed by their duly constituted representatives; hesitate to condemn either party as an aggressor, until facts proved by international enquiry indisputably testify to aggression; believe the bona fides of both until proof to the contrary; and explore fully the possibilities of negotiation and at least localise war—this is India's view".4

There is no direct conflict between these two aspects of peacemaking, so long as the correct relationship between them is clearly recognised. They are supplementary; and they could lend themselves to a fruitful division of labour between the Western powers and India. For it is basic to all Western analysis—and here scholars and statesmen are agreed—that to organise peace in a society of sovereign States power must be so distributed that its members are not tempted to seek their ends by violence; otherwise, fear stalks through the world, and its fate is in the hands of its most lawless members; and this is so in all known political communities, tribal, national, and international. This is not deemed to be a Western idea, but a universal law of political science. The best way to organise power for peace, as the history of India and all other nations has shown, is to place it under centralised community control, in the hands of a legitimate and representative government, which can guarantee the security of all members, and so free them from the fears that stifle the growth of community spirit. This spirit, so essential to peace, develops best under the protection of the sword, but never enough, so experience and observation shows, to eliminate the need for the sword. Ideally, the society of sovereign States

¹ Tibor Mende. Conversations with Mr. Nehru. Secker & Warburg, 1956, p. 140 and 80.

² J. Nehru. Visit to America. New York, John Day, 1950, p. 31.

³ Tibor Mende. *Ibid.* p. 142.

⁴ Benjamin Akzin. Ibid. p. 174.

should secure peace, therefore, through democratic world government; and Western statesmen, particularly in Britain in recent years, have made this more and more explicit in their public speeches; it is implicit in all their proposals for a supra-national solution to the disarmament problem. But in the absence of world government, the balance of power system is the only other way known of distributing power so that it restrains resort to violence. It is a poor second best-a deplorable answer to a deplorable vacuum at the top. But without it, the foundations of all other peace-making are destroyed; the will to negotiate vanishes when all can freely choose between it and the violent achievement of their ends; the courage to trust disappears, when the price of miscalculation is total conquest. Therefore, to the Western mind, the code of conduct outlined by Dr. Appadorai, while it is essential to the preservation and enrichment of peaceful international relations (as peace can never rest on the sword alone), is only possible when founded on a stable power equilibrium. India, therefore, can exploit in the cause of peace a condition created by others, so long as her participation is not necessary to its successful creation. She can supplement the fundamental and indispensable spadework of the power-balancers. And that throughout history has been the role of the Mediator.

There is much evidence that this is no theoretical analysis. In the first place, Indian leaders regard their country with good reason as being defensively strong: "It is", says Mr. Nehru, "an exceedingly difficult proposition—even in a military sense—for any country to try to conquer India ".1 India does not come in the way of the major power groups. There is no strong incentive to attack her. They would have "a very hot welcome". "So, India is safe".2 Moreover, she is protected by the over-all power balance, without having to guarantee this protection by an alliance. Her size is her strength, whereas small nations need alliances because they can be so quickly over-run that their collective defence must be organised in advance. This is nearly the whole way to being in the position of a natural Mediator. The rest of the way is achieved by the fact, now at last acknowledged by the West, that the world balance of power can be established without India being tainted by active participation in it. The West has been helped to see this, partly through the experience of doing without India's active aid in the Korean War, and partly through realising the strength of India's defensive will and capacity. Hence, to put it colloquially, others can do the dirty work; for maintaining power balances is a rather soul destroying task, though none the less necessary for that; and history shows how happily nations will, if they can, opt out of their duties in this respect: the United States did so for too long, not so long ago. But, unlike the United States, India can do so without disastrous results. She can keep her mediatory hands clean

^{1, 2} Tibor Mende. Ibid. p. 63, 80-1.

for the benefit of the world, and aid the West in its ultimate objectives. The West "arms to parley", and India can help keep it to its word. And Indian leaders appear to have seen this very early. It accounts for India's change in role during the Korean War. She halted on the road to active participation in the Western-led resistance to North Korean aggression—a resistance aimed at re-establishing a local balance of power in the Far East—after having sent a medical mission. Officially she did so because she had not military forces to spare; but Dr. Appadorai and his colleagues confirm that it is widely believed that a major reason was "because her sending even a token force might weaken her possible use as a potential mediator". They regard the Korean War situation as having been "unique in many respects", and in this need to switch policy after an aligned start it was so. India can now be the world's largest Mediator without false starts, while others prepare the ground,

and bless her exploitation of it.

But, in fact, we should indeed delude ourselves, if we imagine that this is the way Indian statesmen or intellectuals present the situation to themselves or to their nation. Hence, so many of our "doubts" in the West. On the contrary, they present the role of Western powers and of India in such a way that it is almost impossible to make this reconciliation of their policies. They present these policies as opposites; they create an antithesis between India's community-building behaviour, and the West's pursuit of power balancing. They justify the former by reference to first principles of ideal conduct, and this inevitably leads them to condemn the latter, for it does not fit in with such first principles; it is based on principles of political science, as would seem appropriate. Indian writers do not demolish the Western analysis, and replace it with another conceptual framework, based on new insights into the way peace is organised in political societies. They ignore it, and pass on. Thus there is no meeting place, where the Western mind can find something to grapple with. Instead, we find a kind of intellectual "brinkmanship" in Indian thought on these matters: they observe and objectively record facts up to a point—and just as it would appear inevitable that they must draw conclusions that accept the fundamental basis of Western analysis, and come to terms with the balance of power, its necessity and its inevitably unpleasant corollaries and consequences, they stop dead in their tracks. No analysis follows. And so we are forced to read between the lines, to discover what framework of political principles is guiding them, and what we read, or possibly misread, is not particularly reassuring.

To illustrate. First, there is the record of Indian mediation and conciliation, which is presented as a battle against the "cold war mentality". Fair enough. But all the examples given of India's

¹ Benjamin Akzin. *Ibid.* p. 174. Also, *India and the United Nations*. *Ibid.* p. 147.

successful work in this field, her chairmanship of the Neutral Nations Repatriation Commission in Korea and her chairmanship of the Supervisory Commission for Indo-China, for example, show that Indian statesmen were exploiting in the cause of peace an equilibrium created by others, and that she could not have done so had not the equilibrium been established. The North Koreans were in no mood to listen to India, when they poured south in June 1950. Nor would Ho Chi-Minh have refrained from exploiting his victories in 1954, had not the threat of American intervention helped to restore the balance in Indo-China; nor were the French interested in conciliation earlier, when they thought their power greater than that of Viet Minh. Similarly, all India's gallant failures to instil reason, compromise, and good faith into the minds of contestants in international power struggles have occurred in conditions of grave disequilibrium, or when one party has believed that the balance was moving in its favour. But this is not stressed or even mentioned by Indian writers; the point is not made, and therefore its implications are not seen or analysed. India's peaceloving methods are contrasted with the West's desire for a "military" solution; their success is attributed to others seeing reason at last; their failures to other nations-more often the West than the Easthaving an obstinate preference for "power politics".

The same analytical error—or vacuum—produces the same false antithesis, when it comes to describing the role of the United Nations. Here again is the contrast between the need for conciliation, mediation, and so on, and the need for organising power to discourage aggression. In the Western view, the West was faced with an alarming concentration of Communist power, and sought to counterbalance it, in the 1947 to 1952 period especially, by organising the defensive power of the whole "free world" through using the machinery of the United Nations. This was certainly a risky way of doing it, because the Charter was not designed to enable this to be done, and it could only be achieved through the clumsy and inappropriate machinery of the General Assembly. Moreover, it is very difficult to use the same international organ both for enforcing peace, and for the delicate tasks of peaceful settlement. This has always been recognised as one of the dilemmas in the classical scheme of organising collective security through a kind of world parliament. But it was a mistake of idealism or over-enthusiasm. mainly on the part of the American government and people, that led the West to try and use the United Nations in this way: it was partly an attempt to avoid having to create an alliance system; and all the peaceful procedures of the United Nations were still used. though when active war broke out they were certainly strained by the tensions that accompany the organisation of defensive power. In the event, the Western powers rectified their mistake, and established a balance of power through a system of alliances, which operated independently of the United Nations, and so gradually freed the General Assembly to concentrate on mediation and conciliation without danger. By 1955, the idea of international forces at the disposal of the General Assembly had been dropped, the enforcement provisions of the 1950 "Uniting for Peace Resolution" were a dead letter, the membership deadlock was broken and the way open to universal membership, and so on. In other words, just as India's way to becoming a great Mediator with the blessing of the West was opened by the maintenance of a power equilibrium without her, so the way of the United Nations to a similar role was opened—and by the same means. The power of each to exploit the situation for peace, however, could not have been exercised effectively until such conditions had been created.

The prevalent Indian version of this development is cast in the mould of antithesis. India is described as viewing the United Nations as "a great organisation for peace"; the Western leaders as seeing it " as an organisation through which war can be waged".1 Again, "India has emphasised the desirability of improving the machinery of the United Nations for the tasks of peace rather than those of war".2 And this contrast is simply achieved by equating preparation for defence with preparation for war, and heavily inferring that nations so engaged are bent on war, or prefer it to negotiation. Thus, we read that "It was feared in India that perfecting the United Nations machinery for the purpose of war might itself lead to a major armed conflict in the world",3 and so, "India prefers an ineffective organisation, representing all the major political elements in the international community, to an effective organisation which may grow into an instrument of one power bloc".4 But the West's way of avoiding this very development is not blessed as opening the way for the United Nations to develop along Indian lines, as it has done, but is condemned. The creation of "power blocs" is without qualification described as not in the "interests of the world organisation", and it is inferred that they are designed to "supplant the United Nations", as contrasted with India's desire to "supplement" it by friendly collaboration all round.5 Nor is the initial reason for the United States wishing to use the United Nations to counter-balance Communist powernamely, that its people had strong, rather Indian, prejudices against the division of the world into military alliances after the war-given credit; her policies are simply seen as attempts to "convert the United Nations into an executive agent of an anti-Communist alliance".6 Thus every avenue towards recognising the need for an equilibrium of power, and acknowledging the peace-maintaining object of establishing it, is blocked. Even defence becomes "preparation for war"—and, somehow, throughout the report of the Indian Council of World Affairs, it is always the West that is most anxious to make such preparation, and its antagonist, which history

^{1, 2, 3} India and the United Nations. Ibid. p. 53, 136, 209.

^{4, 5, 8,} India and the United Nations. Ibid. pp. 209, 29, 33, 32

shows first caused it to take up these positions, gets off very lightly. A typical comment reads—" It is, of course, contended that India itself would not prepare for a war and would, if possible avoid taking part in one... In concrete terms this means that India follows a policy that seeks to reduce the chances of war. This differs from the policy of some other nations that are preparing to win a war which, in their opinion, cannot be avoided or can be avoided only by negotiating with potential aggressors from situations of strength".

Here, then, is the crux of misunderstanding. Peace rests on some unspecified social foundations; the need for equilibrium is not recognised; so even the desire for it is misconstrued. Actions taken in its pursuit are condemned whenever they conflict with a code of good conduct that is justified in the language of ideal moral values, unrelated to any particular form of society. India's chosen role, therefore, is not explained in terms of her favourable power position, but is held up as a model for all to follow, regardless of their size, position, or past experience of present neighbours. Indian freedom from fear is given a moral virtue. Thus not only is the West misunderstood, but the actions of many of India's Asian friends and neighbours misconstrued, and Western relations with them, too. Whether stated directly or indirectly, the Indian message to these States is clear; as in the observation—"The general Indian view is that the establishment of organisations for collective self-defence, even within the framework of the Charter, only leads to the consolidation of power blocs. India is not a party to any military pact and has shown no enthusiasm to organise or join one. On the contrary, the Indian government and the people have expressed their disapproval of the action taken by other powers to organise a Middle East defence organisation and recently they have vigorously criticised the United States decision to give military aid to Pakistan. It can be safety stated that India is opposed to the conclusion of any military pact by neighbouring countries which would automatically involve them in the "cold war". However, India recognises the right of other powers to establish organisations for collective selfdefence of their own choosing".2

In this way, weak Asian States are first warned against the idea of organising their defence in collaboration with others. They have, however, a "right" to act less wisely or nobly, but they must not turn for help to the only source of power that can create an equilibrium in present circumstances—the Western Powers—because by some inherent law this involves them in preparation for war. Nor, of course, can they turn to India, because she has wisely shown "no enthusiasm to organise" any military pact. One is reminded of President Wilson's posture in the early years of the first World War, when America was "too proud to fight"; it stemmed from exactly

¹ India and the United Nations, Ibid. p.p 209, 29, 33, 32.

² India and the United Nations. Ibid. pp. 59-60.

the same instinctive dislike of "power politics", failure to analyse international society objectively, and tendency to moralise from a

chance position of temporary detachment.

Yet, if one looks at the quotation just given, and at others in the same vein, one notices an emphasis which—taken in conjunction with some undertones in observations in other contexts—gives reason to believe that we may one day be presented with a new, and specially Asian theory of the causes of conflict and conditions of peace in modern international society. The implication is there that Asians do not establish military liaisons with Western nations "of their own choosing". The will to do so is fostered or forced by the West. In other words, Asia is contaminated by European attitudes and behaviour, based on a peculiarly European view of the world. This thought is reinforced by the special sense in which the term "power politics" is used. India's faith in the United Nations, we are informed by the Indian Council of World Affairs Study Group, has been shaken by decisions of the Security Council on Kashmir, which were deemed to be "influenced by power politics"; and some members opposed strengthening the United Nations "because of the predominance of power politics in the Organisation".2 By Western definition, all international politics are power politics, and a relationship can only be taken outside them by its unqualified submission to the rule of law, by acceptance of a judicial ruling on its regulation. But India's international political relations are not regulated this way, and the aforementioned Group endorses this conduct.3 Yet, somehow, India does not, in the Group's view, indulge in "power politics"; at least, not naturally. And one is forced to conclude that consciously or subconsciously they feel that power politics" are European or Europeanised politics, introduced into Asia, perforce copied by Asians in moments of temptation, but essentially alien to them-i.e. they are superimposed on an altogether different Asian norm of behaviour.

If we follow this thought further, it seems to fit in with the concept, favoured by Mr. Nehru, of an "area of peace" in Asia, where nations will regulate their relations according to the five paramount principles of peaceful community living (Panchesheel), the lamb beside the lion, free from political contamination from conflict-conveying Western States. In fairness to Mr. Nehru, as we shall point out later, he does not justify this idea in terms that affirm the existence of an inherently different Asian norm of international behaviour. On the other hand, such an idea is most explicitly spelled out by Mrs. Pandit. "There has been no history of pro-

^{1,2} India and the United Nations. Ibid. pp. 28, 116.

³ "The Group was of the opinion that India itself should not enter into arbitration agreements at present in view of the judicial methods involved and in view of the fact that a party to a dispute would have to give the undertaking that it would accept the final verdict". *India and the United Nations.* p. 121. Also, similar attitude in Kashmir dispute: p. 135.

longed and painful conflict between the Asian countries as there has been in the Western world" she writes, in an important article on India's foreign policy, and she goes on to point out that "While conflict has been the general rule throughout European history, and peace has been confined to periods between wars, in Asia the reverse has been the case. Because of this background the Asian nations, now independent, can renew their old cultural contacts with ease, regarding each other as peaceful neighbours rather than as potential enemies. There has been no inherited legacy of conflict to mar their present outlook". Moreover, Mrs. Pandit does not throw out this idea casually, but as part of a closely argued case for seeing Indian foreign policy as different in quality and intention from Western policy. (There are, she says, two alternatives: "One is the belief that peace can be maintained by building up military might and held in balance by an armaments race. The other is the view that it can be preserved only by peaceful means, that the armaments race endangers its preservation, and that no stone must be left unturned to lessen the tensions that exist in the world ").

Here, then, is a possible clue to the scant attention of Indian scholars and statesmen to the Western "science" of international relations. They are working to a different case history. Our norms are not universal norms. Asia has a native pattern of its own, and Asian scholars will one day show how these preserve peace in a way as yet unknown to—because unexperienced by—Western societies. Faced with this hopeful, if disturbing, proposition, Western scholars can only wait. That is, they await the evidence, chapter and verse; not the assertion.

Theories of this kind, we should note, are not new. In President Chiang Kai-Shek's "China's Destiny" a surprised and rather incredulous Western world was told that: "There is no historical evidence of economic exploitation or of political domination of the peoples of Asia during the period when China was strong and prosperous; nor was there any imperialism or colonialism. This political philosophy and political virtue was despised and not practised by modern European nations". All Chinese citizens shared, in fact, the same lofty ethical concept that "within the Four Seas, all are brothers", and possessed "the same magnificent spirit of kindness and love", treating their neighbours for some three thousand years with the spirit of benevolence that " saves the lost, restores the vanquished, relieves the weak and supports the fallen". How her vast Empire was built up without the taint of Imperialism was not explained in detail; nor were the views of China's neighbours at various periods in the process carefully documented. In short, we still await the evidence.

Similarly, nearer home-indeed, on our hearth-many decent,

¹ Mrs. V. L. Pandit. "India's Foreign Policy". Foreign Affairs. April 1956, Vol. 34, No. 3, p. 434.

² Chiang Kai-Shek. China's Destiny, 1947, pp. 231-2.

well-intentioned, and fundamentally right-minded British and American peace-makers before the last war nourished theories of "natural harmony" in political life, and were instinctively hostile to "power politics" and especially to the "balance of power". And much of our modern international political science only dates from Professor E. H. Carr's notable demolition of this illusion in his "The Twenty Years Crisis" some twenty years ago. (In fairness, one must add that he attributed the illusion to many who did not hold it). But in this Western case, the philosophy of harmony arose to fill a vacuum left by the absence of any thorough scientific analysis; they followed the usual human desire to fit the facts to suit a wishful theory, and reluctance to establish a theory that took into full account all the hard facts. We need not assume that this is the case in India.

Indeed, there is evidence to suggest that a more likely outcome of Indian and Western debate on this issue will be a modification, and enrichment of Western theories, in the light of Asian experience. There is, after all-maybe, above all-Mr. Nehru himself. His thinking is bold, wide-ranged, full of concepts that appear to clash on paper, but are harmonised by his actions. He meets the Western mind, and jolts it, rather than contradicts it. He is more cautious than his sister on the subject of Asian uniqueness. In his conversations with Mr. Tibor Mende,2 he expresses the view that "Europe has been more quarrelsome than Asia", but "not that we are more peaceful people in the whole of Asia"; he feels only that "Asia will be basically more inclined towards peace than towards conflict" because "the backgrounds, present conditions and present thinking lead people naturally towards a peaceful life and towards peaceful conditions". We thus get a reasoned emphasis on social, economic, and political conditions that incline all peoples toward peace, and India joins the human race once again in our minds. So it is with other aspects of Mr. Nehru's principled empiricism, which he Justifies in words that do not fit neatly into the picture of India's foreign policy that we have glimpsed here. His recognition that the choice of "every practical person, every politician" has often to be between two evils; his recognition that India could "remain in her shell" because she was "a big country, a big area, . . . a world by itself", but that "a small country is forced to think of others"; his attribution of India's lack of fear to the fact that "India is fortunately situated"; his acceptance of the fact that world disarmament must proceed in such a way that the balance of military power is not upset; his emphasis on the point that "if a militarily weak Asian country lines up with this or that Power, it does not add in the slightest to the military strength of that Power", as a justification

¹ E. H. Carr. "The Twenty Years Crisis: 1919-1939." Macmillan, London, 1939.

⁸ Tibor Mende. Conversations with Mr. Nehru. Secker & Warburg, 1956. Quotations from pp. 100, 125, 80 and 84.

for such countries choosing to concentrate their attention on lessening tensions on the Indian model; all these attitudes and opinions, and particularly the last mentioned, seem to take us a long way towards the kind of reconciliation between Western and Indian policies that we hypothesised earlier.

So, to end on the point of modification and enrichment of Western theories, we should do well to acknowledge in advance that there are features in the scene of Western international life that have never been adequately analysed, and may well be lit up a little by a closer examination of Asian experience. The satiated State, or the Great Status-Quo Power, is still something of a mystery; it does not fit very cosily into the patterns that "realists" weave for the discomfiture of "moralists". We have not got its measure yet. And it may well be that the history of China and India may help us here, and that their relations with each other, also, can throw light on conditions of Great Power relations, such as the hundred and fifty years of peace between the United States, Great Britain and France, which we still explain far better in detail than in principle. Our concepts, too, of passive resistance need polishing up. We have not had enough experience of forms of passive power to have given due attention to the power element in passive resistence, as distinct from its moral justification. What Mr. Nehru calls "Asian strength... in the negative sense of resisting; not of attacking, but of creating conditions which may make things very difficult for the other country" has by no means had the last word written on it. Indeed, if the extraordinary inadequacy of the first words written on it in the West are anything to judge by, we may well hope that our Indian colleagues will volunteer to take over the writing of the last, using the evidence of their greater experience.

We return, therefore, to the need for a "dialogue" between Indian and Western thinkers on the world and its ways. Not in order that we may be given a more optimistic belief in the prospects of peaceful relations between nations, but to establish together the facts of life in international society. If, however, the latter should prove compatible with the former, then we should not be affronted. For this is a case where it may be more reassuring to be proved a little wrong, than flattered by ultimate acceptance of our present premises.

1. (b) A. Appadorai's Article²

[Refer to item 525]

ON UNDERSTANDING INDIAN FOREIGN POLICY

A. APPADORAI

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In a thoughtful article "On Understanding Indian Foreign Policy" in *International Relations*, April 1959, Alan De Rusett invited a debate on the foundations of that policy, and on the assumptions concerning international society which give meaning to it.

The main ideas underlying India's foreign policy which, Rusett says, were somewhat misunderstood up to 1956 are now clearly grasped in the West, and, in particular, non-alignment, the desire to end colonialism, the opposition to racial discrimination, the seeking of economic aid from the West as well as the East in order to hasten economic development, the emphasis upon negotiation and other methods of peaceful settlement of disputes and the desirability of improving the machinery of the United Nations for the tasks of peace rather than those of war are fully understood. What the West would like to know more clearly is India's view on how peace is, and can be, maintained in a society of sovereign states. Two specific issues relating to the maintenance of peace are raised by Rusett:—

The Western view has been that in order to maintain peace, primary attention must be given to the establishment and preservation of power in international society with its corollaries, armaments and alliances. Negotiation and compromise are possible and necessary on innumerable matters that do not closely affect the relative power status, but not in a situation likely to disturb the equilibrium of power. Armaments and military alliances, on the one hand, and negotiation and compromise, on the other, are, in the Western view, supplementary and not opposed. Ideally, the society of sovereign states should secure peace through a democratic world government, but, in the absence of world government, the balance of power system is the only other way known of distributing power so that it restrains resort to violence. No doubt it is a poor second best, but without it the will to negotiate vanishes when all can freely choose between it and the violent achievement of their ends; the courage to trust disappears when the price of miscalculation is total conquest.

The Indian approach to peace, including its emphasis on the role of the United Nations for the tasks of peace rather than of war, seems, according to Rusett, to ignore the crucial place of power in international politics; Western policies and Indian policy are presented by Indian statesmen and scholars as opposites, and an

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2. International Relations, vol. 2, no. 2, October 1960, pp. 69-79. Facsimile.

antithesis is created between India's peace approach and the West's pursuit of the balance of power.

Can there be a meeting point of the two approaches, so that power is recognized as the basic fact of international society while, at the same time peace is made possible?

If Asia is basically more inclined towards peace than towards conflict, as Indian statesmen have said, can Asian history and experience be examined to see whether the prevalent theory held in the West can be modified and enriched to achieve a common goal, namely, the maintenance of international peace without armaments and military alliances?

I. The Foundations of Peace

India is still groping in the dark to find stable foundations for peace in an atomic age; if she had the talisman for achieving that aim we should already have secured a "peaceful" peace instead of continuing to live in the "fearful" peace in which we find ourselves now. Having admitted this, India's own view of the foundations of peace may be stated thus: (A) the balance of power, whether it was useful or not to preserve peace in the pre-atomic age, cannot preserve it in the atomic age; and (B) the approach to peace in the atomic age, while not ignoring the realities of power, is to be looked for in successfully exploring, more fully than was necessary in an earlier age, the potentialities of negotiation and other means of peaceful settlement of conflicts and in promoting active peaceful cooperation between states. Each of these points needs some elaboration.

(A) The Inadequacy of the Balance of Power Theory: The classic statement of the theory of the balance of power is found in the well-known "Memorandum on the present state of British Relations with France and Germany" prepared by Sir Eyre Crowe in 1907.

"History shows that the danger threatening the independence of this or that nation has generally arisen, at least in part, out of the momentary predominance of a neighbouring state at once militarily powerful, economically efficient, and ambitious to extend its frontiers or spread its influence, the danger being directly proportionate to the degree of its power and efficiency, and to the spontaneity or 'inevitableness' of its ambitions. The only check on the abuse of political predominance derived from such a position has always consisted in the opposition of an equally formidable rival, or of a combination of several countries forming leagues of defence. The equilibrium established by such a grouping of forces is technically known as the balance of power, and it has become almost an historical truism to identify England's secular policy with the maintenance

¹British Documents on the Origin of the War 1898-1914, edited by G. P. Gooch and Harold Temperley (London 1928), Vol. III, p. 403.

of this balance by throwing her weight now in this scale and now in that, but ever on the side opposed to the political dictatorship or the strongest single state or group at a given time."

The essence of the policy, in Vattel's words, is an attempt at securing a political equilibrium "by which is understood such a disposition of things as no power is able absolutely to predominate, or to prescribe law to others".

Indian opinion inclines to the view that while, in certain social and political conditions, the balance of power system was able to maintain a precarious peace, it cannot be counted upon to maintain even such a precarious peace under different conditions, such as those which have prevailed since 1945, though a desire not to disturb an existing balance is understandable though not always justifiable.

India's spokesman at the General Assembly expressed this view in a speech on 4 October 1955:—

"We have found that the promotion of neighbourliness, agreements on non-aggression and mutual respect are ways of promoting cooperation. It may be asked: Is your system likely to succeed? Can you rely on it? With great respect, we are entitled to ask: Have the other systems succeeded? Can anybody turn round to us and say that the doctrine of the balance of power is more likely to help us, or to succeed—that doctrine which is the legacy of Metternich, or Castlereagh and of Talleyrand, which wrecked the principle of universalism and culminated in the war of 1914, and which to this day is making its incursions into international affairs? I am reminded of the statement of a great Frenchman, Rousseau, who said that the strongest is never strong enough to be always master unless he transfers strength into right and obedience into duty."

India's view as stated above, it may be added, is in keeping with informed opinion in the West. International historians and political scientists of the standing of Toynbee and Morgenthau, among others, have after painstaking research come to the same conclusion.¹

Morgenthau, the brilliant analyst of the concept of the balance of power, has convincingly shown² that the destruction of that intellectual and moral consensus which restrained the struggle for power for almost three centuries has deprived the balance of power of the vital energy that made it a living principle of international

¹ See in particular Hans J. Morgenthau, *Politics Among Nations* (Third Edition). Alfred A. Knopf, New York 1960, pp. 167-226 and pp. 346-64 and the references cited therein; Ernest B. Haas, "The Balance of Power: Prescription, Concept of Propaganda" World Politics, Vol. 5, pp. 442-77; Arnold J. Toynbee, A Study of History, Vol. 3, Oxford University Press, 1934, Alfred Vagts "The Balance of Power: Growth of an Idea", World Politics, Vol. 1, pp. 82-101 and Andrew M. Scott, "Challenge and Response: A Tool for the Analysis of International Affairs", The Review of Politics, Vol. 18, pp. 207-26.

² Hans Morgenthau, op. cit. pp. 346-64.

politics. This apart, Morgenthau adds, important developments in international politics since 1945 such as the numerical reduction of Great Powers from eight (in the 19th century) to two, in other words, the bipolarity of power and the disappearance of the balancer (Britain had played the part successfully for two centuries) and the disappearance of the colonial frontier have considerably impaired the usefulness of the system.

The most important development which has, in India's view, made the system of a balance of power out-dated is the discovery of nuclear weapons which, in Winston Churchill's phrase, has brought about "a balance of terror". The implications of this, in the context of the theory of the balance of power, have not been adequately realized: the achievement of atomic parity between the Soviet Union and the U.S.A. would help to maintain the balance of power is such parity were an effective deterrent to attack by either, but, if it is not an effective deterrent, it may lead to total destruction. It is sufficient to say that, in India's view, the possession of nuclear weapons by both the superpowers is not a clear deterrent. Prima facie it would be consoling to think that either party, certain of having to face retaliation if any all-out war is begun by the other, is bound to desist from an attempt which is certain to destroy itself. But a deeper analysis would indicate that a military balance is "a slender reed" to lean upon for two reasons: historically it is an ironical but demonstrable law that nations which have armed themselves to preserve the peace have seldom avoided war if only because reason cannot always control political passions and even if it does, accidents play a part in events. And, secondly, an atomic stalemate can continue to be such only so long as the two Powers, who possess the destructive weapons, continue always to be equal in their power. Such an assumption can be valid only if technology is stabilised. but we know for certain that this is far from being the case where weapons development is concerned.

In these circumstances, India would subscribe to the view expressed by the President of the Bandung Conference: "We know too well from the lessons of history that power politics, with an uneasy balance of power in its wake, cannot guarantee peace but will lead sooner or later to war", which, with the Hydrogen bomb, may, in Einstein's view, lead to the annihilation of any life on earth.

(B) Approach to peace: If the balance of power cannot do the trick, what then is India's position in regard to the approach to the maintenance of peace? India's approach, it seems to the present writer, has two elements which it would be useful to develop separately. One is non-alignment, and the second, emphasis upon negotiation and other peaceful methods of arriving at a settlement of conflicts.

² New York Times, 13 February 1950.

¹ Opening Address at the Asian-African Conference, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Djakarta, 1955.

As, according to Rusett, India's non-alignment policy has not only been understood in the West, but also accepted at its honest face value, there is no need here to develop the historical, geographical and political basis of that policy. But Rusett's article suggests that there are still two misconceptions on this point. The first is a suspicion that the non-alignment policy which India has adopted is a valid prescription for all: says Rusett, "India's chosen role, therefore, is not explained in terms of her favourable power position, but is held up as a model for all to follow, regardless of their size, position or past experience of present neighbours" (italics ours). It is possible that the statements of some Indian statesmen or scholars in the past have justified such an inference, and it must be admitted that they have not always been as carefully, or precisely formulated as is necessary; it is sufficient to say, however, that the latest declaration by the Prime Minister of India on this subject 1 should dispel such misgivings:

"We are geographically situated to play the role of nonalignment and geography points a great deal in such matters. If you are a small country surrounded by great, big and hostile powers, then it is not an easy matter for such a country to face the situation bravely and to call itself non-aligned...it (nonalignment) might not suit everybody; although it would seem good for everybody, it might be more difficult for others."

In the second place it would appear from Rusett's analysis that India is anxious to be a great mediator, but that in order to fulfil her chosen role, she depends on the condition of equilibrium created by others. Says Rusett, "India, therefore, can exploit in the cause of peace a condition created by others, so long as her participation is not necessary to its successful creation. She can supplement the fundamental and indispensable spade work of the power-balancers"; and again, "Hence to put it colloquially others can do the dirty work, for, maintaining a power balance is a rather soul destroying task, though none the less necessary for that; and history shows how happily nations will, if they can, opt out of their duties in this respect: the United States did so far too long, not so long ago. But unlike the United States, India can do so without disastrous results. She can keep her mediatory hands clean for the benefit of the world and aid the West in its ultimate objectives". The present writer would agree with Rusett's analysis of the facts; to be just to India, it is essential to add that, not being a great power, India has always been acutely conscious of her own limitations and of the results of her conciliatory and mediatory efforts and that such conciliation and mediation as she has undertaken has not been due to her own desire to play the mediatory role but to the invitation to her (being a non-aligned power) by both the parties to the dispute in question.

Address to the Indian Council of World Affairs, 5 April 1960,

Now to the main question, what is India's view on how peace can be maintained in a society of sovereign states?

The present writer, after some study of India's traditions and current thinking both official and non-official, would attempt to answer the question thus:

There are two parallel ways to peace, one to tackle the roots of conflict (social, economic and political) and the other to attempt to resolve a given conflict without recourse to violence so that there may be a reduction in international tensions arising from that conflict, even if the conflict itself may not be resolved.

The ending of colonialism and racialism, the raising of the living standards of people in underdeveloped countries and the promotion of the temper of peace in as wide an area as possible will help to tackle the roots of conflict. The promotion of the temper of peace will be facilitated by disarmament and by the "recognition of each other's sovereignty, independence and integrity, or non-interference in the domestic affairs of each other or of other countries, and on the promotion, both for themselves and for the world, of the approach and conditions of peaceful coexistence "—principles which are all to be found in the United Nations Charter. Wars arise in the minds of men and the promotion of the temper of peace will help to promote a climate of peace.

This, clearly, is a long-term approach and recognized as such not only by India but by other countries. India knows that conflicts, nevertheless, do and will occur as verbal statements are not always kept and *Panchsheel* may be broken as she realized most clearly in the case of Hungary in 1956 and China's encroachment on Indian territory in 1959-60. To resolve conflicts which have arisen, India's view is that the manner of approach to it must be peaceful—not one of hatred and revenge, but a friendly one. In the words of the Prime Minister: 1

"Whatever the problems, difficult or simple, the manner of approach will make a difference. And you know if you approach them in anger, hatred, in a spirit of violence, then the problems become difficult and indeed much more difficult and much less amenable to solution. So the Indian approach, whether you live up to it or not is a different matter, but the philosophy behind the Indian approach is, as far as possible, a friendly approach: not giving in or accepting what we consider wrong, nevertheless trying to tone down, first our actions and words, and if possible, our thinking to some extent from cold-war thinking... to hold to what we consider right, firmly and without fear and yet not to speak about opponents in terms which would worsen the situation... it may be said by many that it is an idealistic way of approaching world

problems...and yet this is not only an idealistic way but in the circumstances of the world today, I submit, the only practical way, strictly from the practical point of view and that is why the leaders of other countries not accepting perhaps the philosophy of this practically are functioning or coming round to functioning on those lines".

The Indian approach proceeds on the assumption that peace cannot be promoted by creating positions of strength; on the contrary, the creation of positions of strength might become a threat to peace—for every party will naturally try to increase its strength vis-à-vis its competitors for power, and such an attempt is suicidal in the atomic age. Entering into military alliances and the establishment of military bases in foreign territory accentuates discord and the possibility of war. The peaceful approach—which also does not guarantee peace—has to be tried if only because there is no other. Its essential is the determination to avoid force, for the use of violence creates more problems than the one it solves if, indeed, its use does not lead to world destruction; hence discussion, negotiation and accommodation are the only way left for the settlement of differences. It is remarkable that the Eisenhower-Kruschev statement issued after the talks at Camp David accepts this position. "The Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the U.S.S.R. and the President of the United States agreed that all outstanding international questions should be settled not by the application of force but by peaceful means through negotiation". On the eve of his tour to the Far East in June 1960, President Eisenhower again emphasised that among most of the world's peoples, there now is a genuine consensus of conviction that we can, by negotiation, solve even the most difficult of international problems.

India's emphasis upon negotiation, it should be added, derives its raison d'être not only from the conditions of modern warfare but also from a belief that invariably in genuine international disputes, both the parties to a dispute are likely to have a just cause, the difference being only in degree—a point emphasised by Gentili, the distinguished international jurist of the seventeenth century, in the following words:

"In general, it may be true in nearly every kind of dispute, that neither of the two disputants is unjust.... We are driven to this distinction by the weakness of our human nature, because of which we see everything dimly, and are not cognizant of that purest and truest form of justice; which cannot conceive of both parties to a dispute being in the right.... Therefore we aim at justice as it appears from man's standpoint".

What does all this boil down to in terms of the question raised by Rusett: Does such an approach guarantee peace? No, but neither

Alberico Gentili, De Wire Belli Libri Tres, Vol. II Translation of the edition of 1612 (Oxford, 1933) pp. 31-32.

did the traditional approach guarantee peace. Is it another way, a way different from the one adopted by the West, to secure peace? No, Rusett is right in arguing that this approach is supplementary to the one based on power-but supplementary with a difference. Those who approach problems in this way do not close their door to, but emphasize, negotiation, and are careful more than others to watch for opportunities for negotiation and try to make a success of it as much as is possible in the circumstances; the truces secured in Korea and Indo-China are cases in point. It is true that the unwillingness of the parties to the conflicts to use their destructive weapons supported, in the instances cited, the temper of peace, or perhaps vice-versa; but that exactly is the utility of the approach in present conditions in the world. The temper of peace is no panacea for the evils of international power politics but is supplementary to power. Rusett is right, if its supplementary value is recognised to the proper degree.

The vital issue for international politics raised by Rusett's excellent analysis, then, is: Are the techniques of negotiation and other peaceful methods of settlement potentially capable of yielding more successful results than they have yielded so far? War has often been resorted to in the past when peaceful means of adjustment failed; under modern conditions of warfare, war, it is recognised, cannot be a useful alternative to peaceful means of adjustment. Can we then fall back on the only other alternative available in order that adjustment of differences is possible and some satisfaction can be obtained by the parties concerned?

Posing the question in this way may surprise orthodox students of international politics as being against the verdict of history; indeed it may be considered naïve, as it would appear to be based on an over-optimistic view of human nature. Such a view, I suggest, would be hasty and unhistorical. The world's attention is unfortunately focussed more on the differences which have arisen between states, and less on the agreements which have been arrived at. It would, historically, be correct to say that more differences have been settled by discussion and agreement than by resort to war; the records of the day-to-day activities in the chancellories of the world. if available to the student, would substantiate this view. To take a few examples from recent history: truces (not peace agreements) have been secured in Korea, Indo-China and Kashmir: some progress has been achieved over nuclear disarmament, the principle of international control and inspection being also accepted by the Soviet Union after years of negotiations; the Austrian treaty has been signed. Coming nearer home, France agreed to transfer to India her possessions in India, India agreeing to safeguards for the protection of French culture in those territories. The canal water dispute between India and Pakistan has been settled; and differences

between the two countries over border adjustments have also been successfully resolved.¹

The question naturally arises, what explains the fact that some success has been achieved by negotiation in these instances? The anatomy of negotiation suggests that when two or more parties disagree on a question, two factors play a part in resolving their differences, one, the fear on the part of any party to the dispute that superior force might be used to settle the difference, and the other, the sense of accommodation which suggests that while its own vital interests must be safeguarded, consideration must also be given to the interests of the other party or parties. It is not easy to isolate these two factors and say which has played the greater part in the final settlement of the differences at issue: there are too many variables to be taken into account in assessing the sources of fear of force on the one hand, and the sense of accommodation on the other. Thus force is a function of several factors: geographical position, economic resources, the strength of government and the leaders in power, diplomatic finesse, armaments, alliances, and the morale of the people of the country in question; the sense of accommodation is a compound of the innate sense of justice, the desire to placate public opinion at home and abroad, and the desire to have some stability in the settlement to be arrived at. These apart, another factor in the situation, invariably, is conflicting interpretation of the facts in question; this acts as a sort of brake on the willingness to use force, and as an ally to the sense of accommodation.

If this analysis is correct, it follows that where negotiations have been successful, the sense of accommodation has played a greater part than power, and that where negotiations have not been successful, the reverse has been the case; the sense of accommodation is itself affected by the extent of the interest that the protagonists attach to the issue in dispute.

In sum, the essence of an approach to successful negotiation, through history, has been to see that when differences of opinion have arisen between two or more parties on a matter which concerns them, an attempt must be made to settle the differences in such a manner that none of the parties suffers a significant loss; for only then would the result be stable.² It would be wrong to consider

¹ There are, of course, innumerable instances to illustrate the reverse of the picture, viz. that differences have not always been adjusted: the delay in coming to terms on disarmament, Berlin, the continuing dispute in respect of the treatment of racial minorities especially in South Africa, the vexed question of West Irian, the trouble over the use of the Suez canal by Israeli ships, the failure of the Summit Conference over the issue of America's sending the U-2 plane over the Soviet Union and so on.

² This statement excludes stable results achieved by means of war, e.g. war did settle the relation between Britain and the thirteen American colonies more or less on a stable basis.

this as a distinctly *Indian* approach; it is integral to true negotiation as such. This tradition is explicitly mentioned in the Indian epic, the *Mahabharata*. When Sri Krishna was about to proceed for negotiations to bring about a settlement between the Pandayas and Kurus, he summarised the object of his mission in the following words:

"Yes, I will go to King Dhritarashtra, desirous of accomplishing what is consistent with righteousness, what may be beneficial to us and what also is for the good of the Kurus".

We suggest that this has been the universal tradition, not always consistently followed but nevertheless more often followed by negotiators in every country than statesmen are prepared to admit. The willingness to submit a dispute to a third-party judgement, as may be seen in the numerous cases referred to arbitration, can be explained only by the existence in the disputants of that spirit of accommodation and of willingness to see the other man's point of view which is so essential in order to avoid a breakdown. The Indian emphasis on negotiation as a way to peace only highlights a well-known technique and its utility in the atomic age. Indeed the debate, which Rusett correctly suggests should continue, should be, I suggest, not on the issue whether negotiation should be an alternative to the use of force (as there is no disagreement here) but on how to improve the techniques of negotiation and other peaceful methods of settlement so that they may yield the desired results. In a remarkable article contributed to Diplomacy in a Changing World, Dag Hammarskjoeld writes that in the diplomacy of world organisation, "the quiet work of preparing the ground, of accommodation of interest and view point, of conciliation and mediation. all that goes into the winning of consent to agreed solutions and common programmes, this forms a basis upon which the United Nations can become an increasingly influential and effective force² to aid governments in pursuit of the goals of the Charter" and again, "we can register efforts to give such diplomacy the support of firmer procedures". It is true that in the past, negotiation has not always succeeded and hence wars have occurred so often: wars in the modern age must be avoided if mankind is to survive; can we then, from a study of cases of negotiation both successful and unsuccessful,

¹ The Mahabharata (translated into English prose) by Pratapachandra Roy, Udyoga Parva (Calcutta, 1890) p. 256.

² Dag Hammarskjold, "The Role of the United Nations" in Diplomacy in a Changing World edited by Stephen D. Kertezc and M. A. Fitzsimons, (University of Notre Dame Press, 1959). In support, Hammarskjold cites three instances viz. agreement on peaceful uses of atomic energy and agreement on the details concerning the operation of the United Nations Emergency Force arrived at by government representatives sitting as members of Advisory Committees to the Secretary-General and discussing in private, and the agreement among the foreign ministers of France, the United Kingdom and Egypt on the Security Council issue in 1956, discussing the issue in private in the office of the Secretary-General.

evolve general principles as to the conditions under which negotiation has been successful and can be successful?

II. Asian History and Peaceful Attitudes

Is Asia basically more inclined towards peace than conflict, asks Rusett, and if the answer is in the affirmative, can her history and experience be explored for help in achieving the common goal of maintaining international peace without armaments and military alliances? The present writer has only two comments to make.

First, the tendency among statesmen and writers in international politics to regard Asia as one unit only leads to confused thinking. unless the purposes for which Asia can be considered as a unit are clearly indicated. It is obvious, for instance, that geographical Asia has, in respect of political opinion, at least three clear groupings -the Communist, the pro-West and the uncommitted. It is also clearly unscientific to regard the history of Asia as symbolising one undifferentiated pattern applicable to all the countries of Asia-for Asian countries just as for instance, European countries, have had their own history and experiences, distinguishable one from another. Asian countries have developed their traditions and way of life under the impact of at least three civilizations, the Hindu, the Chinese and the Semitic: and the countries which came under the impact of each of these exhibit similarities, but to talk of Asian history and experience is not helpful. It is true that most Asian countries, with the exception of Japan and Thailand, having been under foreign domination during the last three centuries, have developed some common attitudes clearly traceable to that basic fact, such as their attitude towards colonialism and racialism and their unwillingness to be treated as pawns on the chessboard of Western power politics, and it is from this angle that during the last two decades statesmen from Asian countries have treated Asia as a unit, but to go beyond that and to treat Asia as having one common history and tradition, would, I suggest, be unhistorical.

Second, such evidence as is avilable does not substantiate the views cited by Rusett that Asian countries have been more inclined towards peace than conflict. It is only necessary to cite the authority of Quincy Wright, the noted historian of war, in this connection. From the data collected by him, it will be clear that Asian countries as such are not more inclined towards peace than conflict; the evidence rather, points to the fact that peaceful attitudes and warlike attitudes are equally found among people of different civilisations, irrespective of continental affiliations.

¹Quincy Wright, The Study of War, Vol. II, Table 17.

2. (a) Resolution of the Naga People's Convention³

[Refer to items 6 and 150]

In the Third Session of the Naga Peoples' Convention held at Mokokchung from 22nd to 26th October, 1959, the following sixteen points have been passed after full deliberation of the various recommendations of sub-committees, to form the basis of negotiation with the Government of India for the final Naga Political Settlement.

1. The Name:-

The Territories that were heretofore known as the Naga Hills-Tuensang Area under the Naga Hills-Tuensang Area Act 1957, and any other Naga area, which may hereafter come under it, shall form a State within the Indian Union and be hereafter known as the Nagaland.

- 2. The Ministry-Incharge:-
 - The Nagaland shall be under the Ministry of External Affairs of the Government of India.
- 3. The Governor of Nagaland:-
 - (1) The President of India shall appoint a Governor for Nagaland and he will be vested with the Executive Powers of the Government of Nagaland, and he will function from the Headquarters of the Nagaland.
 - (2) His administrative secretariat will be headed by a Chief Secretary stationed at the Headquarters with other Secretariat Staff as necessary.
 - (3) The Governor shall have special responsibility with regard to Law, Order and Police during transitional period only.
- 4. Council of Ministers:-
 - (1) There shall be a Council of Ministers (viz. Six Ministers and Three Deputy Ministers) with a Chief Minister at the head to assist and advise the Governor in the exercise of his functions.
 - (2) The Council of Ministers shall be responsible to the Naga Legislative Assembly.
- 5. The Legislature:-

There shall be constituted a Legislative Assembly consisting of elected and nominated members as may be deemed necessary representing different Tribes. (Further, a duly constituted body of Experts may be formed to examine and determine the principles of representation on democratic basis.)

- 6. Representation In The Parliament:-
 - Three elected members shall represent the Nagaland in the Union Parliament, i.e. Two in the Lok Sabha and One in the Rajya Sabha.
- 3. 26 October 1959. From the pamphlet *The Third Naga Peoples' Convention* (Mokokchung: October 1959). Murkot Ramunny Papers, NMML.

7. Acts of Parliament:-

No Act or Law passed by the Union Parliament affecting the following provisions shall have legal force in the Nagaland unless specifically applied to it by a majority vote of the Naga Legislative Assembly:

- (1) The Religious or Social practices of the Nagas.
- (2) Naga Customary Laws and Procedure.
- (3) Civil and Criminal Justice so far as these concern decisions according to Naga Customary Law.
- (4) The ownership and transfer of land and its resources,

8. Local Self-Government:-

Each tribe shall have the following Units of Law-making and Administrative Local Bodies to deal with matters concerning the respective tribes and areas:

- (1) The Village Council.
- (2) The Range Council.
- (3) The Tribal Council.

9. Administration of Justice:-

- (a) Each tribe shall have the following Courts of Justice:-
- (1) The Village Court.
- (2) The Range Court.
- (3) The Tribal Court.
- (b) Appellate Courts:-
- (1) The District Court-cum-Sessions Court (for each District), and Supreme Court of India.
- (2) The Naga Tribunal (for the whole of the Nagaland) in respect of cases decided according to Customary Law.

10. Administration of Tuensang District:-

(1) The Governor shall carry on the administration of the Tuensang District for a period of 10 (ten) years until such time when the tribes in the Tuensang District are capable of shouldering more responsibilities of the advance system of administration.

The commencement of ten-year period of administration will start simultaneously with the enforcement of detailed workings of the Constitution in the other parts of the Nagaland.

- (2) Provided further that a Regional Council shall be formed for Tuensang District by elected representatives from all the tribes in Tuensang District, and the Governor may nominate representatives to the Regional Council as well. The Deputy Commissioner will be the Ex-Officio Chairman of the Council. This Regional Council will elect members to the Naga Legislative Assembly to represent Tuensang District.
- (3) Provided further that on the advice of the Regional Council, steps will be taken to start various Councils and Courts, in those areas where the people feel themselves capable of establishing such institutions.

- (4) Provided further that no Act or Law passed by the Naga Legislative Assembly shall be applicable to Tuensang District unless specifically recommended by the Regional Council.
- (5) Provided further that the Regional Council shall supervise and guide the working of the various Councils and Courts within Tuensang District and wherever deem necessary depute the Local Officers to act as Chairman thereof.
- (6) Provided further that Councils of such areas inhabited by a mixed population or which have not as yet decided to which specific tribal Council to be affiliated to, shall be directly under the Regional Council for the time being.

And at the end of ten years the situation will be reviewed and if the people so desired the period will be further extended.

- 11. Financial Assistance from the Government of India:-
 - To supplement the revenues of the Nagaland, there will be a need for the Government of India to pay out of the consolidated fund of India as Grants-in-aid as follows:-
 - (l) Lump-sums as may be necessary each year for the development programme in the Nagaland.
 - (2) A fixed recurring sum (Annual Subvention) for meeting the cost of the administration of Nagaland.
- 12. Re-Transfer of Reserved Forests:-

All the Reserved Forests and other Naga areas that were transferred out of Naga area will be returned to the Nagaland with a clearly defined boundary under the present settlement.

- 13. Consolidation of Contiguous Naga Area:-
 - The other Naga Tribes inhabiting the areas contiguous to the present Nagaland should be allowed to join the Nagaland if they so desire.
- 14. Formation of Separate Naga Regiment:-
 - In order that the Naga people can fulfil their desire of playing a full role in the defence forces of India, the question of raising a separate Naga Regiment should be duly examined for action.
- 15. Transitional Period:-
 - (a) On reaching the political settlement with the Government of India, the Naga People's Convention shall_appoint a Body to draft the details of the Constitution for the Nagaland on the basis of the settlement.
 - (b) There shall be constituted an Interim Body with elected representatives from every tribe, to assist and advise the Governor in the administration of the Nagaland during the transitional period. The tenure of office of the members of the Interim Body will be 3 (Three) years subject to re-election.

16. Inner Line Regulation:-

The Rules embodied in the Protected Area Act 1958 shall remain in force in

the Nagaland.

1) 2000 (Jasokie) Secretary.

Scholatobi gan (S Chubatoshi Jamir)

Joint Secretary.

De Songkeurs (Dr Imkongliba Ao)

President, Naga Peoples' Convention.

(Vizol)

Vice-President,

Naga Peoples' Convention.

Dated Mokokchung. The 26th October, 1959.

2. (b) Note for the Cabinet⁴

[Refer to item 1501

Ministry of External Affairs

Subject: Promulgation of a Regulation to make certain transitional provisions for the administration of Naga Hills-Tuengang Area which shall be known as Nagaland.

Naga Hills-Tuensang Area is a tribal area within the State of Assam, under paragraph 20 of the Sixth Schedule to the Constitution. This area is administered by the President, through the Governor of Assam as his Agent, under paragraph 18 of the said Sixth Schedule, read with Naga Hills-Tuensang (Administration) Regulation, 1957.

2. The Naga National Council under the leadership of Phizo has been agitating for some years, with recourse to increasing measures of violence and lawlessness, for a sovereign Naga State, comprising the territories inhabited by the Nagas. On the other hand, the Naga People's Convention, which was formed in August, 1957, and which has now consolidated under its leadership the majority of the overground Nagas, has been in favour of a settlement of their outstanding political problems through constitutional and lawful means. At its third session, the Naga People's Convention passed a resolution containing sixteen points, "to form the basis of negotiation with the Government for the final Naga political settlement". These sixteen points were placed before the Government and after discussion with the delegates of the Convention, they were accepted by Government, subject to certain modifications. The Sixteen Points as agreed are set out at Appendix I.5

5. See below.

^{4.} 21 January 1961. Subject File No. 97, S. Dutt Papers, NMML.

The Prime Minister made a statement in the Lok Sabha on the 1st August, 1960 in regard to this Agreement.

- 3. The Agreement provides for the formation of a separate State of Nagaland comprising the territories of the existing Naga Hills-Tuensang Area. The new State will, however, have certain special features, for example, the Governor's responsibilities in regard to law and order, and finance and for the administration of the more backward Tuensang district.
- 4. It will take time for the legislative and other preliminary processes to be completed before the new State can come into existence. It is proposed, however, in accordance with paragraph 15(b) of the Agreement, to make interim arrangements in order to associate the Nagas with the administration of Nagaland to the widest extent possible during the transitional period. Under Naga Hills-Tuensang Area (Administration) Regulation of 1957, the administration of the area is carried on by the Governor of Assam as the agent of the President. It is not proposed to disturb the existing administrative arrangement during the transitional period. The interim arrangements involve the creation of (a) an Interim Body with fortyfive elected representatives from the Tribes and (b) an Executive Council consisting of not more than five members of the Interim Body. The Interim Body shall have the right to discuss, and make recommendations to the Executive Council on, matters of administration involving general policy and schemes of development and other matters referred to it by the Executive Council. The Executive Council will assist and advise the Governor in the exercise of his functions in respect of such matters as may be specified by the Governor in this behalf. In regard to matters relating to law and order and finance, the Executive Council shall not have any right to be consulted but the Governor may consult the members of the Executive Council in regard to these matters also, if he so thinks fit. The functions of the Interim Body as well as the Executive Council will be advisory only.
- 5. Cabinet's approval is solicited to the implementation of the proposals contained in paragraph 4 by the promulgation of a Regulation by the President under sub-paragraph (2) of paragraph 18 of the Sixth Schedule, on the lines of the draft Regulation set out at Appendix II.
- 6. This Note has been seen in the Ministries of Home Affairs, Finance and Law, and has also been seen and approved by the Minister of External Affairs.

(K.L. Mehta) Joint Secretary (E) 21.1.1961

Appendix I

The points placed by the delegates of the Naga People's Convention as finally recast by the Delegation in the light of discussions on 27th and 28th July, 1960 with the Foreign Secretary.

1. The Name.

The territories that were heretofore known as the Naga Hills-Tuensang Area under the Naga Hills-Tuensang Area Act 1957, shall form a State within the Indian Union and be hereafter known as Nagaland.

2. The Ministry Incharge.

The Nagaland shall be under the Ministry of External Affairs of the Government of India.

- 3. The Governor of Nagaland.
 - (1) The President of India shall appoint a Governor for Nagaland and he will be vested with executive powers of the Government of Nagaland. He will have his headquarters in Nagaland.
 - (2) His administrative secretariat will be headed by Chief Secretary stationed at the Headquarters with other Secretariat staff as necessary.
 - (3) The Governor shall have special responsibility with regard to law and order during transitional period and for so long as the law and order situation continues to remain disturbed on account of hostile activities. In exercising this special responsibility, the Governor shall, after consultation with the Ministry, act in his individual judgement. This special responsibility of the Governor will cease when normalcy returns.
- 4. Council of Ministers.
- (1) There shall be a Council of Ministers with a Chief Minister at the head to assist and advise the Governor in the exercise of his functions.
- (2) The Council of Ministers shall be responsible to the Naga Legislative Assembly.
- 5. The Legislature.

There shall be constituted a Legislative Assembly consisting of elected and nominated members as may be deemed necessary representing different Tribes. (Further, a duly constituted body of Experts may be formed to examine and determine the principles of representation on democratic basis).

6. Representation in the Parliament.

Two elected members shall represent the Nagaland in the Union Parliament, that is to say, one for the Lok Sabha and the other for the Rajya Sabha.

7. Acts of Parliament.

No Act or Law passed by the Union Parliament affecting the following provisions shall have legal force in the Nagaland unless specifically applied to it by a majority vote of the Naga Legislative Assembly:

- (1) The Religious or Social practices of the Nagas.
- (2) Naga Customary Laws and Procedure.
- (3) Civil and Criminal Justice so far as these concern decisions according to Naga Customary Law.

The existing laws relating to administration of civil and criminal justice as provided in the Rules for the Administration of Justice and Police in the Naga

Hills districts shall continue to be in force.

(4) The ownership and transfer of land and its resources.

8. Local Self-Government.

Each tribe shall have the following units of rule-making and administrative local bodies to deal with matters concerning the respective tribes and areas:

- (1) The Village Council
- (2) The Range Council
- (3) The Tribal Council

These Councils will also deal with disputes and cases involving breaches of customary laws and usages.

- 9. Administration of Justice.
 - (a) The existing system of administration of civil and criminal justice shall continue.
 - (b) Appellate Courts:
 - (1) The District Court-Cum-Sessions Court (for each district), High Court of Assam and Supreme Court of India.
 - (2) The Naga Tribunal (for the whole of the Nagaland in respect of cases decided according to Customary Law.)
- 10. Administration of Tuensang District.
 - (1) The Governor shall carry on the administration of the Tuensang District for a period of 10 (ten) years or until such time when the tribes in the Tuensang District are capable of shouldering more responsibilities of the advance system of administration. The commencement of the ten-year period of Administration will start simultaneously with the enforcement of detailed workings of the Constitution in other parts of the Nagaland.
 - (2) Provided further that a Regional Council shall be formed for Tuensang District by elected representatives from all the tribes in Tuensang District, and the Governor may nominate representatives to the Regional Council as well. The Deputy Commissioner will be the Ex-officio Chairman of the Council. The Regional Council will elect members to the Naga Legislative Assembly to represent Tuensang District.
 - (3) Provided further that on the advice of the Regional Council, steps will be taken to start various Councils and Courts, in these areas where the people feel themselves capable of establishing such institutions.
 - (4) Provided further that no Act or Law passed by the Naga Legislative Assembly shall be applicable to Tuensang District unless specifically recommended by the Regional Council.
 - (5) Provided further that the Regional Council shall supervise and guide the working of the various Councils and Tribal Courts within Tuensang District and wherever necessary depute the local officers to act as Chairman thereof.
 - (6) Provided further that Councils of such areas inhabited by a mixed population or which have not as yet decided to which specific tribal Council

to be affiliated to, shall be directly under the Regional Council for the time being.

And at the end of ten years the situation will be reviewed and if the people so desired the period will be further extended.

11. Financial Assistance from the Government of India.

To supplement the revenues of the Nagaland, there will be need for the Government of India to pay out of the Consolidated Fund of India.

- (1) A lump sum each year for the development programme in the Nagaland, and
- (2) A grant-in-aid towards meeting the cost of administration.

Proposals for the above grants shall be prepared and submitted by the Government of Nagaland to the Government of India for their approval. The Governor will have general responsibility for ensuring that the funds made available by the Government of India are expended for the purposes for which they have been approved.

12. The Delegation wished the following to be placed on record:

"The Naga delegation discussed the question of the inclusion of the Reserve Forests and of contiguous areas inhabited by the Nagas. They were referred to the provisions in Articles 3 and 4 of the Constitution, prescribing the procedure for the transfer of areas from one State to another."

13. Consolidation of Contiguous Naga Area.

The delegation wished the following to be placed on record:

"The Naga leaders expressed the view that other Nagas inhabiting contiguous areas should be enabled to join the new State. It was pointed out to them on behalf of the Government of India that Articles 3 and 4 of the Constitution provided for increasing the area of any State, but that it was not possible for the Government of India to make any commitment in this regard at this stage."

14. Formation of Separate Naga Regiment.

In order that the Naga People can fulfil their desire of playing a full role in the defence forces of India, the question of raising a separate Naga Regiment should be duly examined for action.

- 15. Transitional Period.
 - (a) On reaching the political settlement with the Government of India, the Government of India will prepare a Bill for such amendment of the Constitution, as may be necessary, in order to implement the decisions. The draft Bill, before presentation to Parliament, will be shown to the delegates of the NPC.
 - (b) There shall be constituted an Interim Body with elected representatives from every tribe, to assist and advise the Governor in the Administration of the Nagaland during the transitional period. The tenure of office of the members of the Interim Body will be 3 (Three) years subject to re-election.
- 16. Inner Line Regulation.

Rules embodied in the Bengal Eastern Frontier Regulation, 1873, shall remain in force in the Nagaland.

3. A. Gorkin to Nehru⁶

[Refer to items 463-465]

Moscow, 4 April 1960

Dear Mr. Prime Minister,

During the talk with the delegation of Soviet lawyers in Delhi you expressed the desire to get acquainted with Soviet criminal legislation and problems of the Enhancement of the Role of the Public in the maintenance of public order, combating breaches of Soviet legality and their prevention.

I have the pleasure to comply with your request and forward herewith Fundamentals of Criminal and Criminal-Legal Legislation of the USSR and of the Union Republics, approved by the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. on December 25, 1958, Draft Law on the Enhancement of the Role of the Public in Combating Breaches of Soviet Legality and the Rules of Socialist Intercourse, drafts of Model Regulations of Comrades' Courts and Model Regulations of Commissions on Matters of Minors and other material concerning this subject. All the materials are translated into English.

The enclosed documents show what great importance is attached in our country to the cause of participation of the public in combating violations of public law and order. I hope that the documents will help you, dear Mr. Prime Minister, to get acquainted with a position of these questions in our country. I would like to take this opportunity to express to you, dear Mr. Prime Minister, my deep gratitude for your hearty reception of the delegation of the Soviet lawyers. During our stay in your country we always sensed expression of great feelings of friendship existing between our peoples.

We shared our impression with other Soviet lawyers who send the lawyers of India and all the great Indian people the most sincere and friendly regards and best wishes.

Yours respectfully,
A. Gorkin
Chairman of the Supreme Court of the USSR

4. (a) Subimal Dutt to Nehru7

[Refer to item 15]

Prime Minister may kindly see the note below from the DIB. I passed on the earlier note from them to the Minister for Scientific Research and Cultural Affairs. I would invite Prime Minister's attention to the Minister's letter at flag S. Under the published rules of the new University applications can be sent by Indian students direct to the University through the Embassy and Consulates of the USSR in India. As Prime Minister is aware, we do not allow any foreign authorities to select students in India for the grant of scholarships tenable at foreign Universities. The selection is done by a committee in the Ministry of Education or Ministry of Scientific Research and Cultural Affairs. Representatives of the particular Embassy are associated with the selection committee. Since students admitted to the new University at Moscow will be found all their expenses by the University authorities, I think we should tell the Soviet Embassy that we should like them to follow the procedure which we have laid down in respect of scholarships tenable in other countries.

4. (b) Subimal Dutt to Nehru8

[Refer to item 15]

Prime Minister may kindly see the note below from the DIB. Since the students admitted to the University of Friendship of Nations will have all their expenses paid by the Soviet Government, their selection should not be made by the Soviet Embassy direct, but through our Ministry of Education. This is the procedure we follow in giving foreign Government scholarships to Indian nationals. The procedure should be discussed informally with the Soviet embassy here.

5. K.D. Malaviya to Secretary, Mines and Fuel⁹

[Refer to item 479]

Our Ambassador at Iraq, Mr. I.S. Chopra, met me yesterday. He discussed the oil industry of Iraq and I found out from him about the extreme eagerness of the Iraq Govt. to get our cooperation for their oil industry. The Iraq Government wants someone who takes over charge of their oil Dept. and organise it so far as

^{7.} Note, 29 April 1960. File No. 42, S. Dutt Papers, NMML.

^{8.} Note, 29 April 1960. File No. 42, S. Dutt Papers, NMML.

^{9.} Note, 3 May 1960. File No. 6-C (34)-WANA/60, MEA.

exploration and distribution is concerned. They are further reported to be willing to give us concessions in very prospective areas, like the Japanese which got in Kuwait where they struck oil in the first well.

Iraq is one of the largest oil producers in the world and at present is producing 60 million tons which could be easily doubled up. They are never likely to consume this amount and so the question of marketing always faces them. Even today they have surplus crude oil which they want to sell to us at very concessional rates. Our difficulty is that we cannot use that crude oil. We can, however, exert our pressure on the Shell and the Stanvac people to reduce the price of crude oil because there is undoubtedly a very strong case for this now. The Iraqi Government is willing to associate us in disposing of their crude oil which is about 8 to 10 million tons per year. It can be increased easily.

I am however concerned more with helping the Iraqi Government purely as a friendly gesture. Later on, if they like, we can have a long-term arrangement for the supply of crude oil to us if we ultimately find out that there is not enough oil in the sub-continent of India. We are likely to know about our situation fully after five years' time provided the O.N.G.C. is allowed to go ahead unhampered by limitations of resources and other difficulties. If we have not enough oil in our country, we can easily arrange with the Iraq Govt. for a supply of 10 to 20 million tons of oil from 1970 onwards when our consumption may be 20 to 25 million tons per year or more. It is, therefore, a question of perspective thinking and planning and I do believe that such a planning should form part of our actions from now.

The action which I propose is a simple one. We can easily set apart one or two magnetic parties and a couple of seismic parties and send them to Iraq under the leadership of a geologist like Mr. Mathur.¹⁰ They can stay there for a couple of years and train the Iraqi boys also in training camps. The Geologist can have some training courses there to prepare surveyors for mapping the exposed structures which are reported to be in abundance in Iraq. If as a result of gravity and seismic shooting, we discover some structures, it should not be difficult for us to set apart one of our drills to send to Iraq say in 1962 or 1963 for drilling operations because by that time we can easily manage to send a compact drilling team of Indians.

I learn from Mr. Chopra, that on his enquiry about such help in a general way our Ministry replied back that owing to pressure of work in the country, it was not possible for us to offer such a help in their oil industry. I have no doubt, that this question should be reconsidered and the Secretary (M&F) will please discuss this with Mr. A.M.N. Ghosh¹¹ to decide about the proposal. Coming to the work

^{10.} L.P. Mathur, Petroleum Geologist, ONGC.

^{11.} Technical Member, ONGC.

of distribution of things, it will be worthwhile our finding out a real distributing expert from one of the foreign oil companies and try to persuade him to leave his job and go to Iraq on a five or seven years' contract. This man could also be included in our team of oil experts. This team can thus consist of, to begin with, a general oil man (Administrator), a leader of the Party (Geologist man like Mr. Mathur), one magnetic party, one gravity party, and one seismic party, (later on it could be increased to two if necessary), and a distributing man, if possible.

These proposals should, however, just now only be for internal discussions and processing. Secy. will please discuss this with Mr. Ghosh and as soon as I return from tour we can discuss and have a conference with Mr. Chopra and others of the External Affairs Ministry. When we are ready, with this, I will have a talk with the Prime Minister to get it through.

6. Willy Brandt at the Berlin House of Representatives¹²

[Refer to item 461]

[...]

Wir haben unsere Auffassung auch noch einmal in Briefen an eine Reihe von Politikern und hervorragenden Freunden unserer Stadt dargelegt. Wie bekannt ist, hatte ich am Freitag vergangener Woche in London Gelegenheit, dem indischen Ministerpräsidenten Nehru über die Lage in Berlin und in Deutschland zu berichten. Ich weiß diese Einladung und das dabei bekundete Interesse eines großen Staatsmannes unserer Zeit sehr zu schätzen. Ich möchte Premierminister Nehru nicht für eine politische Einzelaussage in Anspruch nehmen, aber es ist wichtig zu wissen, daß wir in den großen Zusammenhang eingeordnet sind, in dem die Völker Asiens eine immer bedeutendere Rolle spielen.

[...]

[Translation begins:

[...]

We have once again explained our point of view in letters to a number of politicians and prominent friends of our city. As you know, I had the opportunity to speak to the Indian Prime Minister Nehru about the situation in Berlin and in Germany in London on Friday last week. I appreciate very much this invitation and the interest of a great statesman of our time. I do not expect a political statement from Prime

^{12.} Speech, excerpts, 12 May 1960. Abgeordnetenhaus von Berlin, III Wahlperiode, Stenographischer Bericht, 38 Sitzung, II Band, Nr 12, Donnerstag, den 12 Mai 1960.

Minister Nehru, but it is important to know that we are part of the larger framework in which the people of Asia are playing an ever more significant role.¹³

 $[\ldots]$

Translation ends]

7. Le Corbusier to Nehru¹⁴

[Refer to item 422]

Chandigarh 13 May 1960

Dear Mr. Nehru,

The High Level Committee of the Chandigarh Control Board had its last meeting at Chandigarh on the 10th May, 1960. The agenda considered contained an item concerning the eventual creation of a cantonment at Chandigarh located very near to the city on the other bank of the new lake and in proximity to the dam which is an extraordinarily happy place given by the authorities of Chandigarh to the population for enjoyment of nature in silence and quietude. The reality corresponds to the intention which means that a very large section of population regularly visits this dam in the evenings.

The construction of Chandigarh which is a tool of Government has not even the slightest concern with military problems. As the Architectural Adviser to Government of Punjab, I am obliged to bring my weight to bear upon the problem asking for a decision to stop this cantonment, which will have a disastrous effect on this new city.

[...]

The construction of the "Capital" and its lateral elements has brought to Chandigarh such a marvellous landscape (lake and mountain) which no city in the world possesses.

Let us not destroy it! With best wishes,

Yours sincerely, Le Corbusier

^{13.} Translated from the German by Madhavan K. Palat.

^{14.} Letter, excerpts. File No. 7 (118)/56-66-PMS, Vol. I.

8. M.C. Chagla to Nehru¹⁵

[Refer to item 498]

Embassy of India Washington D.C. 15 May 1960

My Dear Panditji,

Mr. J. Hampton Barnes, the personal representative of President Eisenhower, came to see me with regard to the scheme of Eisenhower Exchange Fellowships. We have been participating in this scheme since 1954 and one Govinda Warrier is the Fellow from India for 1960.

Mr. Barnes told me that the President was very anxious that the Fellow to be selected in 1961 from India should not be a person with merely technical knowledge but should be one who was likely to exercise considerable influence in India in the future. As you know, the object of instituting these fellowships was to provide "most promising leaders in the free world with opportunity to gain practical day-to-day experience of the United States which would be of value to him as a leader in his own country. The expenses of the Fellow are paid for by the Government here. He is treated here as a distinguished guest. He has an entry into different departments of State and private American homes and he is also received by the President at an informal meeting.

Mr. Barnes wanted me to write to you and tell you how keen the President was that the person selected is of the highest calibre. I think in the past we have been emphasising more the technical and specialised interest of the person selected rather than his personality and his capacity for leadership. If I may make a suggestion, perhaps someone from Parliament or from the ranks of Parliamentary Secretaries who is not too old, because the age limit is 25 to 45, may be advantageously selected.

I would also like to mention to you my visit to the Kansas State University which has one of the finest agricultural faculty in the country and which has been associated with India in many agricultural programmes. One thing that I was particularly impressed with was the modern technique of artificial insemination. They have 10 pedigree bulls on the University Farm and these 10 bulls service 200,000 cows. I was told that they could service more but more cows are not available for the purpose. This project has been working for the last ten years and it has helped to double the milk supply and tremendously improve the quality of the milk. When I was at The Hague, our Ambassador there told me that we had purchased a few pedigree bulls from Holland which were to be sent to some military farm. If we had the system of artificial insemination, these bulls can be

^{15.} Letter. File No. 55 (18)-AMS/60, MEA.

used for improving the quality of our cattle and of the quality and supply of milk. I was told that the project is not too expensive and that with refrigeration the semen of the bull can be carried anywhere and could be injected into the cow. As you know, our big problem in agriculture is that our bad cows live at the expense of our good ones. Destroying bad cattle is too drastic a remedy which our people will not accept. Failing that I think we can go a long way in improving our cattle by means of artificial insemination.

I should also like to mention for your consideration the visits of our Ministers and delegations here. I find that these visits are decided upon at the last moment and sufficiently timely intimation is not given and sometimes even the itinerary sent from Delhi is suddenly altered. We are asked to make arrangements for interviews with various people in Washington but it is forgotten that the people in the State Department and other departments are fairly busy and it is not easy to fix appointments at the last moment. The result is that very often the very object of the visit of the delegation or the Minister is frustrated and people here are surprised that appointments should be sought at such short notice when there is no immediate urgency about the visit of the Minister or the delegation. You will forgive my saying so, but my own view is that a Minister should come to this country as a last resort. It is only in cases when the question to be discussed is of paramount importance or a matter of great urgency that the discussion should be at the ministerial level. In most cases either the Embassy here or a Secretary from the department or a delegation would serve the purpose. I do not want the impression to be created here that our Ministers or high officials are prepared to come down to this country at short notice to negotiate a transaction or discuss a project which might well be done at a much lower level.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely, M.C. Chagla

9. Bertrand Russell to Nehru¹⁶

[Refer to item 486]

Plas Penrhyn, Penrhyndeudraeth, Merioneth. 19 May 1960

Dear Mr. Nehru,

I enclose a suggestion which I very much hope may meet with the approval of yourself and the Government of India.¹⁷ The recent events in Paris have been

- 16. Letter. File No. 5 (28)-UN II/60, MEA.
- 17. See below in continuation of this letter.

infinitely distressing and have been such as to cause a very high degree of rational alarm. I have, as you know, long felt that it is possible for India to play a great part in saving the world from the consequences of the folly of the Great Contestants. I believe that India could lead the uncommitted nations—all of which would suffer appallingly if there were a war—in the formulation of solutions of our difficulties more sane and more feasible than those which suggest themselves to the excited opinion of statesmen in the opposing groups. I cannot endure the thought that the folly of a section of mankind should ruin the hopes of all human beings, and yet that is exactly what is to be feared. You have spoken sanely, even under great provocation, and the friends of humanity throughout the world have come to look to you for a kind of wisdom which is lacking in the nations that lead in the realm of destructive armaments. Those of us who will not yield to despair, hope that in this dangerous time you may find means of saving the world from criminal, suicidal madness.

Yours sincerely, Russell

A Suggestion for the Avoidance of War

The recent fiasco in Paris has dashed the hopes of those who believed that fruitful negotiation between the Powers of NATO and The Warsaw Pact might lead to a detente such as should very materially lessen the danger of a nuclear war. It seems almost inevitable that, in the near future, there will be reluctance on both sides to adopt proposals for Summit Meetings or for any other form of decisive negotiation. But, since there are matters in dispute between East and West which urgently demand settlement, the risk of war is very greatly increased by the obstacles to direct negotiation.

The prevention of nuclear war is a matter of vital concern, not only to the two opposed groups, but to all nations and to every inhabitant of this planet. No doubt in a war the belligerents would suffer more quickly, but, before long, a large percentage of the populations of other countries would perish as a result of fall-out and general dislocation. Uncommitted nations have, therefore, every right on the elementary ground of self-preservation to do what lies in their power to mediate between the opposing groups and find, if they can, compromise solutions of difficult problems which are, in their opinion, such as both sides might accept without loss of face. The uncommitted nations might profitably, for the protection of their own vital interests, study the matters in dispute between East and West and draw up concrete proposals to be recommended to both sides.

The initiative for any such action would probably come best from India, the largest and most important of uncommitted nations. India could do an important service to mankind by suggesting solutions of vexed questions and inviting other

uncommitted States, both great and small, to adhere to these suggestions or to give reason for such changes as might seem to them necessary. In this way, an organization of the uncommitted States could grow up devoted solely to the problem of preventing war. The present Eastern and Western groups feel that they can make no concession to each other without giving a diplomatic victory to their opponents. This difficulty would not arise in negotiations with a group of uncommitted nations, since this group would not represent the interests of either NATO or the Warsaw Pact. Moreover, its suggestions would form a rallying point for friends of peace in both opposing groups and could, before long, powerfully influence public opinion as a means of escaping from the perils of continued ill-tempered wrangling. Since this group of uncommitted nations could act only in an advisory capacity, it would have no occasion to excite the hostility of either East or West.

If some such scheme is to be effective, there will have to be a Standing Committee representing the Uncommitted Nations with conciliatory proposals publicly proclaimed on all matters in dispute between the two hostile groups. This Committee should be so well-informed that, on the emergence of any new crisis, it should be able to formulate its proposals quickly and to recommend them to public opinion by all the means at its disposal.

It has become lamentably clear that the Powers of NATO and The Warsaw Pact cannot settle their differences without help from outside. In the interests of all mankind, it is of the utmost importance that these differences should be settled. It is possible to hope that the uncommitted nations may achieve what the contestants, unaided, have shown themselves incompetent to accomplish.

The first step that the uncommitted nations might profitably take is to appeal to both sides to do nothing that might plunge the world into war during a given period of time in order to give the uncommitted nations an opportunity to suggest proposals which might form a basis for further and fruitful negotiation. The need of such an appeal is urgent.

Bertrand Russell

10. Dag Hammarskjold to Nehru¹⁸

[Refer to item 468]

20 May 1960

Dear Mr. Nehru,

You are aware of the tremendous political developments that are taking place in Africa and I know that you have every sympathy for the aspirations of the newly independent countries in Africa. During my extended tour of African countries at

18. Letter. File No. 31 (12)-UN I/60, MEA.

the beginning of this year, I was impressed by the value that these new countries attach to their membership of the United Nations and the high hopes that they have for assistance from the United Nations. They are aware that our resources are limited but they still look to the United Nations, not only to provide moral support but also to play a positive role in assisting their economic development and thus making a reality of their political independence.

It is my hope, especially in the early stages of the new countries, to have top level United Nations representation in these countries. These high level United Nations advisers can render a variety of services to the new Governments and might often be turned to for advice in fields not entirely restricted to the field of economic development. For these countries, therefore, I need the services of senior officials with considerable diplomatic experience. From the point of view of nationality also, in many of these countries, Asians, and particularly Indians, would be eminently suitable and acceptable.

I now write this letter to seek your assistance in filling some of the short term top assignments under the United Nations in Africa. Recruitment to such top posts is usually on the Ambassadorial level. The officials so designated would most often be designated as representatives of the United Nations Technical Assistance Board but they would also serve in fact, if not in name, as representatives of the United Nations and of the Secretary-General.

In respect of one or two of these countries we look for people with a certain kind of experience as well as linguistic ability. In this connexion, from my personal knowledge and from such discreet enquiries as I have been able to make, I feel that some of your envoys representing India abroad at the present time could fill such posts with distinction and I would hope that you would find it possible to spare one or more of these officials for this purpose.

In the light of the qualifications which I have already set out, I feel that an envoy like Mr. Kewal Singh, at present the Indian Ambassador to Sweden, might be a very good choice, in view of his experience in Pondicherry and his distinguished record in Cambodia as also his linguistic abilities. Another possibility which occurs to me is that of Mr. S. Sen who I believe is, at present, your High Commissioner in Australia. His considerable experience and involvement in the work of the ICSC in Indo-China would, I am sure, be of great help in one or two assignments in Africa that I can think of. Similarly, the name of Mr. R.S. Mani, who I believe is your Ambassador in Chile and who was one of the members of the United Nations Salary Review Committee and who has also been your Ambassador in Italy, occurs to me as being quite suitable.

Apart from the above names, which I have listed in my own order of preference, there might be other senior officials of your diplomatic service, with the right qualifications and experience, whom you might be able to think of. If so, I shall be very happy to have your advice. I do not know if you would be able to spare the services of more than one of these officers; but even if you could

spare one of them, I would be most grateful. I am sure we can work out scales of remuneration in consonance with their status and their salary and allowances under the Government of India. We would have to borrow such services, as envisaged at present, for a maximum period of six months.

I have explained my need at some length and I have no doubt that, as in the past, your response will be ready and generous. I am also aware that there will have to be some consultation with the officials concerned, but in any case I would hope that the consideration of my request, and the consultations that might follow, could be completed expeditiously and that it might be possible for you to give me a reply within a few weeks.

With respectful and warm regards,

Yours sincerely, Dag Hammarskjold Secretary-General

11. Bill of Rights for Children the World Over¹⁹

[Refer to item 527]

[May 1960]

The Bill of Rights is in three sections—Love, Health and Education.

In the section on Love the children said:

Every child needs love. Without love, children would suffer despair. Their health would also suffer. Love gives children a feeling of wanting to do things better.

Therefore, every child should be loved regardless of creed, color, sex, nationality, or occupation of parents.

If parents show love for their children, children should return this love with gratitude. Children should help in every possible way voluntarily and when asked.

Teachers must respect children, understand them and let the children know that they are loved.

In the section on Health the children said:

Every child is entitled to the kind of living conditions that will produce good health.

Six hundred million of the world's nine hundred million children are unhealthy because of lack of proper food, clothing, shelter and medical help.

Asia with more than 1/2 of the world's population has less than 1/5 of the world's food.

19. Press release of the MEA, 27 July 1960. Press Relations Section, Jawaharlal Nehru's Speeches and Writings, June to October 1960, JN Papers, NMML.

Every child should have enough to eat.

He should have proper clothing according to the climate and weather. Everyone should have adequate shelter. Slums should be redeveloped into properly equipped houses with play areas on green grass.

Medicine should be distributed by governments where needed. If governments cannot afford to do this, the United Nations should do so.

In the section on Education the children said:

More than 1/2 of the world's population of 2½ billion don't know how to read or write.

If all people knew how to read and write, they would be more prosperous. They could read and write directions. With proper tools they would be able to work better and make more products.

They would learn how to practice good health habits."

They would know about other people. Perhaps people would understand each other better.

People need an education to run their own government well.

We are living in an atomic age. People need to know much more about science.

As the population of the world multiplies, it will be much harder to earn a living. We will have to discover new ways of saving and using our natural resources. For this we will need people who have an education and scientific imagination.

Therefore every child should be taught how to read and write.

No child should be denied the chance to receive an education.

Every child should be given the chance to develop all of his abilities.

Children should not be overworked to help support a family.

No one should be permitted to take advantage of children.

All people should be taught about other religious beliefs in the world so that people may understand different ways of thinking, different customs and many kinds of wisdom.

Everyone should have equal rights because no one race is superior to any other.

Concluding, the children proclaimed through their Bill, "You, the adults of the world and heads of governments are responsible for our safety, our lives. Children never started wars. Adults did, but children suffer the most from them."

12. Pattom A. Thanu Pillai to Nehru²⁰

[Refer to item 83]

Trivandrum 23 May 1960

My dear Panditji,

We have just heard of the Government or India's decision to establish two more oil refineries. It has been announced that one of them would be in Cambay and the other one would be in South India.

I am well aware that the considerations that would dictate the location of such an important unit as an oil refinery would be mainly technical and economical. We are also working under the terms of the Industrial Policy Resolution of 1956, which, among other things, provides for removal of regional imbalances in the matter of development of industries.

During the time of the previous Ministry, although their avowed object was to foster industries, there was practically no new industry established in Kerala. Due to their policy of partiality towards labour a large number of factories also closed down.

During the Second Five Year Plan period we have had no major industries established in Kerala. As a matter of fact, the only item in the public sector which has been put up in Kerala is a D.D.T. Factory, costing less than a crore of rupees. Even another small unit, viz., a Security Press, which was originally decided to be located in Kerala, for which even the foundation stone was laid, was subsequently removed, I believe, to Coimbatore.

Thus there is considerable force in the public criticism that has been appearing in the press here that in the matter of industrialization and particularly in the matter of establishment of public sector enterprises Kerala has been more or less neglected.

We appear to have peculiar advantages for the establishment of an oil refinery in Kerala. The facilities that can be given for oil tankers in Cochin Port perhaps cannot be matched anywhere else in the country. The fact that the Cochin port is so well connected with the hinterland by Railway and a good road system makes it a natural choice of site from which refined oil can flow inland. We have no coal or lignite and while we have some hydro-electric potential, development of industries based on coal, is not possible in Kerala, with the availability of lignite in Neyveli our neighbouring State is now able to consider even the establishment of a steel plant. We shall have to do without such a plant for a long time, but if the oil refinery is established in Cochin we will to a certain extent be compensated by being able to develop a large number of by-product industries.

^{20.} Letter. File No. 17 (395)/60-71-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

As I said in the beginning of this letter, we are working under the terms of the Industrial Policy resolution in the matter of development industries and one of the major objectives of the resolution is the removal of regional imbalances. I therefore hope that, in considering the location of the oil refinery proposed to be established in South India, the claims of Kerala, namely Cochin Port, would be given due consideration.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely, Pattom A. Thanu Pillai

13. A.M. D'Rozario to Subimal Dutt²¹

[Refer to item 373]

Ministry of Scientific Research & Cultural Affairs

The Association Villa Huegel, Essen, a Krupps Organisation, requested the Government of India for the loan of an Exhibition covering "5000 Years of Indian Art". The Association Villa Huegel envisaged that the exhibition would be shown in Villa Huegel and at the Kunsthaus Museum, Zurich. The Government of India agreed after receiving official guarantees from the German Government and the Government of Switzerland to assemble such an exhibition and send it to Germany and Switzerland.

- 2. About 30 Museums in India loaned exhibits. The Lalit Kala Akademi was entrusted with the task of collecting and packing the art objects before they were handed over to the German authorities at Bombay. As many as 964 art objects were sent. It was originally envisaged that the objects would be returned by the autumn of 1960.
- 3. After the exhibition was shown at Essen, a number of other European countries showed interest in this exhibition and requested that the exhibition might be loaned to them. Such requests were received from countries in Western Europe as also from countries in Eastern Europe, Soviet Russia and U.S.A.
- 4. Minister of S.R.&C.A. met the Prime Minister on 9.6.1959 and it was decided that the exhibition should travel beyond Zurich and possibly to Prague, Vienna, Rome, Paris, London and New York. The schedule of this exhibition beyond Zurich was suggested by the Foreign Secretary and intimated to this Ministry in June, 1959.

^{21.} Note, 24 May 1960. File No. 7 (33)-Eur (W)/59, MEA.

In July, 1959, the French Ambassador saw the Prime Minister and P.M. agreed to the Ambassador's suggestion to the showing of the exhibition in Paris immediately after Zurich.

- 5. Thus, it was decided to extend the scope of the exhibition beyond Zurich and consequently the donor Museums were requested by the Lalit Kala Akademi to extend the period of loan up to the autumn of 1962. Ministry of E.A. also wrote to the Indian Ambassadors in the countries communicating to them the fact that the Indian exhibition would definitely be sent to Paris, Vienna and Rome and perhaps other countries.
- 6. The countries of Western Europe viz. Germany, Switzerland, France, Austria and Italy, formed themselves into a Pool for organising the exhibition entitled "5000 Years of Art from India". The terms and conditions were contained in a Memorandum submitted by the convener of the Pool, Dr. Hundhausen on the basis of discussions held in October at Essen when representatives of the countries mentioned above were present. After detailed examination in this Ministry and the Ministry of Law the E.A. Ministry agreed to the Memorandum and this agreement of the Government of India was communicated to Dr. Hundhausen and the other members of the West European Pool.

The Government of India is thus committed to this exhibition in Zurich, Paris, Vienna and Rome as a unit.

7. Of all the thirty Museums who loaned their objects for this exhibition, only the Indian Museum, Calcutta declined to give its permission for extension of the period of loan beyond West Germany. On the 18th March, 1960, P.M. suggested to the Minister of S.R.&C.A. that if the Indian Museum did not wish to loan its objects for a further period, then they might be withdrawn from the exhibition after its termination at Paris.²² Further discussion on the subject took place with Foreign Secretary and finally it was decided that this decision of the Government of India might be communicated to the members of the West European Pool. The Indian Embassies in France, Italy were also informed.

In addition, the Cultural Attaches of Austria and Italy at New Delhi were called and told of the Government decision and requested to inform their respective Governments. It was also [...] objects by fresh objects from India, if they so desired.

- 8. The Cable from Dr. Hundhausen is at flag 'G'. It appears from the above cable that if the Government of India was now to insist on the withdrawal of the exhibits belonging to the Indian Museum, Calcutta, then the entire basis of the West European Pool would now fall through and this would amount to the Government of India's withdrawing from a commitment.
- 9. From the above, it is clear that while this Ministry should like to do everything to meet the wishes of the Indian Museum, it is faced with an extreme

^{22.} See SWJN/SS/58/item 169.

difficulty in regard to the commitment to the West European Pool. The Indian Museum had originally agreed to the loan of objects till the autumn of 1960. The exhibition will be in Austria and at loan during July and August, 1960, and in Rome during October, November and December, 1960. Thereafter, it would return to India in January/February 1961. Therefore, from the point of view of Indian Museum, Calcutta, the delay would be only of four months duration or so.

10. I should like to be guided by Foreign Secretary in the above knotty problem.

A.M. D'Rozario Joint Secretary (C)

14. Subimal Dutt to Nehru²³

[Refer to item 6]

Visit of the Indian official team to Peking for discussions with the Chinese officials in terms of the press communiqué issued on the conclusion of Premier Chou En-lai's visit to India in April 1960.

The Chinese Government have agreed to our official team reaching Peking about June 11 and to discussions taking place at the level of Counsellors—Directors of Divisions. It has now been arranged that our team will leave for Peking on June 6. In consultation with our Ambassador Shri Parthasarathi, who is now in Delhi, and after reference to the Home Minister, it is proposed to designate Shri Jagat Mehta²⁴ as the Leader of our official team: The other members of the team will be Shri Gopal, ²⁵ Shri Rao (Research Officer in the Historical Division), Shri T.R. Murti (formerly Research Officer in the Historical Division and now an officer in the NEFA cadre), Shri Paranjpe, a person knowing Ladakhi and Uighuri and a stenographer—in all 7. The party will have a large volume of photostat copies and other papers with them and these will be carried in strong boxes. The party is expected to reach Peking on June 11 and start talks on Monday, June 13.

Detailed instructions have been drawn up for the guidance of the official team. Shri Jagat Mehta will lead the team but discussions on individual documents and historical evidence etc. will be carried on by Shri Gopal. We have told our team that they should first take up discussions of the Ladakh sector. It is not feasible to take the documents relating to the entire India China boundary at one

^{23.} Note, 27 May 1960. Subject File No. 42, S. Dutt Papers, NMML.

^{24.} Director, MEA.

^{25.} Sarvepalli Gopal, Director, Historical Division, MEA.

[CHINA CREATES FACTS ON THE GROUND] CHINESE ANTIQUE



[Foreground: Chou En-lai; centre: Mao Tse-tung] (From *The Times of India*, 3 June 1960, p. 7)

time to Peking and it is not necessary to do so either since the Chinese team will come to Delhi later. Our team should therefore tell the Chinese officials that they have brought only the documents relating to the Ladakh sector. It is too early to say what attitude the Chinese will take, but seeing that anti-Indian propaganda has been started in Peking, we can assume that the Chinese officials will be extremely difficult. I am not troubling the Prime Minister with the detailed brief. Our general instruction to our officials has been to show the utmost patience and not to break off talks, whatever the provocation or lack of cooperation from the other side. They will state our case firmly, clearly and, if necessary, repeatedly. They should not get themselves into a position in which they will be required to produce all our documents without the Chinese showing any will to reciprocate. I anticipate that the discussions will last at least three weeks. If the Chinese officials insist on discussing some other sector of the frontier in addition to the Ladakh sector, our team might discuss the middle sector also. Shri Gopalachari is our expert on this sector. If necessary, he can fly to Peking later.

Our Ambassador in Peking will not take part in the discussions, but he will be available on the spot to give guidance to our team. For reasons which I have explained to the Prime Minister, it is not necessary for the Foreign Secretary to

go to Peking. At the best the talks will be factual and at expert level, and no questions of policy should arise. If, on the other hand, the Chinese officials approach the subject not in a reasonable mood but only to reiterate their own interpretations, without any regard to facts, our officials will, nevertheless, go through the process of discussion. They will, of course, keep us informed of the progress in the discussions and seek instruction on points of difficulty which cannot be resolved locally.

15. Subimal Dutt to Nehru²⁶

[Refer to item 1]

India-China relations - U 2 plane incident and failure of the Summit Conference. Since the failure of the Summit Conference the Chinese have thrown away their mask and started a vehement anti-Indian propaganda. Disparaging references are being made to the Prime Minister and Indian policy in general. In fact, one has the impression that the Chinese are extremely happy at the failure of the Summit Conference, hoping thereby that the temporary difference in outlook and policy, which arose between the Soviet Union and China, has now been resolved and the two mighty countries will come closer together. India's fault in the Chinese eyes is that our leaders and our press have not condemned the U 2 plane intrusion unreservedly. "Nehru pretends to be just" is a typical comment. "These people (who confuse United States aggression with Soviet rebuff to aggression) no matter what capacity they hold and no matter what signboard they put up, cannot cover up their true colours as servants to imperialists headed by the United States. From this anti-Soviet chorus, peoples of world will come to see more clearly those hypocrites who pretend to be impartial and are in fact our and out lackeys of imperialism". The old expression "running dogs of imperialism" has been resuscitated in the Chinese press.

Summaries of the Chinese press comments are placed below.

2. In a telegram dated May 25 our Agent in Gyantse reports that a junior Chinese officer addressed a public meeting in Gyantse. After referring to the sabotage of the Summit Conference by the Americans and the collusion between America, Chiang Kai Shek, South Korea and Japan, the Chinese officer stated as follows:

"There is another power trying to negotiate with us though we are not keen on negotiations. By the end of June or beginning of July this power will also join America. We are not afraid of this and none of you should fear them. We shall soon take to liberate Formosa."

Which power the Chinese have in mind is not difficult to guess.

26. Note, 27 May 1960.

16. Julian Huxley to Nehru²⁷

[Refer to item 518]

June 1960²⁸

Dear Mr. Nehru,

Not long ago I was talking with my good friend Cass Canfield, head of Harper & Brothers, the New York publishers, and President of the Planned Parenthood Federation of America, about the world population problem and the importance of widespread birth-control in dealing with this crisis.

We agreed that while there is almost no quarrel among scientific and other intellectual leaders about this, their convictions are having little impact on public thinking or public policy, mainly because their views are not generally known and have not been presented in any organised way. So we are attempting to do something about the situation, since we feel that this challenge to man's future must not be allowed to go by default.

This letter is being sent to a number of distinguished men and women including Nobel Prize winners. We are confident that most of them will consent to sign the enclosed statement, and that its circulation with signatures will be invaluable in furthering the idea of sound population policies.

Accordingly, we hope you will sign and return the statement, adding any comments of your own on the reverse side of the sheet. You will agree, I think, that the time has come for men of ideas to stand up and be counted on the profoundly serious and urgent problem of population control.

Sincerely yours, Sd/- Sir Julian Huxley

P.S. – In order that the statement may continue to circulate and carry maximum weight, we hope you will obtain another signature and comments from among your colleagues and associates. We enclose an extra copy of the statement for this purpose.

I very much take that you will let us have your name in support of Cass Canfield's excellent scheme – it will carry a great deal of weight with so many important people.

^{27.} Letter. File No. 28 (50)/58-60-PMS. Vol. II.

^{28.} Exact date not mentioned in source.

17. Sampurnanand to Nehru²⁹

[Refer to items 501 and 502]

Brookhill House, Naini Tal, 1/2 June 1960

Subject: Scheme for more intensive administration and accelerated development of border areas.

My dear Jawaharlalji,

You would recollect that early this year when it was decided to speed up the development of the areas which border Tibet, it was envisaged that the entire additional cost would be met by the Government of India and the State Government would ensure that it maintained the current level of investment in these areas.

In accordance with the above decisions three new districts of Uttar Kashi, Chamoli and Pithoragarh were created on the 24th February, 1960, and the key administrative staff as agreed to by the Government of India has been posted. Ad hoc arrangements are being made for providing residential and office accommodation. Development schemes, particularly suited for these areas were drafted and sent to the Government of India on the 17th March, 1960. The working season in the hills is extremely short and preparatory work was initiated simultaneously to ensure that the schemes made substantial headway, as soon as formal sanction was available from the Government of India.

We have now been informed that the Government of India would be prepared to finance on a 100% basis only the key officers, their personal staff and the cost of construction or procurement of residential and office accommodation immediately necessary for the officers to be posted to the new districts. It has been laid down that roads of economic importance will be admissible to only 75% assistance, while the expenditure, on approved development projects, administrative staff and even food subsidies will be given only 50% assistance.

It is further laid down that the pattern of assistance will come into force from the current financial year 1960-61.

Having created the three new districts and posted the district level officers, we could not withhold the posting of the minimum supporting office staff and the necessary survey for development schemes to be implemented in the immediate future. Considerable hopes have been raised in the minds of the local people and some sanctions have to issue immediately. We, therefore, had to agree to the pattern of assistance offered by the Government of India, under protest, to serve as a working basis. The tempo of the schemes and the extent of the development work to be undertaken has, however, been considerably curtailed and the original proposals for a sum of Rs. 4.51 crores (apart from Rs. 3 crores for strategic roads) to be spent in these three districts in the year 1960-61 have been reduced

to a sum of Rs. 1.02 crores in consultation with the Ministry of Home Affairs—involving a Central assistance of the order of Rs. 66.5 lacs and a State share of Rs. 35.5 lacs

The entire State resources in the current financial year had been pledged to the State Plan before the present scheme was discussed. I need not tell you that there is practically no flexibility in a State budget. In this respect, the Government of India stands in an entirely different position. I do not see how it will be possible to find extra money for the development of the new districts unless the Government of India shoulders this responsibility entirely.

If, after further consideration, it is decided that the State must make some contribution I would strongly urge that this pattern should come into operation from the next year, the first year of the Third Plan and that the Government of India's contribution on schemes at present qualifying only for 50% should be raised to 75%.

The pattern of assistance now prescribed has created particular difficulty in the matter of road construction. It has been laid down that the Government of India will meet the entire cost of construction for strategic roads, but the administrative charges which work out to at least 16% on the existing hill roads have been curtailed to 7½% for the new roads of strategic importance to be constructed in considerably more difficult terrain and according to a much more stiff time-schedule. It is felt that this decision would considerably weaken the benefits of a streamlined administration and expeditious implementation of the road plan, as well as entail a lot of accounting procedure and difficulty, which may hold up progress.

I would, therefore, earnestly request that (i) the entire cost of the Special Development Schemes in 1960-61 be met by the Government of India, (ii) the pattern of assistance as evolved should apply with effect from the next financial year with the amendment that the Central assistance on the schemes getting only 50% assistance should be raised to 75% and (iii) the administrative charges on the hill roads should be allowed @ 16% instead of only 7½%. I may add that it will be possible for us to restrict the total expenditure within such overall limits as you may consider reasonable and the development programme will be undertaken only under such broad heads as are considered essential and of immediate importance for improving the living conditions of the people of this area in consultation with the Ministry of Home Affairs. The Government of India should indicate the broad outline and leave the details to us so that speedy and effective implementation may be ensured.

With regards,

Yours sincerely, Sampurnanand

18. Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit to Nehru³⁰

[Refer to item 445]

[London]
2 June 1960

[Bhai dear,]

Your letter posted on the 28th May from Damascus reached me on the 31st morning.³¹ I am glad you were able to visit Baalbek and Palmyra even though the heat must have been tiring for you. I am also glad you were able to see old Faras Bey. Your letter brought back many memories of my earlier days in the U.N. when Faras Bey was known as the lion not only for his picturesque appearance and great head of white hair, but also because of the determined way he fought those who opposed him. I also paid him a visit when I was in Damascus and he was already quite feeble at that time.

I am sorry you went to Turkey. I had done my best to persuade NR³² to abandon the visit but the Indian Civil Service is so rigid. I think part of the bull-dog tenacity of the British was passed on to them while in training and there is no flexibility even in the best. However, it is good that the coup did not take place while you were there. I do not want to make any comment on our Ambassador's political capacity because it would probably lead to my own resignation from the Foreign Service! Enough that we have all escaped by the skin of our teeth.

I cannot tell you with what great relief I passed on the President's invitation to the Queen yesterday. These last few days the Palace had been telephoning me regularly every morning and I finally reached a point when I had to appeal to the Prime Minister. He was very much amused and said that he had never seen any one quite so excited as the Queen at the prospect of a visit to India and that she was also terribly nervous that some last minute hitch might come in the way of an invitation being extended. The terms in which she has responded to the invitation show her keen anxiety to visit us. I can see now most of my time here will be spent in discussing arrangements. I understand scores of people want to accompany her and every one is trying to find some excuse for doing so. The announcement will be made tomorrow.

Rita³³ arrives on Sunday and I will fix the date of my leave to fit in with her plans. As she is coming with the children, I think, they should have a month here.

^{30.} Letter. Subject File No. 62, Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit Papers (First Instalment), NMML.

^{31.} Nehru's letter has not been traced.

^{32.} N.R. Pillai.

^{33.} Rita Dar, Mrs Pandit's daughter.

I had not heard anything about Avtar's³⁴ transfer. I entirely agree with you that quick transfers are wrong in principle and sometimes unfair to the officer concerned. This is why I was so upset when Ashok³⁵ was transferred from Vienna within two years just at a time when he was beginning to do some good work. I discovered later, as I had suspected, that it was an engineered move and I should not be surprised if the present transfer is in the same category. You cannot be expected to know everything that goes on and I can assure you plenty happens that is undesirable and even sad. One day—if I live long enough, I shall write a book about how Ministries function!

All the days you were here there were scarcely any flowers in the garden. A few days after your departure the first rose came out and since then our roses have been getting bigger and bigger and I feel so unhappy that they could not have been out while you were here. The weather has been just perfect and already parts of England are facing a drought.

Betti³⁶ left on the 22nd May and I have no news of her except that she is still somewhere on the Continent. There was also a vague reference of going to United States but I do not know if this will materialise. Harsha³⁷ has gone back to Cambridge.

I suppose you have plunged yourself into work. I hear it is very hot so I do hope you will take reasonable care of yourself.

I was sorry to miss Indi³⁸ on her return journey but, unfortunately, I had to go to Portsmouth to visit our ship INS Talwar which is being reconditioned. I hope she enjoyed her visit to United States.

With much love,

[Nan]

^{34.} Avtar Krishna Dar, Rita's husband, was appointed Counsellor in the Embassy of India, Cairo, in February 1959.

^{35.} Ashok Nanalal Mehta, husband of Mrs Pandit's daughter Chandralekha; First Secretary/ Chargé d'Affaires, Vienna, July 1957-June 1959, was transferred to the High Commission of India to Pakistan, Karachi, as First Secretary.

^{36.} Krishna Hutheesing, Nehru's younger sister.

^{37.} Krishna Hutheesing's son.

^{38.} Indira Gandhi.

19. Summary for the Cabinet³⁹

[Refer to item 327]

Ministry of Food and Agriculture (Department of Agriculture)

Note for the Cabinet

Subject: Agricultural Census, 1960

- 1. A proposal for India's participation in the World Agricultural Census sponsored by the Food & Agriculture Organisation of the United Nations, with the object of obtaining as far as possible comprehensive information on the structure of agriculture in the different countries of the world, was received by the Government of India in January, 1958. It is proposed to cooperate with the F.A.O. in undertaking the Census in India in 1961-62 (with 1960-61 as the reference period) with a view to utilising the opportunity for placing the agricultural statistics of the country on a firm footing, as a permanent measure, by planning the various enquiries in such a way as to provide, in a comprehensive manner, all the data that would be required for formulation and execution of plans at the block level for agricultural development in the Third and subsequent plans.
- According to the proposals received from the F.A.O. the World Census of Agriculture envisages, in principle, the collection of agricultural information for all individual operational holdings by direct enumeration. The F.A.O. have further stated that the method of collecting the data in any country should depend upon the use to which the Census data are intended to be put. If the data are needed for small administrative units which form the basis for regional planning or for obtaining supplementary information for placing the country's agricultural statistics on a sound footing, a complete enumeration of all holdings will be unavoidable. This has been stressed by the Director, Statistics Division, F.A.O., who has observed "... nothing short of a comprehensive Census of farms in line with the F.A.O. World Census of Agriculture would appear to meet the needs of planning. Indeed the scope of the Agricultural Census should be more ambitious at places than the F.A.O. programme in order that the data so collected may serve adequately the purpose of planning and, at the same time, serve as bench mark for current evaluation of the progress of the plan." Due mainly to lack of sufficiently detailed data, planning in agriculture in the country has hitherto been on an area basis and that too for relatively larger administrative units. Emphasis is now being placed on district and block programmes, the Third Five Year Plan envisaging "detailed programmes, and targets" for districts and blocks. Data should therefore be available at the level of these administrative units.

Note by K.R. Damle, Secretary, Department of Agriculture, 3 June 1960. File No. 4/7/CF/ 60, Vol. I, Cabinet Secretariat.

- 3. It may be mentioned that when similar proposals for India's participation in World Census of Agriculture in 1950 were considered, although the Technical Committee on Coordination of Agricultural Statistics recommended the conduct of the Census on Complete Enumeration basis, only a sample survey was organised by the National Sample Survey in 1954-55 and the data were furnished to the F.A.O. in 1958. The data were not found to be of much use, to the Central or State Governments, since they furnished information only for all-India and groups of States.
- 4. In view of the growing need for data on size and structure of holdings and other related items like land utilisation, cropping patterns, number of livestock, the number and types of agricultural implements, etc., for formulation and execution of plans for agricultural development, the Ministry of Food and Agriculture is of the view that the data on the following minimum list of items should be collected for individual operational holdings by complete enumeration through the existing agencies available with the State Governments to provide the necessary information not only for the State but also at lower levels where it is primarily required, viz., regions of a State, district, blocks and even individual villages.
 - i) Number and size of operational holdings;
 - ii) Number and area of holdings by tenancy and size of holdings;
 - iii) Area irrigated and un-irrigated;
 - iv) Area under crops
 - v) Land utilisation:
 - vi) Number of livestock; and
 - vii) Number of agricultural implements.

The Census will thus provide the essential data on distribution of holdings by actual sizes of cultivation which is of great value in planning and promoting improved agricultural practices, cropping pattern and other agricultural development programmes. The data would also serve as a bench mark for current agricultural statistics which could be put on a sound footing by periodic census which would thus serve the important purpose of evaluating the progress made by our agriculture under planning. We are having the Population Census in 1961. We are also having the Livestock Census in the same year. Both are on a complete enumeration basis. The Agricultural Census on a complete enumeration basis which would provide information on the structure of agriculture, would thus supplement the information obtained through the Population Census and the Livestock Census.

5. Preliminary work in connection with the 1960 Census has already been initiated by the Ministry of Food & Agriculture in consultation with the Planning Commission, Ministry of Community Development & Cooperation, Central Statistical Organisation, Directorate of National Sample Survey, Indian Council of Agricultural Research and the State Governments. The item coverage and the concepts and definitions to be adopted have been finalised.

- In a major part of the country the basic data on agriculture are at present collected on a complete enumeration basis by a census of the plots through the village patwaris or talatis, who are local officials responsible for the collection of land revenue and administration in the villages. They have cadastral maps showing the boundaries of the different fields in the villages under their charge and maintain records for each field showing the details regarding area, ownership, use of land, cropping etc. The entire system of collection of agricultural statistics is at present integrated with the administrative and revenue machinery of the country and has stood the test of time. Most of the information desired to be collected in the Agricultural Census is at present available in the land records maintained by the patwaris, but this information is according to fields or survey numbers and is not tabulated according to size of operational holdings. Thus the main additional work involved will be recasting the required information according to operational holdings. Collecting certain additional items of information such as livestock, implements, etc. by oral enquiry is also going to be normally done as part of the quinquennial livestock census due in 1961.
- 7. The States were consulted about the need and mode of carrying out the proposed agricultural census. A summary of the replies received from them is given in Annexure I. All the States where land records are maintained regularly have emphasised the need for the conduct of the Census on a complete enumeration basis through the existing revenue agencies as providing the only firm basis for detailed plans for agricultural development, their implementation and assessment. It is therefore proposed to organise the Census on a complete enumeration basis in areas possessing land records i.e. in all the States except the Eastern States of Assam, West Bengal, Bihar, Orissa and Manipur and Tripura. For the Eastern States the possibility of collecting the required data through sampling by utilising the agency of the National Sample Survey is being examined separately.
- 8. At the Centre, a Census Commissioner will be in charge of the Census. He will be responsible for over-all coordination at the all-India level to ensure uniformity and smooth conduct of the Census and uniform and timely tabulation of the results. The results of the Census will be made available within two years of the completion of the field work. The total cost of the Census, based on the replies received from the States, is estimated at about Rs. one crore. Necessary provision has been made in the draft proposals for the Third Five Year Plan for the purpose. The outlines of the scheme for Agricultural Census may be seen in Annexure II.
- 9. Before the State Governments are asked to go ahead with the conduct of the Census, approval of the Cabinet is solicited to the proposal for undertaking the Agricultural Census in 1961-62 on a complete enumeration basis in all States and Union Territories except Assam, Bihar, Orissa, West Bengal and Manipur and Tripura through the agency of the State Governments who are primarily responsible for the conduct of the Census and will be the main users of the data to be collected.

- 10. This note has been approved by the Minister of Food and Agriculture. It has been seen by the Planning Commission, Ministry of Finance (Department of Expenditure) and the Cabinet Secretariat. While the Planning Commission, Cabinet Secretariat and Ministry of Finance recognise the need for detailed information for purposes of physical planning and assessment at block or village level, it has been suggested that for meeting the requirements of the Food and Agriculture Organisation of the United Nations the information which would be collected by the National Sample Survey in the course of its normal rounds would suffice. It has further been suggested that it is desirable to improve the system of village records. As a first step, the Planning Commission have suggested that a Study Group should be set up to consider the types of information required for purposes of area planning at the village, block and district levels.
- 11. In the view of the Ministry of Food & Agriculture, the approach to the Census should be guided primarily by the requirements of data for the formulation and execution of plans for agricultural development at the district, block and village levels. If the opportunity provided by the F.A.O. Agricultural Census is availed of now, we will not only be able to meet our requirements of data for agricultural planning and for assessing the progress made but will also be able to effect lasting improvements in the systems of collection of agricultural statistics through the village revenue agency. Regarding the suggestion of Planning Commission for the setting up of a Study Group, it may be mentioned that a Working Party consisting of the representatives of the Planning Commission, Ministry of Community Development and Cooperation, Ministry of Food and Agriculture and the Directorate of National Sample Survey has already gone into the item coverage of the Census after taking into account the needs of the data for planning etc. This question has also been considered at several interdepartmental meetings. A Sub-Committee on Concepts and Definitions for the Census has also given its recommendations. A Sub-Committee set up earlier by the C.S.O. has also examined the items of agricultural statistics needed at the block level. As already stated in para 7 above, the views of the State Governments regarding the desirability and feasibility of conducting the Census on a complete enumeration basis have already been obtained and all the States with land records system are in favour of the present proposal. Even States like West Bengal and Assam with no land records system are in favour of a Census by complete enumeration. Broad agreement on the items of information to be included in the Census has also been reached as mentioned above as a result of detailed examination of the proposals by Working Groups representing the Central Organisations concerned and the States. After the decision regarding the conduct of the Census on a complete enumeration basis in all States except the Eastern States of Assam, Bihar, Orissa, West Bengal, Manipur and Tripura, where it will be conducted on a sampling basis, has been taken the Ministry of Food & Agriculture will consider the setting up of a small guiding committee to ensure

that the Census will provide the detailed information required for planning and execution of programmes of agricultural development for Community Development Blocks.

20. Subimal Dutt to Nehru⁴⁰

[Refer to item 373]

Prime Minister may kindly see the summary below (flag A) regarding the return of the objects of art borrowed from the Indian Museum, Calcutta, for the exhibition entitled "Five Thousand-Years of Art from India" which is now in Europe. 41 The summary explains the facts clearly. It is unfortunate that before the Government of India entered upon an arrangement with the West European Pool (consisting of West Germany, Switzerland, France, Austria and Italy), the formal consent of the Indian Museum had not been taken. The present position, however, is that this Pool forwarded certain terms in a formal memorandum, which was accepted by the Government of India.

- 2. In accordance, however, with the Prime Minister's direction that the objects of art belonging to the Indian Museum should be returned to the Museum immediately on the conclusion of the exhibition at Paris, a communication to that effect was sent to the Pool members. They have now declined to accept this direction from the Government of India (flag P.). Of course, if we insist on getting our objects back the Pool countries are bound to return them. What is important, however, is that all the objects have been insured very heavily and if the Government of India now go back on the arrangement which they had earlier accepted, the foreign countries concerned will be relieved of their responsibility in regard to insurance cover. Since we cannot take any risk with the safety of these valuable objects, we shall have to insure them ourselves and take the fullest responsibility for their return. This would mean very heavy expense, of the order of several lakhs.
- 3. The foreign countries concerned are not entirely unreasonable in declining to continue the exhibition without the pieces belonging to the Indian Museum. These number 47 out of a total of 964 items, but they are the most important ones and if they were to be excluded, the exhibition would cease to justify its description as "Five Thousand Years of Art from India".
- 4. On the one hand, therefore, there is the commitment to Shrimati Ranu Mookerjee, Chairman of the Trustees of the Indian Museum, Calcutta, that the pieces belonging to the Indian Museum will be returned on the conclusion of the

^{40.} Note, 4 June 1960. File No. 7 (33)-Eur (W)/59, MEA.

^{41.} See Appendix 13.

exhibition in Paris. On the other hand there is the Government of India's formal commitment to a number of foreign countries; and, apart from the embarrassment resulting from our withdrawal from a formally concluded agreement, Government will have to incur heavy expenditure. The decisions to hold the exhibition in various countries were taken at the highest level. In fact apart from Vienna and Rome, there were strong requests at Government level from Belgrade, Prague, Warsaw and Moscow and these have been discussed from time to time. The question of sending the exhibition to USA and UK has also been discussed. Of course, there is no question of sending the exhibition to these countries now.

5. In all the circumstances, PM might consider whether the exhibition should not travel to Vienna, where preliminary arrangements are already in progress, and Rome in accordance with the formal arrangements concluded with the West European Pool, and the position explained again to Shrimati Mookerjee. In this context I place below a letter from the Minister of Scientific Research and Cultural Affairs (flag B) and a telegram (flag G) from Prof. Hundhausen who, as PM knows, was the principal organiser of the exhibition at Essen.

21. Subimal Dutt to M.C. Chagla⁴²

[Refer to item 357]

[New Delhi] 8 June 1960

My dear Chagla,

Please refer to your letter No. 26-A/60 of February 8 to N.R. Pillai, enclosing a letter from the Secretary of the Foster Parents' Plan Inc. 43

I have shown your letter to the Prime Minister. He feels that it would not be right for children in India to accept these small gifts from foreigners. The amount involved is relatively small and somehow or other the idea of the recipients writing letters of thanks to their foster parents for the money received by them does not appeal to me. We shall also not be able to give the facilities which the organization would like to have in India in return for our acceptance of their plan. We suggest, therefore, that you should thank the organization, but explain to them our inability to agree to their proposal.

Yours sincerely, Dutt

42. Letter. Subject File No. 60, Subimal Dutt Papers, NMML.

^{43.} Now known as Plan International, it was founded in 1937 as "Foster Parents Plan for Children in Spain" to provide help to children affected by the Spanish Civil War; during 1940s the organization extended its programme to Europe and later to less developed countries. Its activities in India began in 1979 as a non-governmental organization, Plan India.

22. S.M Shrinagesh to Nehru44

[Refer to item 91]

I am sure that you have heard of the recent disturbances in the plains of Assam by Naga hostiles which have led to a temporary dislocation of goods and passenger trains in the affected area from Lumding to Jaojan, a distance of 60 miles. On two occasions hostiles attacked goods trains, killing one fireman and wounding five others. On both occasions, vigorous action was and is being taken by the Army, to clear the area of Naga hostiles and bring conditions back to normal. The attack on the railway line is in no way a pattern of planned operations. Our Army in the NHTA have located and attacked a number of camps which has led to an immediate reaction. Sporadic raids by hostiles who have escaped from these camps in different directions have increased throughout the area and may continue while the Army maintains to press the hostiles in the NHTA. Yesterday, I held a conference in Shillong at which the General Manager of the North East Frontier Railway was present. I learnt from him that the morale of the Railway staff is low and also certain Union leaders are taking advantage of the situation to stop them from operating. Matters relating to the alleged grievances of the staff are, I understand, being investigated by Mr. Shah Nawaz Khan who is now at Gauhati. In the meanwhile, the Army has promised the Railway a military escort for every train.

- 2. I have given this matter a great deal of thought and I feel that four important things are necessary to be done:-
 - (a) The Army must have a proper HQs in the plains of Assam. At present a Colonel is in charge of the plains sector and operates at Diphu in the Mikir Hills with a skeleton staff, and no transport or communication facilities of his own. A Brigade HQs is located at Shillong. I suggest that this HQs or any other HQs, which the Chief of the Army Staff thinks suitable, should move down to the plains of Assam at once, and another HQs is raised at Shillong by the Army, for operational purposes.
 - (b) Based on a review of the security precautions necessary and the troops available in the area, one additional Police Battalion (preferably CRP) be made available for protecting the vulnerable railway line. Alternatively, a battalion of infantry should be posted to the sector to reinforce the existing strength to ensure that the intensified patrolling of the track and surrounding area to keep it clear of the hostiles which is considered necessary, may be in fact done. For this, the present strength of police plus troops in the sector is inadequate.

^{44.} Letter, Shillong, 8 June 1960.

- (c) Even with the best of security measures, one cannot ensure complete immunity against stray or sneak attacks. Today, we are completely dependent on the goodwill of the Railway Operating personnel to run the trains and they seem to be rather unstable and subjected to outside influences. The security measures taken are fully known to them and they will be running no greater risks than they have been running all these years. Still, they are reluctant to work in the section. To ensure continuous operation of the railway service in this vitally important area, it is necessary to have a body of men who will not flinch from danger, if necessary. It is therefore suggested that a unit of the Territorial Army of Railway Operating personnel, may be embodied and posted to Assam at the earliest. I am given to understand that the Railway Ministry has already taken the matter up and this may be given the top priority which it deserves. The civil supplies situation in Assam is deteriorating very fast and I need not give details about the dislocation which we may have to face in the next few days if the railway running is not resumed.
- (d) I find that inspite of disturbed conditions existing, the Chief Commissioner, Manipur, has not declared his area disturbed, so our Army or Police for want of legal cover, cannot operate against the hostiles in Manipur. The Chief Commissioner should now be asked to declare parts of Manipur disturbed and place at the disposal of the Army, a quantum of Police and Assam Rifles that are now at his disposal for restoring law and order in the disturbed areas. I am sending a copy of this letter to the Home Minister.

23. K.P.S. Menon to Nehru⁴⁵

[Refer to items 188 and 191]

With great diffidence I must comment on composition of party accompanying President. It consists predominantly of personal staff—vide Baig's letter No. 8 (14) PT 160 June 2nd. Fear this will not create good impression here. Suggest personal staff be reduced so as to make party look less regal and more business like. At the same time party may be given some weight by including a few eminent figures from among our less dogmatic economists scientists planners and administrators. Such men will benefit by their visit.

2. True Russians go about in swarms but austerity and informality of your own tours are greatly appreciated here. Am sure our President's simple and homely dignity will also make appeal.

^{45.} Telegram, Moscow, 9 June 1960.

24. Asoke K. Sen to Nehru⁴⁶

[Refer to item 157]

In my absence Hajarnavis recorded the evidence of six witnesses. Their evidences are in file flagged 'B'. The note made by our Ministry on the evidence is in the file flagged 'A'. I have gone through all the documents, the evidence and the exhibits and I am constrained to find that the statement of facts submitted to you by the Punjab Government on which my previous opinion was based, does not appear to be substantiated. It appears that the statement of facts are coloured and not impartial. Portions of documents were referred to which were against Shri Rarewala whereas the other portions of the same documents were omitted which were very much in favour of Shri Rarewala. I will give a few instances.

- (a) In para 3, p. 3 of the Statement of Facts, the report of Shri Jaswant Singh is mentioned. It is stated that according to him on account of percolation of canal water the surrounding area of the tubewell in question had become waterlogged and was no longer under cultivation and that reclamation of that area would have to be undertaken before the tubewell could be utilised properly. In flag 'C', you will find all the exhibits including this letter in question at p. 5. That letter specifically states at p. 7 that the Kotla branch tubewells cannot irrigate more than 2,000 acres and that there was still an area of 1,100 acres left which required irrigation by tubewells and that the tubewell in question would make up this deficiency. Immediately after what is quoted this letter states that there is no canal irrigation in this area and that the cultivators, therefore, depend wholly either on well irrigation or on tubewell irrigation and that a very keen demand for tubewell irrigation was expected. It also states that the tubewell in question would be helpful to cope with the increased demand.
- (b) In para 5 of the statement of facts the letter dated the 16th January, 1958, written by the Superintending Engineer is referred to. The most important portions of that letter were omitted, namely, the points mentioned in p. 2 of that letter at p. 17 of the file—especially the facts that the cultivators of two villages were willing to accept tubewell water rate and that the tubewell in question was situated at a higher level and could command the whole area lying to the west of it as also the area lying uncommanded by the Malaud Disty.
- 2. From the evidence and the documents produced it is impossible to hold that Shri Rarewala manoeuvred to have the tubewell in question acquired by the Govt of Punjab and that the tubewell was otherwise useless for him. It is, however, in evidence that Mrs. Rarewala had requested the Chief Engineer to expedite the

^{46.} Letter, 10 June 1960.

matter. This by itself cannot be held against Shri Rarewala, though as a matter of propriety Mrs. Rarewala should not have made any representation concerning a tubewell belonging to her husband to an officer under him, whether it was for expedition or otherwise. This certainly was wrong but I find that his matter had been prolonged for a long time and the officers concerned far from being careless had exercised utmost scrutiny in the matter. The correspondence and the documents, exhibited, prove this. From the initiation of the proposal up to the acquisition of the tubewell in question all sorts of enquiries were made. I am inclined to believe that the officers concerned were extra careful as they knew that the tubewell belonged to Shri Rarewala.

3. It is also difficult to hold on the evidence that the price of the tubewell was fixed at an unreasonable figure. In view of the controversy raised over this petty matter, I would suggest that the tubewell in question, the structures and the land acquired be valued again by a competent engineer or surveyor not in the employ of the Punjab Government. Whatever price is fixed by him should be accepted. If it is below the price paid to Shri Rarewala it should be accepted by Shri Rarewala and he should refund the excess, if any. If, however, his report is in favour of Shri Rarewala it would be an end of the matter.

This necessarily means that my previous opinion stands modified as the basis on which it was given appears to have been badly shaken. I would, therefore, suggest that no further action be taken against Shri Rarewala excepting to have the tubewell in question valued as I have stated above.

25. Pham Van Dong to Nehru⁴⁷

[Refer to item 485]

Hanoi, 10 June 1960

Your Excellency,

I wish to thank Your Excellency for your letter dated May 20, 1960.48

I deem it necessary to re-state to Your Excellency the views of the Government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam on the strengthening of the U.S. military mission called "MAAG".

As Your Excellency is already aware, this U.S. military organization called "MAAG" was previously set up with a view to intervening in the French aggressive war in our country. Therefore, as the French Expeditionary Corps had to, the military mission "MAAG" should have withdrawn from our country. In maintaining

^{47.} Letter. Translation in File No. 1700 (19)-SD/60, MEA.

^{48.} Nehru's letter has not been traced.

the military mission "MAAG" after the restoration of peace, the United States have infringed the principles of independence and sovereignty of Vietnam and acted counter to the interests of a lasting peace in Vietnam and in Indo-china; these constitute obvious violations of the Geneva Agreements.

Moreover, the military mission "MAAG" has been considerably strengthened both in size and in organization: in fact, it has become a U.S. High Command, a U.S. General Staff in South Vietnam with the purpose of actively carrying out U.S. military schemes to turn South Vietnam into a military base to prepare for a new war.

Coming after continuous violations of the Geneva Agreements over the last six years, this is a new act of sabotage extremely dangerous to these Agreements. The Government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and the people of Vietnam deem it necessary to resolutely struggle against those serious violations for the maintenance of peace.

The Vietnamese people as well as world public opinion are highly surprised to learn that the International Commission has adopted through a majority vote a decision approving the agreement between the U.S. Government and the South Vietnam Administration to increase U.S. military personnel in South Vietnam under the pretext of replacing French military personnel.

The International Commission's decision constitutes a violation of most fundamental provisions of the Geneva Agreements.

Out of our abidance by the Geneva Agreements and our wish for good cooperation with the International Commission, we deem it necessary to oppose any acts which are detrimental to the Geneva Agreements and create a danger of war.

The International Commission's decision approving the strengthening of the U.S. military mission called "MAAG" is a direct and serious threat to peace in Vietnam, Indo-china and South-East Asia. In the interests of the implementation of the Geneva Agreements and of peace, I request Your Excellency and the Government of India to make use of your prestige and, through the Indian Delegation, to see to it that the International Commission holds off the implementation of its decision and reconsiders it.

I avail myself of this opportunity to renew to Your Excellency the assurances of my high consideration.

Pham Van Dong Prime Minister and Minister for Foreign Affairs, Democratic Republic of Vietnam

26. Asoka Mehta to Nehru⁴⁹

[Refer to item 499]

Praja Socialist Party Central Office 18, Windsor Place, New Delhi-1 11 June 1960

Dear Panditji,

Last April I had attended a meeting of the Bureau and the Council of the Socialist International at Haifa. I was specially invited because the International was anxious to discuss problems of Asia and Africa. Hugh Gaitskell, Erich Ollenhauer, Guy Mollet and a number of other Socialists from Europe had come there. As a result of our discussions it was tentatively agreed that we hold a seminar in India some time at the end of the year to discuss ideological problems of socialism in developed as well as in developing countries. The Socialist International will be represented by 15 younger members from the different countries of Europe. Some of them will be members of Parliament and the others will be those engaged in party organisation. They propose to spend two to three months in India to familiarise themselves with the problems of the developing world and also to build close contacts with younger Socialists here.

The participants will be selected and sent out to India by the Socialist Parties under the general approval of the Socialist International. I am anxious to have your general approval to this project so that I may proceed with our plans and later on may not have any difficulties in obtaining visas etc. for the participants to visit India and spend a couple of months going round the country studying our problems and meeting Socialists and other people in the country.

Yours sincerely, Asoka Mehta

27. D.P. Mishra to Nehru⁵⁰

[Refer to item 86]

Gour-Bhawan, Civil Lines, Saugor, (M.P.) 13 June 1960

My dear Panditji,

All these years I have been busy doing my little bit to build up the University of Saugar. You had laid the Foundation Stone of the first building and it has been my keen desire to build up every thing necessary and then to invite you to perform the Opening Ceremony. Unfortunately, funds can be had only from year to year and this slows down the work of construction. On the academic side also I have been able to do something, but much more remains to be done. We have some new departments such as Criminology, Indo-Iranian Studies, Yogic Studies and Philology and Linguistics. Arrangements are being made to start courses in the Philosophy of History and Applied Geography. Like Criminology these two also will be unique as these subjects are not being taught in any of our Universities.

The work in the university interests me and all these years it has occupied the first place in my mind. But as a citizen and a Congressman I have kept myself in touch with events in the country and in my own State. I felt happy when the resolution on Cooperative Farming was accepted by the Nagpur Session of the Congress. I still possess a copy of a letter I had written to you in 1951 pleading for it. In these matters I have always held advanced views. When after the suspension of the movement of 1932 you came to Jabalpur, I presented you with an address of welcome on behalf of the municipality which contained a statement that we shared your socialistic views. It is still a source of joy to me to recall to memory that you were a little startled and smilingly looked up at me.

These and many other pleasant memories of work done as your colleague are all that remains to me now. I know it is a privilege to participate in the building up of New India and I have forfeited it. I have suffered in silence in the belief that a long period of "prayashchitta" was needed. But now I find that a few people in this State are bent upon misrepresenting me for their own selfish ends. To serve their own interests they do not even hesitate to paint a generous man like you as unforgiving. They seem to have a stake in perpetually keeping me away from you and doing whatever they like with this State. I, therefore, felt that I must take courage in both hands and request you to grant me an interview. It is not my desire to press you for my inclusion in the State Cabinet or even for my proper place in the Congress Organisation. I may continue in the university and complete

my work here. But the country is passing through difficult times and I want to place my services at your disposal to be utilised by you in the manner you think fit.

My son Brajesh Chandra Mishra has returned from Belgium and is now working in the Ministry of External Affairs. I can meet you at Delhi on any date that suits your convenience.

With kindest regards,

[D.P. Mishra]

28. Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit to Nehru⁵¹

[Refer to items 461 and 462]

[London]
13 June 1960

[Bhai dear,]

A few days ago Azim received a letter from Mr. G.L. Khanna (our Consul-General in Berlin) enclosing a copy of a letter sent to you by Mayor Willy Brandt. I was surprised to see a reference to me which has no bearing to the truth whatsoever.

As you will remember, I was present at lunch when the Mayor was talking to you. A few days later there was some comment in the German papers to the effect that the Mayor had been snubbed by you at the lunch. My attention was drawn to this by the Indian correspondents here and I immediately said that that was completely false, that I had been present at the luncheon and participated in the conversation which was of the most cordial nature.

At a reception about this time at India House the German Minister was talking to Azim and myself about the success of the Mayor's visit to London. I commented that I was sorry to hear from some Indian journalists that some paper or papers in Germany had tried to distort the visit. The Minister asked if I had been present and I told him that I was there throughout the visit and repeated what I had said to the journalists. I added that the Mayor was merely explaining the situation to you and the whole afternoon was spent in a friendly and cordial way. The German Minister is a man I have known for several years. He is much respected here and I personally like him. I cannot imagine that he could have distorted my conversation with him. I tried to get in touch with him to verify this but he has been out. I write this now for your information. I would like the Mayor to be corrected on this point.

[Love.]

[Nan]

^{51.} Letter. Subject File No. 61, Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit Papers (First Instalment), NMML.

29. (a) Note of Subimal Dutt⁵²

[Refer to item 4]

I had a discussion this morning with the Defence Minister in regard to press reports of Chinese activities across our frontier in the north-east and in Ladakh. The COAS, CAS, CGS and DMI were also present; also Shri Sarin.

North-East

I was informed that there are Chinese activities in the area bordering NEFA in the neighbourhood of Tsona Dzong and on the Bhutan and Sikkim border. The Chinese may possibly be strengthening their forces in the area. Also, part of the activity is attributable to their logistic requirements in respect of supplies etc.

Ladakh

There is a PTI report in the newspapers this morning about the flight of Chinese aeroplanes over eastern Ladakh. In fact our own planes have been flying over the area on reconnaissance and it is certain that this information leaked through some source to the local PTI correspondent in Srinagar. I am speaking to the PTI and urging on them the need for the exercise of more discretion in such matters. We cannot admit that these are flights by our own planes; that would be giving the Chinese a warning. On the other hand, we cannot let the report stand, because that would be keeping up suspense in the minds of our own people.

29. (b) Note of Subimal Dutt⁵³

[Refer to item 4]

I have since spoken to the P.M. He said that we shall have to say that the flights are by our own planes. We should, however, say this in a manner so as not to give the Chinese an indication that we are overflying territory occupied by them, but that our planes normally fly within our area to keep in touch with our posts and to drop supplies to them.

^{52. 13} June 1960. File No. 43, S. Dutt Papers, NMML.

^{53. 13} June 1960. File No. 43, S. Dutt Papers, NMML.

30. Gopichand Bhargava to Nehru54

[Refer to items 278 and 279]

Chandigarh 14 June 1960

My dear Panditji,

I beg to draw your attention to an important matter. It is about a column "Mother Tongue" in the Census Rolls. You would kindly remember that at the Census of 1951, the provision of this column, so far as Punjab is concerned, resulted in rioting, especially in the district of Jullundur. You then decided that this particular column was not to be tabulated separately so far as Punjab Zone was concerned. The figures were accordingly not tabulated separately, but instead figures for Urdu, Hindi, Punjabi and Pahari were tabulated in one and the same column. In 1921 and 1931, the Arya Samaj carried on propaganda and the result was that the then Census Commissioner expressed adverse opinion to the introduction of this column. In the Census of 1951 the column was omitted altogether. So far as the Census of 1951 is concerned, I have just explained the position. If this column is retained for the Census of 1961 there will be efforts by the communities to inflate the figures and meanwhile active propaganda will be carried on which would accentuate communal feelings in the State. I would accordingly suggest that this column should be omitted so far as Punjab is concerned. The very object of having it would be defeated, in as much as different interests would give inflated figures which will not be a correct picture. It will depend upon an enumerator who will give figures, according as he is a Sikh or a Hindu; the former inflating figures of Punjabi-speaking people and the latter those of Hindi-speaking population.

2. The same applies so far as religion is concerned. I would suggest that there may be only a column for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes.

As the question is of far-reaching importance, I am venturing to trouble you. With kind regards,

Yours sincerely, Gopichand Bhargava

31. S.M. Shrinagesh to Nehru⁵⁵

[Refer to items 93-95]

Last year (February 1959) at Hyderabad, I had rather a severe reaction to a penicillin injection. This was followed a month or so later with tremors of my left

54. Letter. File No. 2 (316)/59-66-PMS, Vol. I. Also available in JN Collection.

Letter, Shillong, 14 June 1960. File No. 1 (5)/60, President's Secretariat. Also available in JN Collection.

foot muscles. I consulted specialists in Delhi who asked me not to take any notice of it.

During the last three months, these tremors have been getting worse and now I have to take drugs to control them. The medical opinion here feels that I should go to England at once for consultation and treatment at a Neurological Centre where specialist work of this nature is being done. I need only be away from India for a fortnight.

Recently, the President approved of my going to Hyderabad via Delhi to take part in an important meeting in connection with the Staff College. ⁵⁶ I shall be in Delhi on the 21st and 22nd of this month and in Hyderabad on the 23rd and 24th. Whilst I am in Delhi I shall again consult specialists on the 21st and would very much like to come and see you on Wednesday, 22nd June, if that is convenient for you. If the specialists in Delhi confirm that I should go to England, I would have to make a request for a fortnight's leave on medical advice.

As the President will not be in Delhi when I arrive there at 10 p.m. on the 20th, I would be ever so grateful if you would kindly mention this matter to him.

My address in Delhi will be:

C/o Kewal Raj Puri, 12, Friends Colony, Mathura Road, New Delhi.

Except for these tremors I am in good health.

32. Bertrand Russell to Nehru⁵⁷

[Refer to item 487]

Plas Penrhyn, Penrhyndeudraeth, Merioneth. 14 June 1960

Dear Mr. Nehru.

My warm thanks for your letter of June 6⁵⁸ and for the enclosed joint statement by yourself and Mr. Nasser. The letter, as you would suppose, gives me very great satisfaction and I hope that among the uncommitted nations many will wish to subscribe to it. Are any steps being taken towards this end? I quite appreciate the truth of what you say about the uncommitted nations being a "varied lot" and about the undesirability of too many public statements, but I am encouraged by

58. See item 486.

^{56.} Shrinagesh was the Principal, Administrative Staff College, Hyderabad, 1957-59.

^{57.} Letter. JN Supplementary Papers, NMML. Also available in JN Collection.

your suggestion that private approaches may prepare the ground for a public approach.

Philip Noel-Baker,⁵⁹ for whom I have a great respect, hopes that you will advocate a disarmament proposal of the kind proposed by the United Nations Association. If you would officially put forward such a proposal, he says, "I believe it might be immensely difficult for the United States to refuse it. I feel convinced that France and even Britain would like to support it." He hopes that you will, yourself, come to the Assembly⁶⁰ in September to state the absolute necessity of disarmament and to suggest a definite scheme of disarmament, which he hopes would be more or less similar to that proposed by the United Nations Association. In a letter to me he says, "If Nehru came and put this to the Assembly, I believe it would overnight revolutionize the world situation. American opinion is undoubtedly moving, and they pay a lot of attention to India and to Nehru personally. I believe we could make it very difficult for the United Kingdom Government to oppose this, and undoubtedly the Communist bloc would welcome it warmly."

The question of disarmament has been rendered very complex by a multiplicity of schemes, some of them put forward in the hope that they will not be adopted. I do not know whether your view as to what is feasible is the same as Noel-Baker's but I do feel that your reputation for wisdom and impartiality makes achievements possible for you which are not possible for anyone else.

With kindest regards,

Yours sincerely, Russell

33. M.C. Chagla to Nehru⁶¹

[Refer to item 211]

[Washington] 15 June 1960

When I saw you last in Delhi, I had suggested that I would like to return to India in November having by that time finished two years in this assignment. You only smiled and gave no indication of your intention. I know you have enough headaches and I don't want to add to them. But may I request you to let me know your decision? If I am returning to India, I trust wind up my affairs here and what is more important, set up a home in India. When you asked me to come here, I was

^{59.} British Labour MP; campaigner for disarmament; used proceeds from the Nobel Peace Prize, 1959, to fund the Disarmament Enquiry launched by the UNA.

^{60.} The UN General Assembly.

^{61.} Letter. M.C. Chagla Papers, NMML.

living in an official house and I had to leave at short notice with the result that all my belongings are scattered all over Bombay and when I return, I will not have a roof over my head although I have lived all my life in Bombay.

I feel that in any assignment one should not outlive one's usefulness. I have already travelled in many parts of the country. I have spoken to various sections of the people and I have tried to interpret to them what India stands for. The Indo-American relations were never more cordial than they are today. The suspicion about India's so called neutrality and socialistic policy has been removed and there is a fairly full appreciation both of India's foreign and economic policy. Under these circumstances, I feel that continuing to stay here would only mean my enjoying the comforts and luxury of the American way of life without my being able to make any further contribution to the interests of our country. Apart from the fact that I intensely dislike exile from my country and being removed from the centre of things, I think I can serve her much more usefully by being at home than abroad.

If you have any plans for me, I will, of course, consider them from that deep sense of loyalty which I owe to you. If you have none, I can quietly retire in Bombay and meditate over the vanity of all things and the transitoriness of human affairs.

34. Subimal Dutt to Nehru62

[Refer to items 15 and 134]

The attached note was left with Shri K.L. Mehta by an officer of the U.K. High Commission today.

- 2. A number of points occur to me.
- (i) Phizo has entered UK obviously with a forged passport. Are the U.K. Government going to overlook this? They were very particular about action against Indians who entered U.K. some months ago on forged passports. Apparently, Mr. Martin of the U.K. High Commission, who saw Shri Mehta, told him that the U.K. Government are rather liberal in the grant of political asylum. This is a fact. South Africans of non-European origin, who have recently escaped from South Africa, have gone to the U.K., but it is possible that no action could be taken against them even if the U.K. Government wished to, because they are Commonwealth nationals. The same consideration would arise in the case of Phizo. He is a Commonwealth national, who has entered U.K. and, therefore, no action is possible against him under the British law.

^{62.} Note, 16 June 1960. Subject File No. 42, S. Dutt Papers, NMML.

(ii) I believe there are criminal cases pending against Phizo. We are trying to find out whether there is an extradition law between India and the U.K. If there is, should we ask for the extradition of Phizo.

My first reaction is that we should not go into this business of extradition. That would attract world wide publicity of Phizo and would not do us much good. If Phizo wants to stay on in the U.K., let him do so, but we should tell the U.K. Government that he is a fugitive from our justice and the U.K. Government should ensure that while he is in their territory, he does not indulge in activities directed against India.

3. The press here has got scent of Phizo's presence in London and asked us about this. I think we should say that we have been officially informed by the U.K. Government that Phizo has entered U.K. on a San Salvador passport and, according to the information given to us by the U.K. Government, Phizo left Karachi airport on March 7 for Zurich where he remained until he reached U.K. on the 12th June. We need not say anything about Michael Scott accompanying him.

35. B.N. Jha to Vishnu Sahay⁶³

[Refer to item 198]

[...]

- 3. I have discussed the constitutional position with Shri Lokur, Law Secretary. The provisions of clause (2) of Article 65 of the Constitution could be invoked to meet the situation. A copy of Article 65 is attached. Under clause (2) of that Article, when the President is unable to discharge his functions owing to absence, illness or any other cause, the Vice-President can discharge those functions. It may be mentioned that when the Vice-President discharges the functions of the President under this clause, the President remains in office and continues to be President and his functions are discharged by the Vice-President as Vice-President. This provision may be contrasted with the provision in clause (1) under which the Vice-President acts as President in the event of occurrence of a casual vacancy.
- 4. During the period the Vice-President discharges the functions of the President, he is entitled to all the powers and immunities of the President and to the emoluments, allowances and privileges admissible to the President, but he cannot perform the duties as Chairman of Rajya Sabha or draw the salary or allowance payable to him as such Chairman of [Rajya Sabha] (vide proviso to

^{63.} Note, 16 June 1960. File No. 13/7/60-Pub. I, MHA. Only excerpts are available in the file. In his forwarding letter, B.N. Jha wrote that the note had been prepared after discussion with Vishnu Sahay on 15 June with B.N. Lokur, the Law Secretary, present.

Article 64). The duties of the office of the Chairman of Rajya Sabha will have to be performed by the Deputy Chairman (vide clause (1) of Article 91).

36. C.R. Sundaram to Nehru⁶⁴

[Refer to items 202-204]

The Grove, Teynampet, Madras 18 16 June 1960

My dear Bhai,

Sometime ago, I spoke to you about the parting of ways between Tatas and me. My regard for Tatas continues to be such that I am sometimes sorry I could not resonate with Tatas' (Voltas') plans for me and that I did not therefore make it possible for the association between the great organisation and me to be maintained in one capacity or another. What I told you still holds good, namely, I have not been able to locate any such job as does, in my opinion, equate with what I will like to do or with my experience. As one of the non-official directors on the Board of the National Small Industries Corporation (Commerce & Industry Ministry), I am getting opportunities for utilising my "private sector" administrative and managerial experience.

I am 50 years old and although I do not want to, or cannot afford to, remain unemployed much longer, I do not want to rush into a job—there are quite a few like that—which will fetch me a good salary mainly because, through God's grace, my entire status vis-à-vis the officers of the Government of India and the State Governments is good. Really, the job I will like most is a teaching one that will afford me opportunities for distributing my managerial and administrative experience amongst those who are to replenish the management potential in India. So far as the salary is concerned, I would be satisfied with a quantum that will allow me to maintain as far as possible the living standards to which I am accustomed.

Soon after a divorce between Tatas and myself had come about, Naval Tata told me about Tatas having been informally asked to suggest someone who will adequately take over the Principalship of the Hyderabad Administrative Staff College. Naval, in asking me if he may suggest my name, warned me that the salary and facilities will fall short of what I was getting with Tatas. Without thinking twice I told Naval "Yes" because I feel that I am equipped to do justice

^{64.} Letter. File No. 4 (20)/60-61-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

to an occupation of that kind. I say so because, through God's grace, I seem able also to secure the confidence and nearness of all kinds of people—qualities useful where the conducting of a "post-graduate" teaching institution is concerned. In this connection I may tell you that, for the past two years, I have been an examiner vis-à-vis a section of study connected with the Diploma in Business Management, Delhi University, and my lectures to the concerned students on relevant and topical subjects seemed to have been appreciated. Anyhow, up to date, I have heard nothing in the matter either directly or via Naval and it is possible that General Shrinagesh's place as the Principal has already been filled.

I realise that this letter is more talkative than indicative and it certainly has not been easy for me to decide on writing to you who are seized with very vital and urgent problems. Please forgive me—I do not expect any reply to this—I just want to tell you "Here I am".

With my love & respects.

Yours C.R. Sundaram

37. Tashi Namgyal to Nehru⁶⁵

[Refer to items 184-185]

The Palace, Gangtok, Sikkim 17 June 1960

Your Excellency,

During the recent visit of the Union Minister for Information and Broadcasting, Dr. B.V. Keskar, I had an opportunity to discuss with him various cultural matters relating to Sikkim and the development activities in Sikkim in general. I am grateful to Your Excellency and to the Government of India for their kind and keen interest in the all round progress and prosperity of Sikkim and for the loan and generous aid we have received to enable us to make a good beginning. I had mentioned to Dr. Keskar our great need to have a Radio Station for Sikkim which will be useful for the mutual interest of both India and Sikkim. I was glad to understand from him that this would receive sympathetic consideration by the Government of India. I am confident that Your Excellency will help us in this regard also. As for the present neither our own resources permit us to establish and undertake such a project nor we possess in Sikkim the know-how to run a Radio Station, I would

be very grateful if the Government of India could undertake to establish and run a Radio Station on behalf of Sikkim.

2. My son had had some discussions also on this subject in the past and I feel confident that close collaboration and mutual consultation between him and the Ministry of Information & Broadcasting and the Director General, All India Radio, will ensure harmonious working of the Radio Station in conformity with the cultural and other needs of Sikkim and to the good and advantage of our two countries.

With warm regards,

I remain, Your Excellency's sincere friend, Tashi Namgyal Maharaja of Sikkim

38. (a) Subimal Dutt to N.R. Pillai⁶⁶

[Refer to item 490]

I am troubling Secretary General with this matter since I shall be out of the country for a fortnight.

- 2. The Prime Minister wanted an analytical note on the latest Soviet disarmament proposals. This note has been prepared by Shri Rajan and is placed below (flag X). Prime Minister also wanted a more comprehensive summary of the earlier proposals mentioning in particular the proposals made by the Indian delegation to the United Nations from time to time. This note is to be printed for record and reference. It is now under preparation by Shri Rajan with the assistance of Shri Krishna Rao.⁶⁷
- 3. The Soviet proposals are accompanied by a message addressed by Mr. Khrushchev on June 2 to the Heads of all Governments. He expressed the hope "that the proposals of the Soviet Government, prompted solely by the desire to facilitate and expedite the conclusion of an agreement on this most important question of our time, the question of general and complete disarmament, will meet with understanding and support of your government". While handing over the proposals to Shri K.P.S. Menon in Moscow on June 2, Mr. Kuznetsov⁶⁸ expressed the hope that the Government of India would give careful consideration to these proposals which they would then like to discuss with us.
- 4. It is clear from Shri Rajan's note that the latest Soviet proposals represent a constructive attempt to meet the objections raised to their earlier proposals by

^{66.} Note, 18 June 1960. File No. 5 (5)-UN II/60, Vol. I, MEA.

^{67.} K. Krishna Rao, Deputy Secretary, MEA.

^{68.} V.V. Kuznetsov, the First Deputy Foreign Minister of USSR.

the Western Powers. In essence these proposals are fair and deserve to be supported. There are some details on which further clarification may be necessary. On one point the Western Powers are bound to be difficult; that is the liquidation of foreign bases in the first stage, together with the destruction of all means of delivering nuclear weapons and the stopping of the manufacture of such weapons.

- 5. The main question for us is how we should express our views on these proposals and when. In view of the importance of the problem of disarmament, I feel that we should express to the Soviet, US, UK and French Governments our interest in the success of the disarmament discussions and our view that the Soviet proposals are a constructive approach to the problem. To the Western Powers in particular we should express our hope that they will not reject these proposals but will try to find a solution of the difficulties which occur to them. I also think that no formal communication giving our support to the proposals in general should be sent to the Soviet Government at this stage. Publicity to our support might prevent us from being able to exercise a constructive role later. There is no objection, however, to our discussing the proposals with the Soviet Government and telling them that we regard these proposals as a constructive approach to the problem and hope that they will form the basis of an ultimate agreement.
- 6. The foregoing represents my first reaction. I have not had time to study the proposals in detail. SG might keep the Prime Minister informed at this stage and then discuss with the Defence Minister.
 - 7. P.M. mentioned this subject to me this morning.

38. (b) N.R. Pillai to Nehru⁶⁹

[Refer to item 490]

The succession of events that have taken place since May 1 with almost fatalistic frequency has dissipated the favourable climate in Great Power relations which had been patiently developed during an earlier period. In this situation, the approach to the major world problems and the search for agreed solutions to them assume a new and added importance. During a period of lessening tensions, failure to reach rapid international agreement on the problems of peace would not necessarily involve untoward consequences. When, however, relations are soured and fear and suspicion take hold of humanity, as they are again now doing, lack of progress in international discussions on vital problems might itself cause a further deterioration in the general situation. The current Disarmament talks are thus invested in their present international setting with a new urgency and significance,

and the outcome of these talks will largely determine future trends in world affairs. The success of these talks is, therefore, a matter in which all nations are, and should be, interested, and, quite apart from the part we have played in the past in the UN and elsewhere in the discussion of this subject, it is entirely right for us to throw the whole weight of our support behind efforts directed to the achievement of progress towards a Disarmament Treaty.

2. The latest Soviet proposals represent an advance on all previous ones, and while they will require much modification if they are to be acceptable to the Western powers, they afford nevertheless a fair and reasonable basis for serious discussion and negotiation. We can best help by emphasising this and, as suggested by FS, by appealing to the main participants, through diplomatic channels, to press forward on the basis of these proposals towards an agreement. What other steps may profitably be taken can be considered after further study and discussion.

39. Subimal Dutt to Nehru⁷⁰

[Refer to item 133]

I am sorry that I have not been able to discuss this problem in detail with the Prime Minister. The summary below states the facts precisely. My tentative views are:

- (i) Prime Minister will have to receive the members of the negotiating Committee. It is not essential for him to meet them within the next week or two. On the other hand, to postpone the meeting until the next cold weather, as the Governor suggests, would not, in my view, be altogether right. That would almost indicate to the Naga leaders that we are not keen on having any negotiations.
- (ii) We shall have to concede the Naga demand for a separate state. The Nagas are most allergic to the Sixth Schedule and even if we gave them all that they wanted through special provisions in the Sixth Schedule, they would not feel satisfied. On the other hand, they might be willing to accept the safeguards we have in mind and some special provisions such, for example, as a common Governor and a common High Court with Assam, provided we make provision for these in a manner which would not bring the Sixth Schedule in. The Governor apparently favours a separate schedule in the Constitution for the Naga territory in particular. Our constitutional experts may be able to advise, but if we are getting away from the idea of the Sixth Schedule, it is for consideration whether we should take recourse to another schedule and whether that would satisfy the Nagas.

^{70.} Note, 19 June 1960. Subject File No. 42, S. Dutt Papers, NMML.

2. The Governor will be seeing the Prime Minister tomorrow. Prime Minister may therefore see these papers immediately.

40. Baba Kharak Singh to Nehru⁷¹

[Refer to item 47]

2, Racquet Court Road, Civil Lines, Delhi-8 20 June 1960

I have been thinking to write to you with regard to the agitation for the "Punjabi Suba" but due to your absence from Delhi I could not write earlier. I wish to say that I do not stand for the creation of a Sikh State or any further division of the Punjab. The main object of my this letter is to bring to your notice some facts regarding the recent demonstrations held by the Akalis in Chandni Chowk, Delhi on Sunday, 12th June 1960.

I have been approached by many responsible Sikh leaders of various parties who are not at all allied with the Akali Dal. They have given some facts regarding the "lathi charge" made by the police on Akali demonstrators. They have informed me that many Sikhs who are not at all connected with the Akalis and have nothing to do with the agitation for the Punjabi Suba have been indiscriminately victimised and manhandled. The general sentiments of Sikh masses are very much enraged. This has pained me in the extreme. It also casts a serious reflection on our National Government and discredits the Congress regime.

I suggest that an impartial inquiry Commission should be appointed immediately to look into the true facts. In this Commission, both officials, and non-official members should be included. This will go a long way to pacify the Sikh sentiments.

41. Raj Bahadur Gour to Nehru⁷²

[Refer to items 41-42]

1-8-1/60 Suryanagar, Hyderabad 20 22 June 1960

I am writing to you again on an old subject. This concerns the Nizam's Trusts and the role of Messrs. Taraporwala, Shavax A. Lal and V.P. Menon.

This matter has been agitating the people of Hyderabad and I could assert that even the Government is agitated over it. I know you are aware of the fraud

71. Letter.

72. Letter.

that is being committed by those who administer the 5 crore and 11 lakh of Trust money. They are squandering it. They are trying to and claim to have succeeded in bribing even some officials.

I would only request you to call for the Agenda of the Board of Trustees' meeting that is scheduled to the held probably on June 23, 1960. I understand that most of the proposals for giving away Trust moneys are ridiculous.

I only want you to explore the possibilities of moving the Special Police Establishment of the Home Ministry to investigate into this corruption and fraud.

My dear Panditji, none could be as anxious as you would be when huge amounts are squandered in this manner when our country needs every rupee that we could lay our hands on.

I therefore request you again to do your best in this regard. I beg your pardon for having encroached on your very busy time.

42. G.B. Pant to Nehru73

[Refer to item 278]

Camp: Nainital 22 June 1960

My dear Jawaharlalji,

I have received your letter of June 16 with which you sent me copy of Dr. Gopichand Bhargava's letter to you regarding enumeration of the mother tongue in the census. Last year Partap Singh had written about the matter to you and Giani Kartar Singh had also written to me. We had told them in reply that the omission of the column would create many difficulties. The question had been examined in consultation with the census experts and it was felt that if the column was omitted, it would detract from the value of the census. Information about the language is considered a necessary part of the census everywhere and if this item is omitted in the Indian Census it will be an obvious departure from the normal practice. To have this column for the other States and not for the Punjab would be even more difficult. The all-India language figures will remain incomplete and without the advantage of comparability. Misunderstanding is also likely to be created by the omission of this column in one State only.

In the particular circumstances of the Punjab there might be some difficulties in carrying out the enumerations, but it would be better to face them so that the normal processes of the census may have their usual course.

Yours affectionately, G.B. Pant

73. Letter. File No. 2 (316)/59-66-PMS, Vol. I.

43. Iftikhar Ahmed Khan to Nehru74

[Refer to item 159]

Mubarik Manzil Palace, Maler Kotla 22 June 1960

I have been thinking of writing to you about the present Punjabi Suba agitation. In my letter to you at the decision of merging the PEPSU with the Punjab, I had expressed surprise at this decision of the Reorganisation of States Commission, and I had expressed the same opinion in my note to the Chairman of the Commission, the late Sir Fazl Ali. I still hold the opinion that the Reorganisation of States was too early. The Sikhs had all along been satisfied with the existence of the PEPSU, but on its merger, and the formation of new States they had got a justification to demand a State of their own, hence the cause for the present agitation.

Probably, for various political and security reasons, the Government is reluctant in conceding this demand, but I am of opinion that Government is responsible for giving justification to various communities for agitation, for formation of States on a linguistic and cultural basis.

Under the present circumstances when grave political implications loom large on our horizon, I consider agitation for the solution of such problems as reorganisation of new States most inopportune.

At this juncture, instead, of indulging in agitation and lending support to fissiparous tendencies, the Nation should unitedly concentrate in facing internal difficulties and the very grave and serious situation which threatens the very borders of our country.

The great respect the Sikhs have had all along for the Ruler of Maler Kotla and his House, makes me feel that I may be able to help the Punjab Government in finding a solution to bring the present Punjabi Suba agitation to an end.

If my offer is appreciated by you, it may very kindly be conveyed to Sardar Partap Singh Kairon, the Punjab Chief Minister. I shall be only too glad to contact the Sikh leaders after the necessary consultations with him.

44. (a) V.H. Coelho to N.R. Pillai75

[Refer to item 296]

There have been three news items recently slanderous in content, linking President Nasser with Vijayantimala, the Indian actress: the first was in the "Muslim Herald"

^{74.} Letter.

^{75.} Note, 22 June 1960. File No. 21-C (40)-WANA/60, MEA.

published in Bombay in Gujerati on the 15th May under the headline "Nasser marrying Vijayantimala?"; the second in the "Sunday Hindusthan Standard" published at Delhi on the 19th June, 1960; and the third in the "Ananda Bazar Patrika" published in Bengali at Calcutta on Saturday, the 18th June.

- 2. On the publication of the item in the "Muslim Herald" the U.A.R. Consul-General in Bombay brought the matter to the notice of the D.P.I.O. in Bombay, and while no cutting is available, the D.P.I.O.'s report is at flag "B". The D.P.I.O.'s report also states that the "Muslim Herald" is a newly started paper, published by one Abdul Ghani Ibrahim Merchant of Thana District. The U.A.R. Cousul-General in bringing the matter to the D.P.I.O.'s notice also asked that the Ministry of External Affairs should be informed "for necessary action". On receiving the D.P.I.O.'s report, Director, X.P., wrote to the Chief Secretary to the Government of Bombay suggesting that suitable action should immediately be taken against the journal "since the present article is a most uncalled for and mischievous attack on a Head of a State with whom India has very close friendly relations".
- 3. The second news item in the "Sunday Hindusthan Standard" follows more or less the same lines as the first. The U.A.R. Chargé called on me on June 20 asking that action against the paper should be considered. The third item is the most colourful of the lot and has drawn wildly on imagination. A translation of the item is at flag 'C'. Inter alia, the item says that "a high official of the External Affairs Ministry recently visited Bombay and made an on the spot investigation. He would shortly submit a report of his findings to the Government of India.["]
- 4. Director, Public Relations (Shri Obedur Rehman), also understands that the story has already been carried by the Agence France-Presse and NAFEN and has probably appeared in papers abroad.
- 5. I had referred the matter of these slanderous news items to the Home Secretary and Law Secretary. The Law Secretary has recorded his views in his note dated 22nd June 1960 at pages 5-8 ante. In discussion, the Home Secretary expressed the view that legal action, even though it may be possible against the "Hindusthan Standard" and the "Ananda Bazar Partrika", may not be altogether desirable as it will give further publicity to the matter. Both these papers are, however, in some sense reasonable publications and could be called upon to make amends through the publication of a correction or apology.
- 6. S.G. may kindly see these papers. It may also be desirable to bring this matter to the notice of the Prime Minister.

44. (b) N.R. Pillai to Nehru⁷⁶

[Refer to item 296]

This is a scurrilous and reprehensible gossip item and I am surprised that newspapers of the standing of the "Ananda Bazar Patrika" and the "Hindusthan Standard" should have thought fit to publish this. I think an approach should be made to the Editors or other responsible representatives of these two newspapers with a view to getting them to publish an apology. If they do not agree, we shall have to consider what action we can take to express our displeasure.

- 2. The "Muslim Herald" obviously belongs to the gutter press, and I doubt if any serious notice need be taken of it, though we should consult the State Government as to what action can be taken.
- 3. It will be seen from the Law Secretary's note of June 22 that legally we are practically helpless in dealing with publication of such objectionable articles. I propose to ask our Legal branch to make a study of the law and practice in other countries in regard to this matter and to make recommendations.
- 4. Shri Obaidur Rahman in his note of June 21 has suggested that PM might refer to this matter indirectly at his next Press Conference. I do not agree with this. Any reference by PM would only result in wider publicity being given to this objectionable piece of gossip.

45. (a) Note of V.K. Krishna Menon⁷⁷

[Refer to item 505]

I was not present at the conversation referred to at "A" in note 3 ante. I do not however understand it. As far as I understand it, there are security objections. So far as I am aware neither the Defence Ministry nor A.H.Q. was asked or told about the decisions contained in Encl. 1-A and therefore the latter had no opportunity to present their case. The position as stated at 'B' in note 5 ante is regrettable. This is not a question of "differences" between two Ministries but of national security and the safety of I.A.F. personnel. It is not a question of Jorhat airfield either. Supplies cannot of course be jeopardised. We understand that IAC was doing it. The change was not known to us. Let CAS speak to P.M. If the position of the contract with a scheduled operator is to continue, owing to the fact that the contract is concluded, IAF and the Defence Ministry may be directed by the P.M. to strengthen security arrangements on the whole area and to restrict time, corridors and ceilings or lowest sky levels of the flight. CAS may point out the security aspect. [sic] terms of official act to it.

^{76.} Note, 23 June 1960. File No. 21-C (40)-WANA/60, MEA.

^{77. 23} June 1960. File No. 14 (5)/NEFA/60, MEA

45. (b) N.R. Pillai to Nehru⁷⁸

[Refer to item 505]

Under instructions from the Defence Minister, the Chief of the Air Staff wishes to see PM about this case. PM might kindly indicate when it will suit him to see CAS, but he will no doubt wish to defer decisions until after FS's return.

- 2. On going through the papers, I am perfectly clear as to one thing, and that is that the decision to entrust this task to a private air line company was forced upon the NEFA Administration by the singularly unhelpful attitude of IAC and by the declared preoccupation of IAF with their own immediate responsibilities. It is also relevant to note that the objection to the present arrangement advanced on security considerations has been taken at a later stage than it should have been.
- 3. It will be noted that the Agreement with the Kalinga Air Lines is for a period of three years and that there is no provision for earlier termination of the agreement unless the Kalinga Air Line Company commits a breach of any of the terms and conditions of the agreement. Cancellation of the agreement at this stage, therefore, would expose us to a substantial claim for damages from the company.
- 4. As the Defence Minister has indicated in his note of June 23, the solution perhaps lies in strengthening the security arrangements connected with flights undertaken by the Kalinga Air Lines in the area of their operations under the agreement.

46. Khandubhai K. Desai to Nehru⁷⁹

[Refer to item 244]

Gandhi Majoor Sevalaya, Bhadra, Ahmedabad 25 June 1960

I would not normally like to encroach upon your precious time by correspondence. However, the unfortunate developments that are taking place in the country arising out of the recommendations of the Pay Commission have induced me to share my personal reactions with you so that if possible some practical way may be suggested out of the impasse.

79. Letter.

^{78.} Note, 28 June 1960. File No. 14 (5)/NEFA/60, MEA

- 2. Vasavadaji has, no doubt, acquainted you with the general situation in the country with regard to various aspects of the labour situation. He has talked to me in details about his talks with you and he was happy that your reactions were favourable to our approach. I am very happy to read in today's papers your views with regard to the threatened strike move by the Government employees. You have very rightly reiterated that the Pay Commission's recommendations should be accepted as an award and any demand by the employees outside the orbit of the Pay Commission's recommendations are not only unreasonable but will defeat the very purpose of the appointment of the Pay Commission.
- 3. The INTUC organisations have also consistently taken this stand and have been able substantially to persuade the employees under their fold to accept this stand without reservation and are propagating this viewpoint among the workers.
- 4. Even though the stand mentioned above is the only right course to adopt, I am constrained to state that in concretising the recommendations of the Pay Commission, considerable confusion has been created giving opportunities to the political parties opposed to us to exploit the situation for ulterior motives, and, therefore, unless the Government comes out categorically and clearly as to how it wants to implement the recommendations, Government employees will stand completely confused in the matter of strike call given by some organisations. I would, therefore, like to suggest for your consideration some points which may clarify Government attitude in the matter.
- 5. The main recommendation of the Pay Commission was with regard to monetary increase in scales of pay in various categories of employees and the merger of the dearness allowance in the scales. The recommendation requires to be concretised and in doing so it must entail detailed calculations which, I understand, have not yet been done, except in the case of the railway employees where it has been worked out, but not yet paid so that the employees may be enabled to know the exact picture of their consolidated pay scales as a result of the acceptance of this main recommendation. Even though Government has accepted this main recommendation in theory, employees have not yet received any increased emoluments up-to-now, creating unnecessary confusion. What therefore requires to be done is, in my view, the setting up of the Joint Committees in various Departments to evolve the new scales that result from the recommendations, as the Railway Board has very nearly done. In case there is major difference in the matter of evolving such scales within the orbit of the Pay Commission's recommendations, such differences should be referred to a Tribunal for final decision. The Pay Commission itself has recommended arbitration for resolving disputes and therefore there is nothing wrong in accepting that suggestion.

- 6. In contrast to the situation in para. 5 above, the recommendations which were adverse to the employees, e.g. the cutting of the casual leave and the proposal to curtail half Saturdays have already been put into practice creating unnecessary resentment and sullenness. I, personally, feel that the Government should have come out with a declaration that it will accept all the recommendations of the Pay Commission as an Award and would implement them in practical shape without any delay. Instead of following this straight course, it created confusion by piecemeal implementation creating avoidable confusion.
- 7. There was also, I believe, no warrant for rejecting or modifying any of the recommendations of the Pay Commission. Government should have, as you very rightly said in your press conference, accepted the recommendations fully and thereby creating a moral stand so that the public opinion would have been entirely with the Government and any call of strike by Government employees could not have received any sympathy whatsoever, but the situation as has developed leaves room for doubts and gives opportunities to our opponents to mislead Government employees. I would, therefore, very earnestly request you to clarify the stand of the Government before the call for a strike takes effect. It will also strengthen our hands to deal with the situation.

I request you to excuse me for this lengthy letter.

47. Sampurnanand to Nehru81

[Refer to item 5]

Brookhill House, Naini Tal 27 June 1960

My dear Jawaharlalji,

I have received a copy of the note issued over your signature about conferences held in the Jammu & Kashmir State and visits to that State made by State Ministers. Your views have received wide publicity but I do not know if your attention has been drawn to the very uncharitable comments made by a number of newspapers. I would be failing in my duty if I did not invite your attention to the fact that sometimes your public statements expose your humble colleagues to unnecessary ridicule and censure which are particularly painful because of the very obvious reason that they have no opportunity, and would not normally avail themselves of it if one existed, to make their position clear. Quite obviously conferences are held in Jammu & Kashmir because Central Ministers take it into their hands to call them there. I do not know if they consult the State before doing so. Quite

81. Letter. File No. A/157, Sampurnanand Collection, National Archives of India.

possibly they do but, in any case, confidential instructions to Central Ministries could at once put an end to the practice. I do not know how many State Ministers take their families along with them. Normally Ministers are not particularly well off financially and most of them would find the travelling expenses involved in taking their families along with [them] a very heavy strain on their resources. The difficulty, however, is that your observations aimed at a few people seem like a public castigation of a whole class which could never have been your intention.

No one grudges the special arrangements made for you by the Kashmir State. It is in the fitness of things that they should do so. Apart from the personal considerations due to you, you are the Prime Minister of India and a symbol of the State. Any State which fails to keep this in mind would really be failing in its duty.

I am sure you will appreciate the spirit which has prompted me to write this letter.

Yours sincerely, Sampurnanand

48. K.C. Neogy to Nehru⁸² [Refer to item 210]

Planning Commission New Delhi 27 June 1960

My dear Jawaharlalji,

I mentioned to you the other day certain changes that have taken place in the composition of the Committee on Transport Policy & Co-ordination since it was constituted in July last. The Committee, in addition to myself, has five members, one each from the Ministries of Railways, Transport & Communications Commerce & Industry and Finance (Department of Economic Affairs) and the Planning Commission. All these Departments are represented by the Secretaries concerned on the Committee. In April last, K.B. Mathur relinquished charge of his post in the Railway Board; and Kripal Singh, the new Member for Transportation in the Board, took his place on the Committee. Later, A.K. Roy (Finance) proceeded on leave, and since on the expiry of his leave he is to be appointed Comptroller and Auditor General of India, it would be hardly appropriate for him to continue on the Committee which is charged with the responsibility of recommending policy

^{82.} Letter. File No. 27 (51)/59-70-PMS.

measures for the Government to adopt in a particular field. In his place, therefore, L.K. Jha, the new Secretary of the Department of Economic Affairs, is being nominated a member of the Committee.

2. I understand that R.L. Gupta, Secretary, Transport Department, may also be transferred shortly from the Department. As I explained to you verbally, any further changes in the composition of the Committee at this stage are bound to interfere with the continuity of its work. It will be a great advantage, therefore, if Gupta could continue to serve on the Committee even after he has made over charge of the office of the Secretary, Department of Transport. I personally would have no objection if the new Secretary of the Department of Transport is also nominated a member of the Committee, or is asked otherwise to attend the meeting of the Committee along with Gupta. I shall be grateful if you could kindly consider this suggestion in consultation with the Minister for Transport & Communications.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely, K.C. Neogy

49. J.B. Priestley to Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit⁸³

[Refer to item 495]

Kissing Tree House, Alveston, Stratford-on-Avon, Warwickshire. 27 June 1960

Dear Mrs. Pandit,

As you may have read, a group of us from many different countries, including both Russia and America, were meeting over this last week-end to discuss the organization of a non-political East-West conference dealing with nuclear arms, disarmament and so forth. The idea is to get representative people from the arts and sciences and education to discuss the state of the world, discover and announce some conclusions, and to attract as much publicity as possible to give sensible people everywhere some encouragement. The greatest difficulty will be to get some representative Americans who are not committed to nuclear disarmament but are uneasy about the world situation. Such a group already

83. Letter. File No. 5 (22)-UN II/60, MEA. Also available in Subject File No. 17 (Part II), Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit Papers (Second Instalment), NMML.

exists, centred on Harvard, and it is very important that they should come to this conference and exchange views with the Russians and, of course, with the rest of us. The idea so far is to hold the conference next February, possibly in Italy. But since we finished our preliminary discussions I have been feeling very strongly that if India could act as a sponsor of the conference we are much more likely to get the kind of conference we want. This does not mean, in my view, that India should be committed to paying the expenses of the delegates.

I wonder if you would be prepared to discuss this, at a very early opportunity, with Mr. Nehru? I have only just returned from London but have to go up again on Thursday, and if you are free to discuss the idea for half an hour or so I could be at your disposal either Thursday afternoon or on Friday morning or afternoon. Perhaps I should emphasise the fact that this is not a political conference, and great care will be taken that it is not communist dominated, as such conferences often have been in the past. I should not be writing to you if I did not feel very strongly that India's position makes her the ideal convener of such a gathering, and that Mr. Nehru's immense personal prestige would be a very great help towards our obtaining both the right sponsors and the right delegates.

Yours sincerely, J.B. Priestley

P.S. I hope I have made it sufficiently clear that the possibility of India's acting as host to the conference was never discussed at our meetings, and that it is only since then that I have been thinking about it.

50. Homi Bhabha to Nehru84

[Refer to items 415-416]

Government of India Atomic Energy Commission

28 June 1960

My dear Bhai,

I am not happy about the way in which atomic energy has been dealt with in the draft outline of the Third Five-Year Plan which I understand is to be issued to the public on the 5th July. I attach herewith a letter I have just written to Shri C.M. Trivedi, which speaks for itself.

2. When I was in Delhi a few days ago I had not seen the records of the minutes of the Cabinet meeting at which the draft Plan was considered, and I

^{84.} Letter. File No. 17 (302)/60-PMS, Vol. II.

saw them only on my return here. As you will see from the letter to Shri C.M. Trivedi, a decision in substance needs to be taken which will include a further 150 MW natural uranium power station in the Delhi area at an incremental cost of Rs. 10.5 crores and an enriched uranium power station of 75 MW at a total cost of approximately Rs. 13.5. crores, the total incremental expenditure for both being Rs. 24 crores. This decision does not even involve increasing the present allotment under the head of Power, since Rs. 24 crores has been provided for uranium mines, mills, etc., which should be transferred to the heading Industries and Minerals without affecting the total provision under that head, since this is such a small percentage that it could easily be found from shortfalls in the accomplishment of projects under that head. The alterations proposed, which can be incorporated in the proof even now of the draft Plan before its issue to the public, are given in Paragraph 3 and Paragraph 8 of my letter to Shri Trivedi. May I request that this decision be taken now? If you want I shall be glad to come up to Delhi for a day.

Yours Homi Bhabha

51. G.M. Sadiq to Nehru85

[Refer to item 75]

Gagribal, Srinagar 28 June 1960

We are all extremely happy to know that you are visiting our State shortly.

The workers of the Democratic National Conference have all along been very keen to have an opportunity of meeting you. I do however realise that it would be embarrassing for you to address the workers of a Party functioning in opposition to the State Govt. But I wonder if it would be equally embarrassing for you to meet our workers over a cup of tea in a purely social function. If that is not so, then, I would be grateful if you spare some time for this purpose during your stay here. Apart from this I would be grateful for a personal interview.

52. B.V. Keskar to Nehru86

[Refer to item 185]

Camp: Bombay 28 June 1960

My dear Panditji,

I am in receipt of your letter of the 25th instant, enclosing a copy of a letter from the Maharaja of Sikkim. I had written a letter to Apa Pant, who was not at Sikkim at the time of my visit, detailing my discussions with the Maharajkumar. I had sent a copy to Dutt to keep him informed of the result of our discussion.

The matter of establishing a Radio Station at Sikkim had received a setback. After all the details had been settled, it appeared that the Maharajkumar was insisting that the policy control of the Station should be under the Sikkim Durbar. In view of this attitude, the Political Officer at Gangtok and the External Affairs Ministry both advised that the matter might be held up, if not dropped, as it was not possible for us to agree to this condition.

Some time back, the Maharajkumar had visited Delhi. On the advice of the External Affairs Ministry, the Director-General of A.I.R., Mr. J.C. Mathur, had discussions with the Maharajkumar regarding the question. (Mr. Mathur knows the Maharajkumar well, having been with him in undergoing some course of training). During the course of the discussion with Mathur, it was made clear to Maharajkumar that it is not likely that the Government of India will ever agree to allow the control of either the Station or its policy to the Sikkim Durbar, though close collaboration would be maintained with the Durbar. The Maharaikumar, however, reconsidered his attitude when it became known to him that according to a decision of the International Tele-Communications Union, frequencies allotted for the Radio Station in Sikkim and also the rest of India would lapse for ever if they are not utilised by the middle of 1961. It was brought to his notice by Mathur that Sikkim will be deprived forever of any Radio Station in future if he persisted in his attitude. On knowing this, his attitude underwent a definite change and he was talking of some alternative proposals. But on our side we did not pursue the matter and left him time to think it over.

I visited Sikkim in May in order to see whether this cannot be finalised, as otherwise we were in danger of losing the frequencies altogether. We had even a thought that if Sikkim Durbar maintains such an attitude and EA Ministry thinks that it would not be advisable to over-rule them, to put up a Station near the Sikkim border in the Darjeeling area. During my visit to Sikkim, I had a heart to heart talk with the Maharajkumar and I made it plain to him that it is not practical on his part to expect the control of the Station to be given to the Durbar, though I assured him of the fullest collaboration in the running of the Station. I also told

^{86.} Letter. File No. 27 (9)-EAD/60, MEA.

him of the danger of losing the frequencies permanently. I have an impression that he had had second thoughts after coming from Delhi and he practically told me in so many words that they would not now insist on that condition, but wanted the prestige of the Durbar to be maintained. I asked him whether he himself can suggest some procedure by which the Durbar might have a face-saving, but the actual position will remain what we had stated.

I had already discussed this question privately with the Dewan of Sikkim and also officers of our Mission in Gangtok. The Dewan had suggested to him a via media that the Maharaja might request the Govt. of India to run the Radio Station on their behalf as they themselves have not got the technical knowledge etc. The Maharajkumar in his talk with me made this suggestion later on. I informed him this might be considered satisfactory by the Govt. of India, provided he clearly understands that this will be a permanent arrangement and not to be changed or modified later on. He appeared to agree to this and had told me that the Maharaja will be writing to the Prime Minister.

I would suggest that the proposal might be accepted, provided it is mentioned in our letter that it is accepted on the terms and conditions which had already been arrived at between the E.A. Ministry and the Maharaja beforehand and which could not be carried out because of the new demand of the Maharajkumar. There are also the following words in the Maharaja's letter "for the present". I cannot say how it can be made clear, but I would suggest that in our reply it might be clarified that any proposal to run the Station will be on terms and conditions agreed to, but not to be modified later on. Because any general acceptance as such and without definitely clarifying the position might prompt the Maharajkumar later on to take advantage of these words in his letter and he might say that they had asked us as, for the present, they had no technical knowledge or means of running the Station. The clarification might be put in words which you consider suitable.

Yours sincerely, B.V. Keskar

53. Kwame Nkrumah to Nehru⁸⁷

[Refer to items 476 and 477]

[Accra] 29 June 1960

I am writing in continuation of my letter requesting that your team of two, at present seconded for planning the formation of the Ghana Air Force, be withdrawn.

87. Letter.

I have now interviewed both officers and informed them of my decision. My Chief of Defence Staff has also seen Air-Commodore Jaswant Singh and informed him that both he and Squadron-Leader Katre are free to leave when they wish.

The Air-Commodore is worried that my decision will reflect adversely upon the careers of both himself and the Squadron-Leader. He has, therefore, requested that they should not leave until their normal contract expires in November of this year. You will appreciate that under the circumstances it is impossible to accede to such a request, and, in any event, such a decision would place the Air-Commodore himself in a most invidious position.

My aim is to make a fresh start, endeavouring to eliminate the many frictions and difficulties which have arisen in the past. The continued presence of the Air-Commodore here would be certain to cause comment, many decisions would have to be taken with which he might not agree and therefore for his own sake and that of the Ghana Air Force as a whole, my Chief of Defence Staff has advised him that the sooner he leaves the better. In the case of Squadron-Leader Katre the position is somewhat different. He has not been involved in many of the arguments and disagreements and is highly regarded by all concerned. If it is his wish and you are willing to agree, I would be very happy to retain his services until the time that the present contract expires. I feel sure that he will be of great assistance in future planning and will ease continuity. Could you please let me know your wishes in this matter?

In conclusion I wish again to make it quite clear that my decision in no way reflects on the professional ability of the two officers concerned. They have both been of the greatest assistance in planning the formation of my Air Force. I feel certain you can ensure that their future careers do not suffer as a result of circumstances which need not have arisen had we entrusted the training of our Air Force to one country from the start.

I would like to say that both officers will in no way suffer financially. I have instructed my Ministry of Defence to see that they receive the full emoluments to which they would have been entitled had they completed a full tour of duty.

54. Mohanlal Sukhadia to Nehru88

[Refer to item 304]

Jaipur 28/30 June 1960

Subject:- Assistance to the Rajasthan Canal Project under the US PL-480 Agreement

Respected Panditji,

The Rajasthan Canal seeks to transform over 10,000 sq. miles of difficult desert into a fully developed region with prosperous agriculture within a short period of about twenty years. All this transformation has to be achieved in an inaccessible waste-land, lacking even elementary amenities like drinking water.

The world's largest irrigation system has been planned to tame this vast desert. Utilization of water thus made available at huge cost will call for comprehensive, well-planned development at the same time, and a "Master Plan of Development" has been drawn up for the purpose. Summary of Outlay involved in construction of the canal system as also for simultaneous development of the area, is attached.

As will be seen, reclaiming the desert from scratch will be an expensive proposition, obviously beyond the normal resources of the State. It is essential for the success of this huge project that the Centre should come generously to the assistance of the State.

The Rajasthan Canal Project would qualify in particular for assistance from funds made available under the recent PL-480 Agreement with the U.S.A. I may recount that the agreement provides for supply by U.S.A. of 17 million tons of foodgrains worth Rs. 607 crores over the next four years. Of this amount Rs. 512 crores will be given to India for economic development as grant and loan, primarily for projects aimed at stimulating agricultural production, including in particular power and irrigation projects.

The large stock of food made available under the agreement will obviously relieve a difficult situation for some time. Gravity of the problem over the long term however remains, and it will be essential for the country ultimately to achieve self-sufficiency in food on the basis of internal production.

The Rajasthan Canal Project is expected to yield agricultural production amounting to about 2.7 million tons per year on full development. Starting in 1961, irrigation from the canal will be made available progressively, as the canal construction progresses. The project would in time be in a position to meet the entire food shortage of the country presently met from imports.

88. Letter. File No. 17 (399)/60-68-PMS.

This is to request that this project may be taken up as an urgent priority, with early action on construction of the canal system as well as the development of the area, so that its huge potential of food production is realized at the earliest. Funds made available under the PL-480 agreement with the U.S.A. in particular would appropriately be utilized for expediting completion of this project, and a suitable decision may be taken in this connection so that the project can make assured progress.

Yours sincerely, Mohanlal Sukhadia

55. At the Cabinet89

[Refer to item 249]

Case No. 347/33/60

Unrest among Central Government Employees

The Minister of Labour & Employment informed the Cabinet about the talks he had had with the labour leaders. He stated the labour leaders had pressed their demands regarding minimum wages and linking of dearness allowance with the price index, particularly the latter demand. Their main arguments were that the sanctioned increase of Rs. 5/- in the minimum wages had not resulted in any increase at all in the standard of living of the workers and that, if prices increased further, there would actually be a fall in that standard. Minister of Labour & Employment had explained to them that, in the present circumstances of the country, when all the available resources had to be used for developmental purposes, any increases in wages or dearness allowance would have to be met by deficit financing over and above the level decided upon for the implementation of the Third Five Year Plan. Such a step would have a most serious impact on the economy of the country. He had also explained why the proposal to link dearness allowance with the price index was undesirable. It would introduce a dangerous element of uncertainty into the financial commitments of the Government. On the other hand, even if there was no linking, Government could always review the position if there was any substantial rise in prices. Minister of Labour & Employment had also informed the labour leaders that, once it was agreed that the basic framework of the Pay Commission's Report was not to be touched, he could discuss with them their other demands.

^{89.} Minutes of Cabinet meeting, 4.00 p.m., 1 July 1960, chaired by Nehru. File No. KS-27/60, MHA.

[DHARNA AGAINST STRIKES] 'Can't We Retaliate?'



Several strikes and strike threats have been reported including one by Central Government employees.

[Seated on the right: Nehru with ministers]

(From Shankar's Weekly, 3 July 1960, p. 5)

- Minister of Labour & Employment stated that he had kept the Cabinet Committee informed about the progress of the talks. He also stated that all the labour leaders with whom he had been having talks wished to meet him together at a later stage.
- 3. Cabinet agreed that there could be no modification of the decisions already taken regarding minimum wages and dearness allowance. If that position was accepted by the labour leaders, then the Minister of Labour & Employment, acting in consultation with the Cabinet Committee, might discuss the other demands generally on the lines suggested in the Labour Ministry's Note for the Cabinet dated June 28, 1960, which was considered by the Cabinet on June 29, 1960.
- 4. It was agreed that all preparations for meeting the strike situation should be continued on the assumption that the strike would have to be faced.
- 5. Cabinet then considered the Report, dated July 1, 1960, made by the Committee of Secretaries to the Committee of the Cabinet. Minister of Home Affairs stated that the Committee of the Cabinet had considered the proposals contained in the Report and was in general agreement with them. Cabinet approved the proposals. It was decided that the Ordinance to be issued should be on the same lines as the Essential Services Maintenance Ordinance, 1957, with the two

amendments recommended in sub-paras (a) and (b) of para 3 of Part I of the Report. If the Law Minister and the Government of Jammu and Kashmir agreed, then clause 1 (2) of the Ordinance might be so worded as to make the Ordinance applicable to Central Government employees in the Jammu and Kashmir State. The date of issue of the Ordinance should be decided by the Committee of the Cabinet.

[ENOUGH, NO MORE]



[On the left: Nehru] (From Shankar's Weekly, 10 July 1960, p. 12)

[SAID THE SLEDGEHAMMER TO THE FLY] All Set



The Govt. has taken every possible measure to meet the challenge of the employees' strike with firmness.—Report.

[From left: V.K. Krishna Menon, Nehru, S.K. Patil, G.B. Pant, Morarji Desai, G.L. Nanda]

(From Shankar's Weekly, 17 July 1960, p. 5)

- 6. Cabinet agreed that the Defence Ministry might refuse leave to, or even recall from leave, service personnel required for assisting the Railways, the Posts & Telegraphs, etc., to maintain essential services if the strike took place. Orders posting such personnel to the places where they are required may also be issued on dates to be determined by the Defence Ministry.
- 7. Cabinet approved the suggestion that the INS Delhi and the two destroyers which are at Calcutta should stay there until permitted to move out by the Ministry of Defence.
- 8. With regard to the suggestion made in the Report of the Secretaries' Committee that a broadcast to the nation by the Prime Minister would be most helpful, the Prime Minister agreed to make the broadcast. Prime Minister desired that two factual statements, one regarding the financial aspect of the demands made by the Central Government employees and the other regarding the progress of the Labour Minister's talks with the labour leaders and the decisions taken by the Cabinet Committee, should be prepared and kept ready on 7th July. A copy of the statement to be issued (or which may have been issued) to the Press on behalf of the Government should also be kept ready on that date.

56. Lalji Mehrotra to Nehru⁹¹

[Refer to item 442]

Embassy of India Rangoon 1 July 1960

Respected Panditji,

You will be happy to know that U Nu⁹² and his Government have gone all out to give me the friendliest send off. The Foreign Secretary, the Foreign Minister, ⁹³ the Prime Minister and the President ⁹⁴ have, each in their turn, been kind enough to arrange some small functions for me. Almost the entire Cabinet, including the Prime Minister, have accepted the invitation for my farewell party this evening and the Foreign Minister, who is due to leave for Shan States, told me last evening that he is staying back to see me off at the airport. You must have learned from the Commonwealth Secretary that at long last the Government of Burma have decided to empower the District Magistrates to exempt from the payment of

^{90.} For Nehru's broadcast to the nation, see item 250.

^{91.} Letter. File No. 1205 (5) SD/60, MEA.

^{92.} The Prime Minister of Burma from 4 April 1960.

^{93.} Sao Hkun Hkio.

^{94.} Win Maung.

foreigners' registration charges all those whom they consider to be too poor to pay. U Nu was kind enough to see that the decision was conveyed to me before I left. The Foreign Minister informed me that this decision was taken not only to serve as a parting gift to me but also because you had, in your past correspondence, asked for some relief to be given to the poor people. They felt that this decision would please you. I have all along been conscious that the unusual friendliness and warmth, which has of late been shown to me, is not merely an appreciation of what I may have done here. This was confirmed by Sao Hkio last night. He candidly told me that I am not being treated as merely an Ambassador of a friendly neighbouring country, but as one who has the privilege of being one of your trusted lieutenants. In bestowing all this friendliness on me they believe they are only doing what they owe to you.

2. The Foreign Minister was keen to know from me if the Burmese border agreement with China, particularly their non-aggression pact, has in any way displeased you. They have some kind of a feeling of guilt as though they have deserted you and gone out and signed a separate pact with China. They are, therefore, anxious to find out your real feelings in the matter, apart from what you have been saying in the public on this subject. The Foreign Minister, like others, was at pains to explain to me that in the circumstances in which they were placed they had no other option but to purchase peace. He, however, assured me that the agreement with China will not be allowed to create any sense of complacency. "Now that we have got a boundary-wall, we know what to protect and the same shall be protected to the best of our ability," he said.

3. In the course of my farewell calls, I had long discussions with both U Ba Swe and U Kyaw Nyein. 95 I would not bother you with the details of these discussions. I would only like to convey that both of them agree that, under the circumstances there was no other option for Burma but to conclude the agreement with China. They were, however, both of them, dissatisfied with the way it was done. U Ba Swe remarked that at the time of first negotiations U Nu not only promised away a part of Burmese land (which, he recognised, was more or less inevitable) but expressed gratitude to the Chinese for having accepted it. U Kyaw Nyein was more critical of the manner in which the territory was conceded. He described the attitude as abject. Both of them felt that the attitude of the present Government towards China is born out of fear and a sense of fatalism. They felt that there is no one in the present Cabinet, except U Nu, who has any clear conception of international relations. Some of them call themselves marxists but do not know what marxism means. It is only U Nu who understands things. Unfortunately, he is over-powered by a sense of fear. He feels that, in the event

^{95.} Both of them were leaders of the faction of the Anti-Fascist People's Freedom League which was in opposition to the government of U Nu.

of any aggression by China, America is too far away to be of any serious help and India has troubles of her own to be able to spare anything to help in their defence. Thus, he feels that Burma has no other alternative but to purchase peace for whatever length of time it may be, and to leave the rest to God. I am taking the liberty of writing this at length directly to you as I feel that this, to some extent, represents the mind of the general thinking set in this country.

- 4. I had sometime ago suggested that we should try to conclude with Burma something like the Army and Air Force Agreement which we have entered into with Indonesia. 6 The Burmese themselves, particularly the army people, have sometimes expressed mild disappointment at not being offered the facilities which we have offered to Indonesia whose defence should not be considered of the same importance to us as that of Burma in view of the Chinese trouble. Whatever the Burmese may be doing in strengthening their defence with the help of American arms, I do not think they are paying any special attention to the defence of that forest tract in the Kachin State which would become easily accessible to the Chinese after the villages of Gaulum and Hpimaw are transferred to them. If it is not presumptuous for me to suggest, I would like to state that we should do all that we can to assist the Burmese in strengthening the defence of this area. I beg to suggest that this subject may be kept in view to be explored during the next visit of General Ne Win to India.
- 5. Madam Aung San has been selected by U Nu to be the Burmese Ambassador in New Delhi. As a means of showing to us what great importance he attaches to the good relations with our country, he has sent not only one of his most trusted persons but also one who enjoys the affection of the Burmese people. Any unusual kindness shown to her will be highly appreciated by the people and the Government here. Perhaps, U Nu and his colleagues expect that the compliment would be returned by the appointment here of some one enjoying a similar degree of your confidence.
- 6. I have taken the liberty of addressing this letter to you as I feel that, in what I have to say, some personal elements are involved. This would be my last letter to you from Burma as I am leaving on the 8th instant.
- 7. I am deeply grateful to you for having raised me to a higher grade in the post.

With respectful regards,

Yours sincerely, Lalji Mehrotra

57. Upadhayaya Jaidev to Nehru⁹⁷

[Refer to item 57]

Mandi 2 July 1960

Dear Sir,

Wishing you well, I submit that in days gone by the Sikhs annexed the Mandi State after making Raja Balvir Sen a captive. My father pleased the Sikh Raja Sher Singh with his knowledge and thereby brought about the release of Raja Balvir Sen and the restoration of his State. As a reward, Raja Balvir Sen granted some land to him.

It is now understood that the Government of Himachal Pradesh is taking over lands from their owners under some land Act. This will result in conditions of starvation for several persons who will be rendered landless.

May I hope that your honour will kindly take mercy on these people and have the Himachal Land Act modified suitably? Such a land Act is not operative in any other part of India. I simply wish that all people should be happy during your regime.

Please excuse me for any improper expression. I shall consider it an honour to receive a reply from you.

Yours Jaidev

58. M.J. Desai to Nehru⁹⁸

[Refer to item 440]

I mentioned to P.M. that the Pakistanis have not reacted to the informal suggestion thrown out by our High Commissioner during the Finance Ministers' Conference in Rawalpindi on the question of Pakistan giving up their interests in the Berubari Union territory and taking instead, in full sovereignty, five or six sq. miles of Indian territory which would be flooded by the construction of the Karnafuli Dam. Similarly, Pakistanis have not reacted to the tentative suggestion made by us that they should take some more area of the Patharia Reserve Forest instead of insisting on dividing up the five villages south of the Patharia Forest in accordance with the Radcliffe Line. Our High Commissioner, however, told us that the Pakistanis were interested in getting a part of the Assam territory so as to have full control over the lime-stone quarries which feed their cement factory at Chattak. These

^{97.} Translation of letter, available in File No. 17/1/58-60-H, Prime Minister's Office.

^{98.} Note, 2 July 1960. File No. 4 (71)-Pak III/59, Annexure I, MEA.

feelers were not discussed in any detail.

2. As I mentioned to P.M., the Pakistanis are very keen on acquiring these lime-stone quarries site as there is no other lime-stone quarry in East Pakistan and their cement factory at Chattak is entirely dependent upon supplies from these quarries in Assam. They may be prepared to consider giving up their 41/2 sq. miles of Berubari Union territory as also parts of the five villages to the south of the Patharia Reserve Forest if they can get the Assam lime-stone quarry area in full sovereignty. This would inevitably mean that the Indian firm which manages the Chattak Cement Factory at present and is also the lessee of the lime-stone quarry site in Assam, will be squeezed out but I understand the firm is more or less reconciled to this inevitable fate. They would, in any case, put in a claim for compensation for their lease-hold rights in the Assam lime-stone quarry.

3. If the question of grant of the lime-stone quarry site in Assam in full sovereignty to Pakistan in exchange for their interests in the Berubari Union territory and parts of the five forest villages south of Patharia is to be pursued further in response to the feeler put out by them, the following preliminary action is necessary

before broaching the subject with Pakistan authorities:

Sounding Assam Chief Minister and getting his reactions. He might not be agreeable to giving part of a vital area from Assam for the benefit mainly of West Bengal.

It is possible to save Bholaganj and retain it in Assam by re-arrangement of the boundary but Bholaganj area will be a tongue sticking out into East Pakistan territory and will require special attention from the standpoint of security.

iii) There is a ropeway going from Bholaganj northwards across the area where the lime-stone quarry is and this ropeway will have to be re-aligned so as to fall entirely into Indian territory after the transfer of the lime-stone

quarry site to East Pakistan. This would involve some expenditure.

iv) In the re-alignment of the Assam-East Pakistan boundary in this region so as to give East Pakistan the lime-stone quarry site, care will have to be taken to see that no inhabited areas are transferred to Pakistan and this would require detailed investigation on the site before any specific proposal is put to Pakistan. There will also be the question of re-aligning the boundary in such a manner as to minimize the strategic risk from the stand-point of security in the light of the topographical features of this area.

I am placing below a sketch giving the location of the Chattak Cement Factory in East Pakistan, of the lime-stone quarry site in Assam on the Assam-East Pakistan border and the Assam-East Pakistan boundary in this region under Radcliffe Award. P.M. might, if he gets an opportunity, talk over this matter informally with Assam Chief Minister and, if the latter is agreeable to the matter being pursued further, we might undertake detailed enquiries on the site to get various particulars before formulating a definite proposal to be put to the Pakistan authorities.

59. M.J. Desai to Nehru99

[Refer to item 473]

P.M. desired to see a map of African countries showing their present status and a brief note about the state of our diplomatic representation in Africa.

- 2. The map published in the issue of "Natal Mercury", dated 5th February, 1960, indicates the status of various countries in Africa. This map has been slightly amended to include the Belgian Congo and the Somalia and the British Somaliland areas which have since become independent.
- 3. Of the African independent countries, the independent Arab countries in North Africa—Morocco, Tunisia, Libya. Egypt and Sudan—are adequately covered by our diplomatic representation. Algeria is still a French colony.
- 4. Of the independent Black African countries, we have diplomatic missions in Ethiopia on the east coast and Ghana on the west coast. We are opening a High Commission in Nigeria on the west coast from 1st October. These arrangements leave out the following Black African independent countries in east, central and west Africa:-
 - 1. The Republic of Somali, consisting of old Somalia and British Somaliland.
 - 2. The Congo.
 - 3. The Cameroons (old French Cameroons, a Trusteeship territory).
 - 4. Togoland.
 - 5. Liberia.
 - 6. Guinea.
 - 7. The Mali Federation, consisting of Senegal and Sudan.
- 5. Latest reports show that there will be two more independent countries out of the autonomous Republics of the French Community, namely Upper Volta and Ivory Coast in West Africa and the Union of Central African Republics consisting of three autonomous Republics of the French Community—Chad, Central Africa Republic and the Congo Republic.
- 6. We have no diplomatic representation in South Africa, nor have we any contact with South West Africa which is a Mandatory territory under South Africa.
- 7. Madagascar to the south-east of the African continent has just become independent as the Republic of Malgache and we have already agreed to convert the present Consulate-General there into an Embassy and have a Chargé d'Affaires with the local rank of Minister. 100

^{99.} Note, 2 July 1960. File No. ADM-31/60 AFR II, MEA.

^{100.} Madagascar became fully independent on 26 June 1960. The Indian Mission there was raised to Embassy level on 6 July 1960; J.A. Shah, the Indian Consul-General, became Chargé d'Affaires with the rank of Minister. *The Times of India*, 7 July 1960.

- 8. Of the other dependent territories in Africa, we have a Commissioner at Nairobi who looks after Indian interests in Uganda, Kenya, Tanganyika, Zanzibar and the Central African Federation of Nyasaland, Northern Rhodesia and Southern Rhodesia. There are two Assistant Commissioners under him—one located at Kampala in Uganda and the other in the Central African Federation at Salisbury in Southern Rhodesia. We have no representational contacts with the British Protectorates and Mandatory territories of Bechuanaland, Swaziland and Basutoland. We have a local Commissioner in the British colony of Mauritius, an island to the east of Madagascar. We have no contacts with the Portuguese colonies of Mozambique and Angola in the south, Portuguese Guinea in the west and the Spanish territory of Rio de Oro in the north-west.
- 9. Of the 7 independent Black African countries mentioned in para 4 with whom we have no diplomatic contacts now, we have proposed and obtained the concurrence of the Governments concerned that our High Commissioner in Ghana should be concurrently accredited as Ambassador to Liberia and Guinea. When Sierra Leone becomes independent in 1961, we can concurrently accredit our High Commissioner in Ghana to Sierra Leone as well.

We intend to accredit our High Commissioner in Nigeria concurrently to the Cameroons and Togoland. We will initiate action in this regard after our High Commissioner is in position in Nigeria on 1st October.

We have asked our special envoy who went to participate in the Congo independence celebrations to find out informally whether the Congo Government will agree to exchange of diplomatic missions at Embassy level. If the response to this informal approach is favourable, we intend to accredit our Ambassador in Sudan concurrently to Congo. The Ministry of Commerce & Industry have already agreed to open an office in Congo in charge of a First Secretary (Commercial) as the Congo is a vital area economically and the First Secretary (Commercial) would function as Chargé d'Affaires.

The arrangements mentioned above leave out the Republic of Somali and the Mali Federation and the two other independent Governments mentioned in para 5 which will come into existence very soon. So far as the Mali Federation and the two other independent Governments from the old French Community are concerned, we may await further developments and need not make any specific move for exchange of diplomatic missions at this stage. Later, if necessary, we can concurrently accredit our Ambassador in Morocco to the Mali Federation, our High Commissioner in Accra to Upper Volta and Ivory Coast and our Ambassador in Sudan to the Central African Republic.

As regards the Republic of Somali, I am sure they will ask for exchange of diplomatic missions almost immediately. Deputy Minister¹⁰¹ would be able to tell

us about this on her return. We intend to concurrently accredit our Commissioner in Nairobi as our Ambassador to the Republic of Somali and relieve him of the responsibility for overseeing the Assistant Commissioner's office in the Central African Federation. There are important developments taking place in the Central African Federation and we intend to raise the sub-Mission at Salisbury to the status of an independent Mission in charge of a full-fledged Commissioner of the rank of Counsellor. He can then look after Indian interests in all the three Federation territories and can also be accredited as Commissioner, provided the U.K. authorities agree, to the Mandatory territories and Protectorates of Bechuanaland, Swaziland and Basutoland.

10. If P.M. generally approves the above proposals, copies of this note and the map will be prepared for consideration of the Foreign Affairs Committee of the Cabinet.

60. Mohanlal Sukhadia to Nehru¹⁰²

[Refer to item 324]

Jaipur, 3 July 1960

Respected Panditji,

I am inviting your kind attention to the correspondence resting with my D.O. letter of February 10, 1960 in connection with the setting up of Large Mechanised Farms in the area of the Rajasthan Canal Command. After that we had met at Suratgarh where it was tentatively advised that possible sites for four Farms, each of an area of about 25,000 acres, may be decided upon for starting Mechanised Farms on the pattern of the Suratgarh Farm.

[...]

We would very much like to have all the four Farms established during the Third Plan period in the years 1962-63 and 1963-64. Preliminary steps will have to be taken well in advance. If a lesser number of Farms are started during the Third Plan, it will be very difficult for us to keep the land of the remaining proposed Farms unallotted.

- 4. It is, therefore, essential that a final decision in this matter should be taken up early and definitely, so that there may be no complication in the matter of allotment of land by the State. [...]
- 5. [...] I would again request you to have the matter of establishing a tractor or heavy agricultural machinery manufacturing plant in this area settled simultaneously with the decision of starting the Mechanised Farms.

^{102.} Letter, excerpts. File No. 31 (101)/60-71-PMS.

6. [...] With kind regards,

Yours sincerely, Mohanlal Sukhadia

61. Note on the Working of Panchayati Raj in Rajasthan¹⁰³ [Refer to item 293]

The Panchayat Samitis and Zila Parishads in Rajasthan have now been functioning for the last nine months. In a majority of them there has been collective effort; substantial number have participated in taking decisions which reflect local needs. All Panchayat Samitis have constituted three or four Standing Committees and have delegated to them substantial powers. In most cases there is a realisation that responsibility for development is theirs and efforts have been made to raise their resources. In spite of the fact that fresh elections will be held this year about 60% of them have levied taxes such as cess on land revenue etc. In many Panchayat Samitis successful efforts have been made to raise donations and contributions for education and health programme. People have taken up irrigation works and construction of schools by Shramdan. So much so that 50 to 75% is being contributed on anicuts by the people. The number of scholars (both girls and boys) in these schools has increased by over 25% due to special drive organised for enrolment all over Rajasthan. There is less of teacher absenteeism now than ever before; because the Panchas are there to check.

[...]

62. Asha Devi Aryanayakam's Talk with Vinoba Bhave 104 [Refer to item 142]

Brief report of a talk with Vinobaji about the future programme of Shri Phizo and the movement for an independent Naga Land.

Question: What is your advice to Rev. Michael Scott and friends who have helped Phizo to come to England and are befriending him?

Vinobaji: My message to Rev. Michael Scott and friends, who are befriending Shri Phizo, is that the greatest service they could render to Shri Phizo and his

103. Enclosure, excerpts, to letter from Mohanlal Sukhadia to Nehru, 3 July 1960. File No. 17 (398)/60-62-PMS.

104. Report by Asha Devi Aryanayakam, 4 July 1960. See also Appendix 70.

cause would be to influence him towards the principle and method of non-violence. The Nagas form a small community, surrounded by China, Burma, India and Pakistan. In the context of present world situation, which is shaped by the rule of force or power politics, the ambition or the desire of the Nagas to form an independent State is impracticable. It cannot stand. When such a small community asks for independence, the demand is regarded with suspicion. It is obvious that if the people have any political intelligence, they will certainly ask for help from other and more powerful nations. Thus they will ultimately become a part of either of the two power blocs.

If the world were ruled by the law of non-violence and not by the law of force, then each village community could have been independent in the true sense; but this is not possible under the present circumstances. This can be achieved only through the method of non-violence. Violence can only be faced by non-violence.

Take the example of Tibet, our nearest neighbour. If the people of Tibet had tried to face foreign domination through non-violence, they might have been crushed as the Jews were finished, but it is more probable that they might have survived. Even if they had been crushed, they would have established a principle. Jesus was crucified but He became immortal.

Rev. Scott and friends, who have sheltered Phizo, believe in the principle of non-violence. They will be helpful to Phizo in the true sense, if they could turn his mind towards non-violence.

I am particularly opposed to what is called "guerilla warfare" because it leads not only to sacrifice of non-violence but even more to the sacrifice of truth. Whenever and wherever there is secrecy and truth is sacrificed, it results in moral weakness and it is difficult to ascertain who is reliable and who is not. It leads to the punishment of innocent people where whole villages are punished for one death. This is a tradition established by the British which still holds good under the conditions of guerilla warfare.

Guerilla warfare might have had some practical utility in the past in spite of its inherent moral weakness, but today it is neither moral nor practical.

Question: Do you think Phizo should continue to stay in England or should he return to India?

Vinobaji: If Shri Phizo remains quietly in England, does not indulge in any political activities and continues with his medical treatment, his present stay in England might be helpful. If he returns to India, he should accept what I have suggested above.

Asha Devi Dated: 4th July, 1960. Camp: Khanpur, Kotah Division, Rajasthan.

63. M.K. Vellodi to Nehru¹⁰⁵

[Refer to items 362 and 363]

Embassy of India, Berne 5 July 1960

Dear Prime Minister,

Mr. Paul Geheb, the founder of École d'Humanité in Goldern in the Bernese Oberland is, I believe, well known to you. I have been told that your grandchildren were at this school for a short time.

- 2. One Mr. Daniels, who was in his younger days a student of Mr. Geheb in Germany (before he was forced to leave that country), called on me a few days ago to speak to me about Mr. Geheb. Mr. Daniels is an Insurance broker in London, but has a home at Goldern, and his children attend the school.
- 3. Mr. Daniels told me Mr. Geheb would be 90 on 10th October this year, and he (Mr. Daniels) is very anxious that this event should be marked in a suitable manner. Mr. Geheb was, so I was told by Mr. Daniels, a great friend of Rabindranath Tagore. Considering the distinguished services rendered by Mr. Geheb to the cause of education, Mr. Daniels has ventured to suggest that it would be in the fitness of things if Visva-Bharati University were to confer on Mr. Geheb an honorary degree on his 90th birthday.
- 4. I promised Mr. Daniels that I would convey the suggestion to you, as you were, besides being Prime Minister, also the Chancellor of Visva-Bharati University. I should be grateful if you would kindly let me know, in due course, your views on the suggestion.

With respectful regards,

Yours sincerely, M.K. Vellodi

64. Dwight D. Eisenhower to Nehru¹⁰⁶

[Refer to items 493 and 497]

THE WHITE HOUSE WASHINGTON

6 July 1960

Dear Prime Minister:

Being deeply aware of your devotion to the cause of peace and disarmament, I would like you to know my thoughts on disarmament in light of the break-up of

105. Letter. File No. 40 (9)/60-65-66-PMS. Also available in JN Collection. 106. Letter. File No. 5 (5)-UN-II/60, Vol. II, Sr. 54/corr., MEA.

the Geneva ten-nation talks.

I will never permit temporary set-backs to interfere with man's progress towards a world of permanent peace. The folly of the arms race must, sooner or later, come to an end. I retain the belief that human reason will prevail—that the movement of events must be toward universal disarmament, not toward universal destruction.

Reason dictates that each country must do all it can to see that no opportunities for serious negotiations are lost or overlooked. The United States always has been, and I hope always will be, ready to negotiate on disarmament. We are ready to accept as large a cut in our military strength as any country in the world. We ask only that no other country gain a military advantage as the result of American disarmament, and that there be means of assuring ourselves that this is so. This consideration is at the root of our insistence on adequate controls. We are all aware of what resulted from unbalanced disarmament after World War II.

While our ultimate goal must be general and complete disarmament, my conviction is that progress in disarmament negotiations can best be made by the process of earnestly searching for those measures which are presently feasible, most urgently needed, and in the interest of all parties concerned. In the world as it is today, this patient approach is the one which strikes me as most likely to produce results. It is an approach seeking not propaganda victories but positive achievements in arms reductions.

The proposals which the United States and its friends in the Ten-Nation Disarmament Conference submitted last March were designed to serve the purpose of helping the negotiators find and focus on specific measures which could be the starting point for a disarmament program. The measures which we and our partners proposed were not intended to be the final answer to the problem of disarmament. I had hoped, however, that among these measures there might be some which would enable us to get started with disarmament without delay, recognizing that making a beginning is the most difficult part of disarmament. At the same time, we left no doubt that our goal was general and complete disarmament, including all militarily significant states without exception.

We were confronted, however, with a concept of how disarmament negotiations should be conducted that was totally different from our own. We found it impossible to discuss any specific disarmament measure because of the insistence of the Soviet Union that a treaty covering the full gamut of disarmament must be negotiated before any single measure of disarmament can be implemented or any inspection arrangement can be designed. Determined that the gap between the opposing views should not be unbridgeable, I felt the United States should modify its position where it could, in order that the two sides might move closer together. Our friends in the Conference also favored wholehearted attempts at accommodation.

Accordingly, the United States Government prepared a revised plan which it intended to place before the Ten-Nation Disarmament Committee after consultation with its allies. This fact was widely known. What happened thereafter is also well known. The revised United States plan, a copy of which I am asking my Ambassador to leave with you, was laid before the Committee, but the Soviet delegation did not wait to see it.

I am greatly concerned as to what meaning such an action may hold for the future of disarmament negotiations. The United States can do no less, however, than use every available diplomatic channel to open the way for an early resumption of negotiations. I feel sure we have your support in this. The United States delegation, and those of its allies, have remained in Geneva and are ready to go back to the conference table. We have expressed to the Soviet Government our hope that it will reconsider its decision to terminate the disarmament conference. We expect, also, that at an appropriate time there will be a constructive discussion of this matter in the United Nations.

Our discussions in New Delhi were extremely useful to me. If you care to share with me your views on what might be done at this time to further the cause of disarmament, they would be most welcome.

With warm regard,

Sincerely, Dwight D. Eisenhower

65. M.C. Chagla to Nehru¹⁰⁷

[Refer to items 36 and 211]

Many thanks for your very kind letter of June 28.108

Whatever my personal feelings, I will stay on here till about August 1961 as you desire me to do so. I only hope if you feel that I can more usefully serve our country in some position in India itself you will remember my intense desire to return home as soon as possible.

I should very much like to enter Parliament at the next election. Politics was always my first love, but one does not always get in life what one wants most. When you appointed me to my present post, I welcomed it as a prelude to entering politics. I trust that my being here will not in any way prejudice my chances of being selected for a seat in Parliament at the ensuing election.

107. Letter, 7 July 1960. M.C. Chagla Papers, NMML. 108. See item 211.

It is extremely kind of you to offer to write to the Chief Minister of Maharashtra about a house for me in Bombay. I had written to N.R. Pillai about a flat in Bombay and the Ministry of Works, Housing & Supply have promised to give me a Government of India flat whenever I require it. This arrangement is quite satisfactory and I am sure it will be carried out. I will only trouble you in this matter if I need your help.

With kindest regards,

66. M.C. Chagla to Nehru 109

[Refer to item 102]

[Washington DC] 7 July 1960

My dear Panditji,

The N.B.C., a leading television company here, are considering a project of a film entitled "The World of Jawaharlal Nehru". A representative of the company discussed this project in detail with me and I feel that it is an excellent one and Government should give it every support.

The project, to put it briefly, is to view the progress and development of India through your eyes. They want to trace the history of India from the time you were a student in England till the present day. They showed me an album of "stills" which contains some wonderful pictures about you and about our developing country. They propose to make use of these "stills" and also parts of our documentary films and records of voices of distinguished Indians. They are proposing to send a team of scholars to India to do intensive research work before they finally shoot the film. They have promised me that it will be a documentary of the highest quality and they propose to make it a prestige production.

As far as your part in the film is concerned they have promised me that they will not trouble you for more than about fifteen minutes. The rest of the film will be shot from existing materials. They have also agreed to present a copy of the film to us which we might dub in Hindi and which we can show all over the country. I might add that they wish particularly to emphasise the fact that throughout the period India represented the credo of nationalism and has given to the world the philosophy of peaceful co-existence.

I sincerely hope that you will agree to Government giving the necessary help and support to this project. As soon as I hear from you, I will tell the N.B.C. people to go ahead and make the necessary preparations.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely, M.C. Chagla

67. M.C. Chagla to Nehru¹¹⁰

[Refer to item 441]

Eugene Black President of the World Bank has asked me to communicate the following message:

Begins:

1. You will have heard from Gulhati that the Bank is confronted with deadlock in its efforts to bring about an agreed Transitional Arrangement.

2. You also know that the Pakistan Government has asked the Bank to present a formal proposal to both sides. Up to now we have refrained from doing this and we have told Pakistan that we should be prepared to do it only if so requested by both Governments.

3. I have told Gulhati that I have reached the definite conclusion that further negotiations are not likely to lead anywhere and that, unless both Governments ask us to put forward a proposal the only course left open to the Bank in the exercise of its good offices is to request the Government of India to communicate to us their rock-bottom proposal, which should be really rock-bottom and not repeat not a negotiating position.

4. I would therefore make a most earnest appeal to you to ensure that the proposal which India puts forward should be one which the Bank could conscientiously press Pakistan to accept. None of the proposals which Gulhati has so far discussed with us measures up to this criterion.

5. I appreciate that Gulhati's efforts must quite properly be directed towards securing an agreement that will make water available to India on a scale which will give the amplest possible supplies at the earliest possible date to the new Indian canals, and I can also appreciate your own concern in this respect. At the same time, you, I am confident, realise that there are far wider issues involved and that the consequences of a break-down of these negotiations, no matter

^{110.} Telegram, No. 447 dated 7 July 1960, from M.C. Chagla, conveying a message from Eugene Black to Nehru. File No. 1/IWD/58, (Washington Papers), I.T. Section, Ministry of Irrigation.

where the fault might lie, when so much has already been accomplished, would be an international disaster of the first magnitude.

- 6. I see in the present situation a critical opportunity for another manifestation of generosity and magnanimity on the part of India, which, I am sure, would be acclaimed by international opinion, and regarded as another act of statesmanship on your part.
- 7. There is an important element of urgency involved. As you know, there is world-wide interest in, and hope for, a settlement of this dispute, and the world expects that agreement is just round the corner. But I am gravely concerned that the arrangements I have been able to make with the Friendly Governments for financing an Indus settlement may be seriously jeopardised unless there is some assurance of a Water Treaty between India and Pakistan within a matter of weeks.
- 8. I am also addressing the President of Pakistan emphasising the critical necessity of avoiding a break-down and the element of urgency involved.
 - 9. Kind regards and best wishes. Ends.

68. At the Cabinet 111

[Refer to item 249]

Case No. 354/34/60

Unrest among Central Government Employees

Cabinet further discussed the situation arising out of the strike notices given by the Railwaymen's Unions, the Posts & Telegraphs workers, etc.

- 2. Cabinet decided that the draft Essential Services Maintenance Ordinance, 1960, as approved by the Committee of the Cabinet, should issue on the morning of July 8, 1960.¹¹² Information regarding the issue of the Ordinance should be announced on the All India Radio in the mid-day news bulletin the same day.
- 3. Minister of Home Affairs informed the Cabinet that it was proposed to issue a notification under Clause 2 (l) (a) (viii) of the Ordinance in order to include services connected with the receipt, collection, storage, issue, movement and distribution of foodgrains in the term "essential services". Cabinet approved the proposal.
- 4. Cabinet also approved the issue of the necessary notification under the Armed Forces Emergency Duties Act, 1947, to enable the Ministry of Defence to

^{111.} Minutes of Cabinet meeting, 4.00 p.m., 7 July 1960, chaired by Nehru. File No. KS/60, MHA.

^{112.} The ordinance, declaring certain of the services as essential services, was promulgated on 8 July 1960.

[BANNING STRIKES FOR STATUS]

You Said It



Friends, it's a shame our department is not considered important.

It's a clear case of discrimination—as a protest
we will refuse to go on strike unless our section is classified
as essential and strike is banned!

(From The Times of India, 28 July 1960, p. 1)

make Defence personnel available to the Ministry of Railways, etc., for the maintenance of essential services. This notification should issue on the 9th July.

5. Cabinet desired that, for the period of the emergency, an Operations Room should be set up, with maps, charts, etc., in it, which will convey at a glance information relating to the important features of the strike situation as it changes from day to day. This would enable Members of the Cabinet to obtain a clear picture of the situation quickly, when coming to attend a Cabinet meeting.

6. Regarding the issue of a statement to the Press, Cabinet decided that a fresh statement should be prepared indicating the action so far taken in implementation of the Pay Commission's recommendations and what the likely financial effects would be if the workers' demands were to be accepted; and that

a small committee consisting of the Cabinet Secretary, the Home Secretary and the Labour Secretary¹¹³ should utilise that statement for briefing representatives of the Press regarding the Government side of the case in the present dispute.

69. At the Cabinet 114

[Refer to items 251-258]

Case No. 367/34/60

Posting of Three Senior Secretaries to Calcutta, Bombay and Madras for the Duration of the Threatened General Strike

Prime Minister informed Members of the Cabinet that it was proposed to post three senior Secretaries to the Government of India to Calcutta, Bombay and Madras during the period of the threatened general strike in order to maintain effective liaison between the three State Governments and the Government of India, to act as the chief coordinating authorities in respect of the Central Government offices and departments in those States and to advise the Heads of Central Government departments in those States in case of any serious difficulties arising during the period of the emergency. Two other senior Secretaries, with their headquarters at Delhi, will visit some of the remaining State Capitals at frequent intervals, and perform similar duties. This arrangement was necessary in view of the possibility of communications being dislocated during the general strike. The Secretaries will, of course, not interfere in any way with the work of the State Governments.

2. Cabinet approved the proposal.

70. Asha Devi Aryanayakam to Nehru¹¹⁵

[Refer to item 142]

Shrimati Asha Devi Aryanayakam, c/o Shrimati Mridula Sarabhai, 81/48 Diplomatic Enclave, New Delhi. [7 July 1960]

After meeting you I went to Rajasthan to meet Vinobaji. I think you know that I am working directly under his guidance now as a worker in the Shanti Sena movement.

113. P.M. Menon, Secretary, Ministry of Labour & Employment.

114. Minutes of Cabinet meeting, 4.00 p.m., 7 July 1960, chaired by Nehru. File No. KS-27/60, MHA.

115. Letter.

I found him in a small hamlet, 65 miles from Kotah, camping in a small verandah attached to the cow-shed of a peasant's house. He was in good health and spirits.

Among other things I gave him a report on my meeting with Shri Phizo and an account of the circumstances under which Rev. Michael Scott had brought him to England. I asked Vinobaji for his guidance on this question, both for me personally and for the friends who have offered hospitality to Shri Phizo and are sponsoring him in England.

I am sending you a brief report of his suggestions. He has revised my report and I am sending it to you according to his wish. 116

If you approve, I shall be glad to send a copy to Rev. Michael Scott and other friends in England who are befriending Shri Phizo.

I know you are very busy now. So, I shall not ask for an interview. I shall be grateful if you could kindly send me a message. I am staying with Smt. Mridulaben on the above address.

71. Harekrushna Mahtab to Nehru¹¹⁷

[Refer to item 351]

Please refer to your circular letter No. 426-PMO/60 dated the 30th June 1960. Steps are being taken to see that no serious dislocation takes place as a result of the strike of the Central Government employees.

I venture to mention one thing in this connection for your consideration. I do not like to add to your worries, but I think whatever occurs to me should be mentioned to you. This is not the first time that it is occurring to me; I have been holding these views for the last many years.

The way in which labour policy has been formulated in India, I humbly submit, is not conducive either to the execution of the Plans or to natural development of the country. The policy followed has no bearing on the other policies of Government which are pursued. Expansion of the public sector is the accepted policy of Government and is being pursued. At the same time the labour policy which is followed in the case of the private sector is being followed in respect of the public sector without any distinction whatsoever. Most certainly there is a distinction between the public sector and private sector, so far as attitude towards labour is concerned. Many public undertakings have been declared as industrial concerns and the labour laws intended to improve the labour conditions in the private sector have been made applicable to these public undertakings also.

116. See Appendix 62117. Letter, 8 July 1960.

118. See item 247.

Last year, a serious situation arose in Hirakud as a result of this policy. I managed the situation only by not accepting the Government of India policy. To deal with complaints of labour in the public sector there should be some other device but not the ones which are usually adopted in the private sector. While facilities should be provided for expression of complaints and redress of grievances, strike in the public sector, particularly in the departments with which administration is concerned, should be made illegal.

The very conception of strike belongs to the world of the private sector. I have very closely studied the effect of the labour laws on the public sector and I can say without hesitation that if all the labour laws are scrupulously applied to the public sector, factories like Rourkela cannot work continuously even for a week. Now the thing is being managed because the laws are not applied. It is again wrong thing to have a law and not to apply it.

These are matters which require re-thinking. This is just by the way.

I send herewith for your information a copy of the statement which I have issued to the press today regarding the strike.

72. David Astor to Louis Mountbatten 119

[Refer to item 146]

The Observer 22, Tudor Street, London, E.C. 4 8 July 1960

Dear Lord Mountbatten.

I fear I may not have been entirely successful in conveying privately to the Indian authorities my view of the seriousness of the situation that has been created by the arrival of Phizo, the Naga rebel leader, in the West. The issues have been made more complicated by delicate questions of motive, prestige, procedure. May I put what I believe to be the real issues as simply as possible, leaving it to you to do whatever you may think suitable?

First, the broad facts of the situation. The Indian Army has been occupying the Naga Hills for several years and has been engaged in actions. The exclusion of the Press and all visitors has roused suspicions. Bernard Ferguson was recently refused access. Now comes the admitted leader of the rebellious Nagas with a long and detailed catalogue of alleged major atrocities. There are a few corroborating secondary witnesses. He is determined to make public these allegations.

It may be possible to delay this by a few weeks (at most). The Indian Government could try to silence him by extradition, but they would make themselves look rather Russian in the process, as the case would have to come to court and be publicly heard.

Phizo himself, contrary to official Indian opinion, is quite a considerable person. He has impressed people here favourably as straightforward, dignified and intelligent, though his knowledge of the world is still limited. In capacity and culture, he is certainly comparable to Dr Banda.

He is going to make detailed charges against the Indian government and Army of the utmost gravity. He is investigating the possibility of getting another State to bring a case against India at the United Nations alleging breach of the Genocide Convention.

It seems to me that, broadly, two courses are open to India. One is to ignore Phizo, and leave him to do his worst. Delhi can simply conduct a counter offensive about Naga misdeeds and barbarities and aim to get a "not proven" verdict about Phizo's charges. This may seem to Delhi the best line. But if it follows this line, various things will happen. One is that the Naga struggle will smoulder for years and years, and sooner or later will be used by China.

India is doubtless hoping that if it refuses to deal with Phizo, it can reach a settlement with the more moderate Naga Convention. But you will be the first to recognise that in dealing with a nationalist movement it is not enough to select the moderates and come to terms with them. That is what we British have tried to do again and again, and have always failed. You have to settle with at least some of the extremists.

The alternative course is for India to make vigorous efforts to include Phizo in a settlement. In a way, Phizo's arrival in London could be an advantage to India, because the moderating influence of people here may lead him to take a more reasonable line in negotiation. Phizo is asking for complete independence. I can't speak for him, and he may persist in his demand. But it is possible that in the course of negotiations he might be persuaded to settle for something less.

India is dealing with a kind of Irish situation. The emotion stirred up is very great, and it seems likely that there will not be genuine cordiality between Indians and Nagas for a generation or more. The Naga hills are strategically so placed that it is as if Ireland lay between Britain and Germany. It seems tragically shortsighted not to treat this rebellion with imaginative generosity. If that is not done, there is no power on earth that will be able to make this border territory loyal to India, as long as there is a Naga population living there.

I fully recognise that this situation is one where a genuine settlement will be exceedingly difficult to reach. I also recognise that it cannot be settled until the dirty linen has been washed. Something as radical as a joint Indian-Naga Commission of enquiry, with an amnesty for Phizo to return and make his case before it at public hearings—something as surprising as that would seem to be

necessary to change the present disastrous course of events.

What I have said in this letter is not threats to India. It is an attempted analysis of what is likely to happen. Henceforth, I shall try to confine my role in this matter to my proper one of journalistic comment. I have felt it absolutely necessary to try to give our friends these urgent warnings. Whether they heed them or not, I won't mind in a personal sense. But I do hope you can convince them that the implications of this situation could be as serious for them as were troubles which Britain long treated as minor and domestic, such as the Irish question.

Yours ever.

David Astor (Editor)

73. Partap Singh Kairon to Nehru¹²⁰

[Refer to item 167]

This is in continuation of my D.O. letter No. 3298 dated 27th June 1960 regarding the points raised by Shri Hem Raj, MP, Kangra, and Shri Nihal Chand, a member of the Lahaul & Spiti Council. I now deal with the third point relating to the displacement of cultivators as a result of the proposed Beas Dam.

- 2. I enclose a plan showing the spread of the reservoir at Pang. The total area that will get submerged is about 58,000 acres, out of which roughly half is uncultivable. The cultivable area would appear from the enclosed map to be largely on the right bank of the river. According to the project report, the valley that gets drowned is fertile and thickly populated.
- 3. That is the brief position about the land. Regarding persons, the rough estimate so far made shows that 9,400 families will get displaced. This is based on the 1951 census figures. Since the actual displacement will occur round about 1969, the number of families will increase. Allowing for this increase, and allowing also for roughly five persons per family, it appears that the extent of the human displacement will be of the order of about 70,000 souls. Shri Hem Raj is, thus, not quite correct in saying that this number of cultivators will be displaced.
- 4. The Bhakra dam will displace only 27,000 souls. The problem in the case of the Beas Dam, thus, is much bigger in magnitude. Also, there will be the further difficulty that people are much more vocal and conscious of their rights now than they were when Bhakra was decided upon. It is absolutely imperative, therefore, that adequate rehabilitation measures should be devised and implemented in good time.
 - 5. In this connection, could I trouble you to glance through my letter of the

120. Letter, sent from Srinagar, 8 July 1960.

7th June to Hafiz Mohd. Ibrahim (copy enclosed). I feel it to be an urgent matter that compact blocks of the best land in the head reaches of the Rajasthan Canal should be immediately reserved for the oustees from Pang. I also think that we must provide for rehabilitation measures generously in the Project estimate itself. I believe the present amount provided there is at the rate of Rs. 250/- per family, which you will agree with me, is pitifully small. Lastly, I also feel that we must try to put through measures that will enable some of the displaced population to settle in the surrounding tract in Kangra district itself. For this, we may have to locate one or two industrial estates in that region, where industries suited to the region can be developed, e.g. industries based on timber, light engineering industries, handicrafts, etc. For this, we shall have to dovetail plans on the industrial side with the rehabilitation of these oustees. The essential thing is that the project must not grudge generous provision for funds for the rehabilitation of the huge number of displaced persons involved.

6. I am also asking our engineers to consider whether any advantage can be gained by reducing the height of the dam slightly, thereby reducing the extent of displacement of persons. Of course, we shall have to ensure that this does not cut out essential benefits, particularly in the context of the Canal Water Dispute.

74. B. Shiva Rao to Nehru¹²¹

[Refer to item 259]

12 Ratendone Road, New Delhi, 9 July 1960

Dear Jawaharlalji,

May I say how glad I was that in your excellent broadcast on Thursday night appealing to the Central Government employees not to go on strike, you gave a definite assurance that the Government would establish suitable machinery for the discussion of their problems for settlement through negotiations. For three years I have been begging you to take this step. As I pointed out in a recent article in the "Hindu" (published on the 23rd June last) in every letter that you wrote to me on this subject you expressed genuine sympathy with the employees' point of view. When Mr. Douglas Houghton, MP, 122 met you about two years ago he got the impression that you were keen on seeing the establishment of machinery of the Whitley Council type in India. Mr. Houghton appeared before the Pay Commission and as a result the Commission made a positive recommendation in

^{121.} Letter. File No. 35 (42)/57-66-PM, Prime Minister's Office. Also available in JN Collection. 122. British Labour politician.

favour of such a scheme. As you are doubtless aware, the first Pay Commission in 1946-47 made precisely the same recommendation.

The response of the Government has been extremely disappointing in this respect. The Staff Councils that have been in existence for about two years have achieved very little. I know from personal discussions with staff representatives on these Councils that they have no faith in these Councils. They have not even had a joint meeting of all the Staff Councils, except once: that too was on my initiative and because of your favourable response. That joint meeting was addressed by Mr. Houghton and I know (because I presided on the occasion) how bitterly disappointed the staff representatives were with the negligible results achieved. Mr. Houghton pointedly told the meeting that when the British Government first offered Advisory Councils—precisely of the type that are now in existence in New Delhi, the British Civil Service rejected them about 40 years ago. Only on such rejection did the British Government of that day decide on Whitley Councils with adequate powers and authority.

I would earnestly request you to take a personal interest in this matter. Strike leaders who are making statements are all outsiders. The Central Government employees are quite capable of making their own representations without outside assistance. The sooner you can get direct relations established between the Government and its employees through machinery of the Whitley Councils type, the better it would be for both parties and, of course, for smooth administration.

I am writing this letter to you because I have a fear that senior Civil servants in New Delhi today will adopt precisely the same attitude as did British Civil servants when the suggestion of Whitley Councils was first made in 1919. I would, therefore, request you to consider seriously bringing out someone from England with sufficient and intimate experience of the working of Whitley Councils for a period of about 6 months to help in the establishment of and the initial working of similar Councils in India. I am quite sure that if a request is made Mr. Houghton would only be happy to send some competent person with the necessary qualifications and experience. Actually, in the early summer of last year someone of this kind did come out, Mr. Platt a former Madras I.C.S. official now dealing with personnel problems in London.

I feel strongly that without such expert advice and assistance it will not be possible to make a success of such machinery.

With regards,

Yours sincerely, B. Shiva Rao

75. H.T. Alexander to K. Jaswant Singh¹²³

[Refer to item 476]

Ministry of Defence, Gliffard Camp, Accra 9 July 1960

Dear Jus,

I have been thinking about your position here under the circumstances existing at the present time. As you will appreciate, your continued presence in the Camp is awkward for many, not least yourself.

Could you please let me know what you intend or would like to do pending your departure. Would it not be best for all concerned if you went on local leave.

Surely your own Government does not wish to leave you in this trying situation any longer than necessary, particularly now that the Ghana Govt have stated in writing that you will be fully compensated?

Yours Henry Alexander

76. Swaran Singh to Nehru¹²⁴

[Refer to item 346]

11 July 1960

My dear Jawaharlal Ji,

The other day when we discussed the Bokaro Steel Plant, you were anxious that the project should be implemented without delay. With the experience gained in Bhilai, Durgapur and Rourkela, Hindustan Steel have been doing a lot of preliminary work which can be taken up even before settling the details of the plant and equipment to be put in. Practically all the land required for the steel plant proper and for the township has been notified for acquisition. Areas over which construction camps have to be built and those in which detailed soil investigations have to be carried out have all been taken over. Over 300 bore holes have been drilled and the condition of the subsoil in the plant area analysed. Detailed contour surveys have been completed in the plant area and considerable progress has been made with such surveys in the area where the township will be built. Investigations have been completed in the bed of the river Damodar to select the

123. Letter.

124. Letter. File No. 17 (314)/58-64-PMS.

site for a dam and a construction survey is now in progress so that, immediately after the monsoons, work on the dam could begin. For building materials required in the construction of the plant and of the township, detailed exploration is going in on the neighbourhood and samples are being analysed. A skeleton water supply scheme, to supply water for construction is being drawn up. A small construction camp with a temporary office, residential quarters and a community dining hall has been completed. Further camps are under construction. An airstrip is being constructed to enable the Hindustan Steel plane to land near the site of construction.

- 2. As you would perhaps remember, one of the difficulties with Bokaro was means of access across the river Damodar. I am glad to tell you that a new railway bridge has now been built by the Railways across the river. The road bridge is nearing completion.
- 3. You will see that we have already started many of the items of work which have to be and can be done before the details of the plant and equipment are settled. Simultaneously, the preliminary Project report prepared by Dastur¹²⁵ is being examined by Hindustan Steel. The building up of Hindustan Steel's own designing and construction organisation is also going on apace. This organisation is being manned by experts and engineers who have actually gathered experience in the three steel plants under construction and have been seconded to this organisation. It is my hope that this organisation will itself be able to take on many of the functions which have hitherto been performed by consulting engineers. Even so, Hindustan Steel will have to supplement their efforts by taking the help of consulting engineers in specified fields. There is therefore ample scope for using the services of Dastur's organisation. How best this can be done is being considered by Hindustan Steel.

Yours sincerely, Swaran Singh

77. M.J. Desai to N.D. Gulhati 126

[Refer to item 441]

Your telegrams on the deadlock over transitional arrangements ending with your telegram No. 452 of 8th July.

- 2. Ambassador Chagla will be giving you a copy of Prime Minister's reply to Black. 127
- 125. Minu Nariman Dastur, founder chairman and managing director of the consulting engineering firm M.N. Dastur and Company (Private) Limited.
- 126. Telegram, undated, but probably sent on 11 July 1960.
- 127. See item 441.

- 3. We have given careful consideration to your recommendations. We are anxious to go as far as we can to secure agreement. But, at the same time, we cannot imperil our own future. We give below our rock-bottom proposals on transitional arrangements. These, as you will see, involve some generous concessions to Pakistan. Please work out technical details on basis of proposals contained in following paragraph, and communicate these to Black and Iliff making it clear that no further concessions of any kind are possible.
 - 4. Following are new proposals for transitional arrangements:-

(i) Adoption of 70:30 ratio during Phase I.

(ii) Phase I may, instead of being for 1960-65, be a six years' phase from 1st April 1960 to 31st March, 1966, the ratio suggested in (i) above to be applicable for this full period of modified Phase I.

(iii) Phase II may, instead of the previous period of five years, be four years ending on 31st March, 1970. Thus, both Phase I and II together will last

ten years.

(iv) India agrees to compensate Pakistan with additional supply of 1,000 (or 2,000) cusecs from mid-September to mid-October to make up for likely reduction in the regeneration and river gains on account of storage of the flood waters of Sutlej at Bhakra.

5. We consider that these offers, involving substantial concessions, should be acceptable. We are prepared, however, if absolute necessity arises, to make an offer of 65:35 ratio for next three years only. But it must be clearly understood that this ratio will be for three years and after that the ratio will be 70:30. We cannot extend this period of three years for this purpose as this will involve grave injury to us in connection with the Rajasthan Canal.

78. Michael Scott to Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit¹²⁸

[Refer to item 146]

81 Denison House, 296 Vauxhall Bridge Road, London, S.W.1 11 July 1960

Dear Mrs Pandit,

May I make it clear why I am asking if I may visit your brother in India in about a week's time? By that time Mr Phizo will have completed the statement he intends to publish and it will exist in printed form as a pamphlet intended for transmission to newspaper editors, here and elsewhere.

128. Letter, followed by a comment by Phizo.

Mr Phizo is willing that I should show a proof copy of this statement to Mr Nehru. He is not willing to entrust this mission to anyone else.

The purpose of this mission would be to give Mr Nehru an opportunity to consider whether he wished to make a suggestion of how the Naga question might be handled, other than by the present plans of all concerned. Mr Phizo is perfectly willing to consider any suggestion, but he is not willing to entrust the discussion of this matter, including the discussion of any suggestion Mr Nehru might make, to anyone other than myself for the time being.

I would emphasise that I would greatly keep my visit to Mr Nehru as private as possible, i.e. avoiding all possible publicity. Also, I can assure you that nothing would be more welcome to me than a new turn in events which enabled Mr Phizo to deal directly with the Indian government on terms of mutual regard. It is precisely in the hope of perhaps finding a way towards such a development that I am anxious to see Mr Nehru.

In any case, I feel it is essential that I should make every effort to ensure that Mr Nehru has an opportunity of seeing precisely what charges Mr Phizo intends to make, and of considering the matter before it becomes public knowledge.

I therefore feel bound to ask you to let me know whether you feel able to forward my request to your brother. If you should feel unable, I am sure you would appreciate my feeling that I should then at least send him a telegram myself.

I hope you will appreciate that I cannot accept responsibility for delaying the publication of Mr Phizo's statement as soon as it is ready unless he himself agrees to a delay, which he could only be reasonably expected to do if he knew your brother was interested to see the statement first. Without that knowledge delay would become impossible.

Yours sincerely, Sd/- Michael Scott

I have read the above and I approve it. Sd/- Z.A. Phizo

79. Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit to Nehru¹²⁹

[Refer to item 146]

I hate to take up even one moment of your time when I know what a critical situation the country is passing through. However, I also think you might be kept informed of the continuing developments in the Phizo's affair.

129. Letter, London, 12 July 1960.

I enclose a letter received this morning from Michael Scott which speaks for itself. Yesterday Scott had telephoned to ask me what I thought of his visiting India in order to talk to you. I told him quite specifically that he should not 130 go—the reasons being

- 1. that since Jaiprakash Narayan had arranged to meet you there seemed no point in a second person rushing off before the result of the meeting was known,
- 2. that negotiations were already scheduled between the leaders of the Naga Convention and the Government and you were soon to meet them, and
- 3. that in the middle of a national crisis you could not be expected to spare time for interviews.

On the 'phone Scott seemed to accept my advice but evidently he has now changed his mind.

Two days ago Scott held a Press Conference at which he issued harmless sort of statement. Not a word of this has found its way into a single paper throughout the country. This must have peeved him because more than anything else these people want publicity. I am sure this matter will die a natural death if we handle it correctly. So far nobody in England outside the sponsoring group has shown the slightest interest.

80. B. Shiva Rao to Nehru¹³¹

[Refer to item 261]

12 Ratendone Road, New Delhi 12 July 1960

Dear Jawaharlalji,

I am grateful to you for your prompt and sympathetic reply to my letter of 9th July, in which I had suggested that an early start should be made in India with machinery of the Whitley Council type. Since you said in your reply that the matter is now under consideration, I took the liberty of finding out from the Labour Adviser to the U.K. High Commission what literature is immediately available. He was good enough to come over with a bundle of papers, some of which it struck me, might be of use to members of the Committee who are considering the proposal to make the Staff Councils function on the lines of the Whitley Councils.

I am therefore forwarding to you a number of papers. Some I will have to return to the U.K. High Commission's office; these I have indicated with a slip of

130. Emphasis in the original.

131. Letter. B. Shiva Rao Papers, NMML.

paper attached to the pamphlet for being returned. The other pamphlets and memoranda may be of some use to the members of your Committee.

I would only invite your attention to some general points which deserve consideration: (1) the existence of an arbitration tribunal to deal with cases where no agreement has been reached in a dispute; (2) the encouragement of joint consultations between the spokesmen of the Government and those of the staff not only in matters over which disputes have arisen (or are likely to do so) but also for considering suggestions emanating from the staff side for improvements in administration; (3) the objective manner in which the Civil Service Pay Research Unit (started in 1956) seems to function. In regard to this point, I would like you to have a look at its first annual report issued in 1957 (and forwarded with the other papers).

You will observe that questions about civil service salaries and emoluments are now tackled in Britain by the Pay Research Unit. So far the results appear to be satisfactory. You will note, further, that this unit makes detailed enquiries into wages and conditions of service in private Industry and business; and, in fact, "job comparability" is specifically included in the Unit's first term of reference.

We cannot afford to have a pay commission to go into questions of salaries and allowances every few years and then let the different ministeries deal with the recommendations. A Pay Research Unit seems to me to be much the better approach. Its personnel and terms of reference are approved by the National Whitley Council, only the director being appointed by the Prime Minister. A Steering Committee of the National Whitley Council gives general directions to the Pay Research Unit and sanctions its programme for the year.

With regards,

Yours sincerely, B. Shiva Rao

81. Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit to N.R. Pillai 132

[Refer to item 458]

London, W.C.2. 12 July 1960

My dear N.R.

I understand from our Prime Minister that the Queen's programme will be drawn up between the Ministry and the U.K. High Commission in New Delhi. I shall, therefore, forward such requests as I receive to you.

132. Letter. File No. 1 (12)-Pt I/60, Vol. 2, MEA.

- 1. I enclose a letter from Jaipur which speaks for itself. It seems to me rather absurd that out of a total of 16 or 17 days, 5 of them should be devoted to Jaipur. I spoke about this to Michael Adeane but it seems there is some sort of conspiracy between Jaipur, Mountbatten and the Queen's Household and evidently the visit to Jaipur looms large in their minds. I have told Jaipur I think it is ridiculous to expect to keep the Queen five days but you might deal with this matter through the U.K. High Commission and make such recommendations as you think fit.
- 2. The second enclosure is a remarkable piece of literature.¹³³ I make no comment. I am merely acknowledging it. Kindly deal with the matter as you think fit.

Sincerely, Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit

82. Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit to N.R. Pillai¹³⁴

[Refer to item 495]

12 July 1960

I realise that I am flooding you with questions but I seem to have no alternative. I enclose a letter from J.B. Priestley received by me. Yesterday he came to see me and we had a talk regarding the suggestion in the letter.

Priestley, like many others is deeply concerned about the state of the world. He and a group of writers and thinkers are anxious to have "an East-West conference at a non-political level to discuss the state of the world" and they feel that if India would permit them to hold the conference there it would be of enormous advantage since both the Americans and Russians—specially the Americans—would attend willingly. The purpose of the conference is merely discussion and there is no intention to pass resolutions either of praise or blame. It is felt that in the present state of tension and suspicion one way out is for non-political people to pool their thoughts. This may perhaps also bring home to the common man the fact that it is he who is now responsible for creating a climate of peace.

Priestley assures me that in asking for India's help nothing more than moral support is suggested. There will be no financial commitment as those who attend will pay for themselves. All that would be required is permission to announce that

^{133.} This enclosure has not been found.

^{134.} Letter. Subject File No. 17 (Part II), Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit Papers (Second Instalment), NMML.

India had allowed the conference to be held in one of her cities and perhaps assistance in the matter of a suitable hall where the meeting could take place. As it is the desire of the organizers to hold the conference in February, Priestley would appreciate a reply as soon as it is convenient for the Government to come to a decision on his request. He has specially asked me to emphasise that the people associate are not those who have any axe to grind with Russia or America, and the Indian participating in the deliberation will probably be Vinobha Bhave. Other names mentioned were those of Lord Russell, Lord Boyd Orr, Illya Ehrenberg, Oppenheimer, and so on.

Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit

83. Dinesh Singh to Nehru¹³⁵

[Refer to items 474 and 475]

20 Janpath, New Delhi 12 July 1960

My dear Panditji,

I have just returned from a visit to Cairo and West Germany. I went to Ireland, too, and was happy to meet President de Valera and other leaders. I am writing to you first about Africa.

- 2. While in Cairo I had an opportunity of speaking to President Nasser about Africa. He mentioned that he had set up a committee of the National Union to take interest in Africa and asked me to see Mr. Fouad Galal who was going to be the head of the organization.
- 3. I met Mr. Fouad Galal several times. I had first met him in Tunis where he lead [sic] the U.A.R. delegation to the All African Peoples Conference. He had just returned from a tour of Central Asia and had himself just received the news of the committee and his appointment. He was, therefore, not quite sure how the Committee would function and wanted to know from me how we worked. We discussed some organizational matters and I came to know that his main idea was to travel all over Africa with some colleagues to make personal contacts and renew them. Actually, he has been on the move quite a lot since the President relieved him of his routine ministerial work and made him incharge of U.A.R.'s African relations. The committee would also invite prominent Africans to U.A.R. as much as possible.
- 4. I got the impression that this committee had been set up primarily because U.A.R.'s traditional approaches to Africa—various African Bureaus in Cairo and

^{135.} Letter. File No. CUL-20/59 AFR II, MEA.

the Afro-Asian Solidarity Conference—were being blocked.

- 5. As I mentioned to you on my return from Tunis the African organizations in exile, especially those in Cairo, were not finding favour either with the newly independent African countries or with their own people at home.
- 6. The Afro-Asian Solidarity Conference has also suffered a great set-back. I was told that in the last conference, held at Conakry, 136 the organization was nearly wrecked and could be saved only when it was decided not to hold any meeting for 2 years to give people an opportunity to plan its future. The bulk of criticism against Communist domination in the organization came from Ghana and Indonesia.
- 7. The main reason why the Afro-Asian Solidarity Conference has suffered this set-back are:
 - 1. This organization is supposed to be Communist dominated and influenced by U.S.S.R. and China.
 - There is considerable disagreement between the leading sponsors of the organization—U.A.R., U.S.S.R. and China. In fact it was seriously considered at one time that the headquarters of the organization might be moved from Cairo to Conakry.
 - 3. African leaders are afraid of the role China is playing in Africa.
- 8. Before I left for Cairo, Mr. M.J. Desai had asked me to see how this organization was working and whether we could find some basis for collaboration with it. Our Ambassador in U.A.R. ¹³⁷ was also anxious about it especially as U.A.R. is taking active interest in it and had appointed one of its top civil servants, Si Bai, as its Secretary General. He felt that as such the Organization could hardly be Communist controlled. I, therefore, discussed the matter at some length.
- 9. The organization is largely financed by U.A.R., U.S.S.R. and China in equal proportions—roughly £.10,000 from each country annually. National Committees of the Organization, except where political parties are banned, are Communist dominated. U.A.R. is not happy about its association in the organization partly because of the Communist tinge, which may discredit U.A.R. and partly because of the Chinese activities in Africa. Yet, having invested all this money, it does not want to hand over the entire organization to the Communists.
- 10. A question cropped up whether in view of the present position of the Afro-Asian Solidarity Conference, another organization could not be built up for the purpose of Afro-Asian Cooperation. I asked Mr. Fouad Galal whether the All African Peoples Conference could be extended to include members from Asian Countries or perhaps another organization on those lines could be built up. He liked the idea very much and promised to speak to African leaders about it privately.

He also promised that if I went to attend the next meeting of the All African Peoples Conference, which would be held in Cairo in January 1961, he would get me a seat, as an observer, on the Steering Committee of the Conference, which has so far been reserved strictly for Africans.

- 11. The policy of the Government of India in this respect has now to be decided so that the matter may be persued [sic].
- 12. The role of the Indian Council for Africa, on whose behalf I have been acting, has also to be decided. As you are aware this organization was set up by the former Congress President, Shrimati Indira Gandhi, with Shri Balvantray Mehta, M.P., as President. The idea was to make it a national committee and, therefore, some members from other parties with similar views on Africa were also included. We work in close cooperation with the A.I.C.C. and function as its committee on Africa.
- 13. It is to be decided whether we are to work as a purely cultural organization, organizing odd functions and goodwill delegations, or as a political organization closely following government policy and acting in places where the government should not or would not be able to act directly. I should like to speak to you about this matter later when Balvantrayji is also here.
- 14. I met Dr. Dadoo in London. He would like to come to India with the leaders of other two parties in S. Africa who are also in London. He feels that their coming to India may help in building a multi-racial party. We are looking into the matter in consultation with External Affairs Ministry.
- 15. In conclusion I should like to draw your attention to our relation with Africa. Newly independent countries are coming up all over. This year alone five countries will be independent and many more are on the way. These countries need help. At the same time they want to avoid foreign economic domination. Many of them look to us for guidance and all of them look up to you for leadership. We are, however, being misunderstood. Many people feel that we are not interested in Africa and we are becoming conspicuous by our absence. All leading countries of the world are taking a keen interest and I was surprised to see the interest taken by even small countries like Ireland, which had sent its Foreign Minister to the Congo. West Germany is also very active and the German Foreign Minister has recently been on an extensive tour of Africa. He will go again for the independence celebration of Nigeria. We do not have to compete with these countries but we have to show that we are friends of Africa. Africans are a little touchy about it. I am happy that Mr. Krishna Menon was able to visit some African countries. I am hoping you will be able to pay a visit, too. In the meantime, even if we cannot have suitable missions all over Africa, some delegations of politicians, experts and industrialists might visit some of the newly independent African countries to see how we can help them.
- 16. Politically, too, Africa is important to us. First of all, we have a considerable population of Indian origin there. If we can help them integrate with the Africans

it will be a good thing. Otherwise, we may have another refugee problem on our hands. Then, Africa is yet uncommitted and our policy of non-involvement and Panchsheel can help them safeguard their freedom and at the same time extend the area of peace.

- 17. In Germany we were taken around the whole country. The purpose of the visit was not clear. It appeared to be a holiday but they wanted to impress upon us three main points.
 - 1. That Germany had made complete recovery and tremendous progress under the present regime.
 - That unification of Germany was natural and human and that the West German government as a democratic government was the true government of the German people.
 - 3. That Germany was peaceful and wanted to live peacefully.
- 18. We were also taken to East Berlin to show the contrast between the way of life in the two Berlins as representative of the difference between the two Germanys.
- 19. There can be no doubt that German recovery has been complete and that they are far ahead technically and economically than any other European country. The credit goes to the people for their discipline and hard work and also to the countries which gave so much financial and material help.
- 20. It is also true that Germany has every moral and legal claim to reunification and that, should it come about democratically, the Government of East Germany would be thrown out, but neither the Soviet Union nor the United States or, for that matter, any other European country is serious about German reunification. Willy Brandt admitted this when I asked him a direct question. Reunification is, therefore, linked with disarmament and other international problems and the two Germanys will remain for the time being. Actually West German leaders are a little worried that if the division continued for some time the new generation coming up in East Germany may be so tied up with the Communist system that it may not wish to unite under a West German Government. That is one of the main reasons for keeping West Berlin as a show window inside East Germany.
- 21. I am not quite sure about the third claim. I noticed that the old German institutions, which enabled Germany to devastate Europe twice in a life-time, are continuing. The traditions are being maintained. The industrial empire is being restored to Kruppo [sic]. The Chancellor is there. The Wehrmacht and Luftwaffe have come into being again and the Bundes republic may one day yield to a Reich. On the other hand these institutions have been destroyed in East Germany. One can still see the ravages of war and the curse of defeat. East Germany does not possess the materials or the means to be arrogant or wage a war. It is difficult to justify the domination or enslavement of a people 16 years after a war but it is also difficult to justify giving people the materials to build without designing the safeguards. I wish the German Government had stronger trade unions to show

us. I can only hope that the future generations will not be allowed to forget the horrors of war—whether it ends in victory or defeat. No one can say with certainty what course Germany will take but it is clear that Germany will soon start exerting its influence as a world power.

With respects,

Dinesh

84. B.K. Chandiwala to Nehru 138

[Refer to item 263]

13 जुलाई 1960

भारत सेवक समाज ने इस हड़ताल के सम्बन्ध में दो काम अपने जिम्मे लिये हैं।

1. अपने आदिमयों द्वारा इलाक़ों में घूमकर शांति स्थापित रखने के लिये काम करना। 2. कीमतें न बढ़ने पायें इस पर पूरा भार देना। इसके लिये एक कमेटी बनाई है जिसमें प्रमुख व्यापारियों को लिया हुआ है। उन्होंने विश्वास दिलाया है कि कीमतें बढ़ने नहीं देंगे। फिर भी हमारे स्वयं सेवक इलाक़ों में जाकर दुकानदारों से कह रहे हैं कि कीमतें न बढ़ाएँ, और खरीदारों से कह रहे हैं कि अधिक कीमतें न दें। एक पोस्टर भी निकालने का निश्चय किया है। 4 जौलाई को जो कीमतें थीं वहीं दी जाएं ऐसा निर्णय हुआ है।

मैं दो रोज से राज्य कर्मचारियों की कौलोनीज में जाकर कर्मचारियों से मिल रहा हूँ उनके यहां दरें न बढ़ने पाएं यह पूरा प्रयत्न किया जा रहा है मगर उनमें एक असंतोष की भावना काम कर रही है जिसे दूर करने का प्रयत्न करना जरूरी है क्योंकि मन में अशान्ति बनी रहे यह अच्छा नहीं है। बहुत सी बातें तो गलतफहमी के कारण पैदा हो जाती हैं मगर कुछ वास्तविक भी होती हैं। जो बातें हुईं उनमें मुझे कुछ नई जानकारी प्राप्त हुई। इसलिये मैंने सोचा है कि हड़ताल समाप्त होने के पश्चात असल हालात मालूम करने के लिये इन लोगों से मिलूं और जो जानकारी प्राप्त हो उसे आपके सामने रखूं। आशा है आप इस विचार को पसंद करेंगें।

रेलवे कौलोनीज और अन्य मुहल्लों में भी हमारे कार्यकर्ताओं ने सम्पर्क किया है। रेलवे कौलोनीज में विशेषकर हमारी महिला सदस्यों ने अच्छा काम किया है। इसके इलावा 60 शिकायतें सुनने के केन्द्र स्थापित किये हैं और उन पर यथा योग्य कार्यवाही भी की जाती है।

ब्रजकृष्ण

[Translation begins:

13 July 1960

The Bharat Sevak Samaj has undertaken two responsibilities in connection with the strike.

138. Letter, copied to G.L. Nanda, Chairman, Bharat Sevak Samaj. B.K. Chandiwala Papers, NMML.

One, to work for maintaining the peace in different areas through patrolling by its members. Two, to make all efforts to prevent the rise in prices. For this purpose, a committee has been formed which includes the main businessmen. They have given the assurance that they will not let the prices increase. Yet our volunteers are visiting different areas and persuading the shopkeepers not to raise the prices, and asking the people not to pay more. It has been decided to release a poster. It has been decided that the prices that prevailed on the 4th July should be maintained.

For the past two days I have been meeting government employees by visiting their colonies. All efforts are being made to ensure that the prices should not rise in their localities. But there is a feeling of dissatisfaction among them and it is very essential that efforts are made to remove this feeling for it is not a good thing that a state of unrest should persist. Often the grievances are due to misunderstandings, but sometimes they are genuine. Some new information has come to my knowledge as a result of my talks. Therefore, I think that after the strike is over, I should meet these people and place before you the information I gather.

Our workers have established contact in railway colonies and other localities. Our women workers have done specially good work in railway colonies, Besides, 60 complaint centres have been established and necessary action is taken on the complaints received.

Brij Krishen

Translation ends]

85. (a) P.N. Kaul to Subimal Dutt¹³⁹

[Refer to item 287]

The life of the Central Haj Committee, which is constituted on a year-to-year basis, expired on the 26th April, 1960. We have now to consider names for constituting the Committee for the current year. This Committee is appointed by the Prime Minister in his discretion.

The list of the members of the Central Haj Committee for 1959-60 may be seen at flag 'A'. It would be seen from the paper at flag 'B' that Maulana Faruqi and Maulana Hafiz-ur-Rehman have been nominated members of this Committee year after year since 1948. Thus, the two gentlemen have been on this Committee for the last 12 years. It is for consideration if we should replace at least one of

139. Note, 13 July 1960. File No. 29-C (6)-WANA/60, MEA.

them by a younger man. It has been noticed that Shri Joachim Alva and Professor Himayat-ul-Hasan never attended even a single meeting of the Central Haj Committee. It is, therefore, suggested that they may not be re-nominated this time.

Since it has not been possible for either the Foreign Secretary or the Joint Secretary to go to Bombay to attend meetings of this Committee, Shri Coelho suggests that instead of the Foreign Secretary and Joint Secretary both being members of the Committee, we might have only Foreign Secretary, or his nominee, to represent the Ministry. The Deputy Secretary in charge of Haj affairs would continue to be the Secretary and convener of the Committee.

The matter has been discussed with the Deputy Minister, Shrimati Lakshmi Menon, whose note may kindly be seen at flag 'C'. For the reasons stated above, it is proposed to drop or replace the following members of the last Committee:-

Maulana Faruqi Shri Ahmed Mehdi	}	e up
Prof. Himayat-ul-Hasan	}	from U.P.
Shri M.Valiullah	}	
Shri Ismail Sheriff	}	from Bangalore
Shri Joachim Alva	}	from Bombay
Shri Yusuf Ferozi	}	from Calcutta

The new Committee as proposed by the Deputy Minister would consist of the following:- Chairman: (to be selected from amongst its members).

Members

1. 2. 3. 4.	Begum Anis Kidwai Shri Jamal Khwaja Maulana Hafizur Rahman) Shri Akhtar Husain	<pre>} } } }</pre>	from U.P., East Punjab and Delhi
5. 6.	Shri Amjad Ali Shri Syed Mazhar Imam	}	from Assam, West Bengal and Bihar
7. 8. 9.	Shri Akbar Ali Khan Shri Osman Ali Khan Shri Dawood Ali Mirza	} } }	from Orissa, Madhya Pradesh, Andhra Pradesh and Madras
10.	Smt. Zarina Currimbhoy	}	from Bombay and Mysore

- 11. Shri Nausher Barucha
- 12. Shri Koyilat Nallakoya } from Kerala
- 13. Maulana Abdul Shakoor } from Rajasthan
- 14. Col. Pir Mohd. Khan } from Jammu and Kashmir
- 15. Foreign Secretary (Ministry of External Affairs) or his nominee Secretary & Convener:

Deputy Secretary in-charge Haj affairs in the Ministry of External Affairs Prime Minister's approval to constituting the Central Haj Committee for the current year, as suggested above, is sought.

85. (b) P.N. Kaul to Subimal Dutt140

[Refer to item 287]

As directed by F.S., I have shown these papers to the Minister of Irrigation and Power, Hafiz Mohd. Ibrahim, whose not may kindly be soon at flag 'D'. From our list above, Shri Ibrahim suggests the dropping out of Shri Jamal Khwaja and Shri Akhtar Husain from U.P., Shri Osman Ali Khan and Shri Dawood Ali Mirza from Orissa, Madhya Pradesh, Andhra Pradesh and Madras.

Instead he suggests the inclusion of Maulana Mohammad Mian Faraqi, whose retention the Deputy Minister, Shrimati Lakshmi Menon, does not favour, Shri Zahoor-ul-Hasan from U.P., and Shri M.K.M. Abdul Salam from Madras.

It is now for consideration whom we should include or exclude in constituting the Central Haj Committee for the current year.

86. Wilhelm Melchers to Nehru¹⁴¹

[Refer to items 389 and 390]

New Delhi, 14 July 1960

Dear Mr. Prime Minister,

In your capacity as President of the Sahitya Akademi may I put before you and your kind consideration the following matter.

In order to acquaint him with the preparations that are being made in Germany for celebrating the forthcoming Tagore-Centenary in a manner befitting the Poet's

140. Note, 19 July 1960. File No. 29-C (6)-WANA/60, MEA.

141. Letter. File No. S.A. 82 E/8, Part I, Sahitya Akademi.

stature and the great popularity he enjoys in Germany, my Government has invited Mr. Krishna Kripalani, Secretary of the Sahitya Akademi, to visit my country for about three weeks. During his stay, Mr. Krishna Kripalani will advise the Publishers "Hyperion", at Freiburg, who are bringing out a new edition of Tagore's work. Furthermore, he will visit various Academies of Literature and prominent personalities connected with Language and Letters. He will also contact those of Tagore's German friends who are still alive and will interview them. Last but not least, Mr. Krishna Kripalani is interested in studying the system prevalent in Germany regarding the awarding of prizes for literary accomplishments.

As this visit will indeed prove beneficial to the Tagore-Centenary preparations in our two countries, I should be very thankful if you kindly allowed Mr. Kripalani to accept my Government's invitation to come to Germany at the end of September, 1960.

With kind regards and the expression of my highest esteem, I am, dear Mr. Prime Minister,

Yours sincerely, Wilhelm Melchers

87. Swaran Singh to Nehru¹⁴²

[Refer to item 345]

14 July 1960

My dear Jawaharlalji,

Kindly refer to your letter No. 1373-PMH/60 of the 12th July regarding the discussions which Morarjibhai had with Mr. Skatchkov.

It is true that there has been difficulty with supplies of ore to Bhilai. The mechanised mines will be ready only next month and it will take a month or two after that to attain the desired level of production. Meanwhile, as you know, Bhilai is getting what is called "float ore" which is extracted from the surface manually. This has meant engaging a large number of temporary workers and over a hundred motor lorries. Labour being temporary and recruited mostly locally, there has been considerable absenteeism whenever there were rains or any distractions. Apparently there was also a series of thefts of tyres immobilising a number of lorries. We have been giving serious attention to this and things have improved in the last few days. I do not expect any further difficulties and I hope the rate of supply of iron ore will not be allowed to go down below what it is now. As I said, we shall be out of the wood and be able to maintain an even flow of ore at the desired level only after the mechanised mines go into operation.

142. Letter. File No. 17 (37)/57-66-PMS.

The position about the import of ladles (ingot moulds) is not fully reported by Mr. Skatchkov. Ordinarily, Bhilai is to get its moulds from within its own workshops. There have been difficulties in getting suitable men for these workshops. Manufacture of moulds is a highly specialised job and our young technicians have not yet acquired the experience. We have therefore got some Soviet technicians to help us for the next six months or so. Moulds are now coming out of the workshops in Bhilai, but it will be some time before we get the full output. Meanwhile, to tide over our immediate difficulties, we have placed an order with the Soviet Union for 250 moulds. These will take a couple of months to come and I hope that before we exhaust those moulds the supply from within Bhilai will have come upto requirements. Nevertheless, as a measure of abundant caution, we have retained the option in the contract to place further orders upto another 750 moulds. In doing this we have consulted the Soviet Counsellor in Delhi dealing with these matters. He is fully in agreement with the arrangements we have made.

I agree with Mr. Skatchkov that we should think of the future and try to locate new sources of coking coal. The search is going on. A special mention appears to have been made by Mr. Skatchkov about developing the Korba coal field. As you know a fairly large quantity of Korba [...] is non-metallurgical and has a high ash content; this is at the moment being used mostly for the thermal power station at Korba. There is also a comparatively better quality of semicoking coal which can be blended with good coking coal to produce coke which can be used for metallurgical purposes. We have already entered into an agreement with the Soviet organisations for developing an open cast mine in a fairly big way at Korba. But according to the present indications, the coal from this open cast quarry will be non-metallurgical and will be used mostly for the expanded capacity of the thermal power station at Korba. Unless some new discoveries take place in the Korba area, I am afraid, the possibilities of getting good coking coal in that area are not very bright. In fact, there are other areas in which the possibilities of metallurgical coal are brighter and the Geological Survey of India and the Indian Bureau of Mines are carrying on an intensive search for discovering new deposits of metallurgical coal.

I am sending a copy of this letter to Morarjibhai.

Yours sincerely, Swaran Singh

88. P.S. Deshmukh to Nehru¹⁴³

[Refer to item 317]

15 July 1960

My dear Jawaharlalji,

On the 29th December, 1959 I had written to you with regard to the continuance of the scheme of sending batches of 20 Indian Farm Leaders every year to U.S.A. under the Indo-American Technical Assistance Programme. A copy of this letter is attached herewith for ready reference.

On this you were kind enough to remark as follows:

"I am not very anxious to encourage people to go out of India for these foreign financial tours. However, in the special circumstances we might agree to this particular proposal". 144

[PEASANTS LOVE AMERICA]

You Said It



I asked him which one yielded more—the Japanese or the Chinese method. He says the American method of cultivation yielded more!

(From The Times of India, 17 June 1960, p. 1)

143. Letter. File No. 31 (110)/60-61-PMS. 144. See SWJN/SS/55/p. 183.

The batch has now been duly selected and would be leaving India in the first week of August 1960. Time has, however, now come to consider the proposal for the year 1961 and unless we move soon the necessary financial provision, although the T.C.M. bears the whole expenditure, would not be there. I would, therefore, again submit for your approval the proposal of sending a similar group not only in 1961 but to kindly agree to it as a continuing scheme. In addition to what I said in my previous letter asking for your consent, I would like to urge that this is the only opportunity to the crores of farmers of India to have a chance to see agriculture, cooperatives etc., in foreign countries. Compared to the size of our farming community, twenty per year is hardly a drop in the ocean. But if even this small scheme is discontinued they would not get even this much of a chance.

I am sure you must have observed that a large number of people get chances of foreign training and visits out of those in service under Government as a result of a large variety of programmes, travel grants, scholarships, Inter-University Exchanges etc. These benefit them immensely. Similarly the traders, merchants, manufacturers, experts and others also have a variety of opportunities of foreign visits. I learn that the T.C.M. has allotted a large sum of money for foreign visits of groups of people for the Export Promotion Council. But so far as the farmers are concerned there is no other scheme in operation excepting this one.

Everyone who has had the opportunity of meeting these farm leaders was impressed with not only what they observed and learnt in their visits but still more the kind of fine work they were doing after their return on their own farms or in their own cooperative institutions and spreading information amongst other farmers. I have prepared a list of some 37 such farmers, cooperators village level and social education workers who have had this opportunity either under the farm leaders programme or the International Farm Youth Exchange. We would be delighted and obliged if you could at any time be able to visit and see for yourself the way in which these people have benefitted themselves and became a source of inspiration to others. If you find time to meet them and still better visit their farms etc., I have no doubt whatever that you would be convinced that this scheme is well worth pursuing. I am also attaching the remarks of Mr. R.H. Davis and Mr. R.E. Miller giving their candid opinion about what they feel regarding the programme.

I would, therefore, be much obliged if you will kindly lift the ban on the scheme and allow us to send a group of 20 farm leaders every year. The selection is very carefully made, firstly by the State Governments, then by a high level selection committee where the T.C.M. and other representatives of the Ministries of Agriculture, Community Development and Cooperation are also present. Even this selection is by no means final because the Economic Affairs Committee as well as the Planning Commission further scrutinise the selected candidates.

On the whole, I feel that the scheme has worked very well and even this

handful of farmers, cooperators, social workers, organisers etc., contribute a tremendous deal to enlarging the outlook of our farmers and persuade them to take to more scientific methods. I am also told that the funds allotted by T.C.M. for this scheme would not be available for any other purpose since they are allotted specifically for this project only. The visit again is not confined only to U.S.A. The group spends some time in Japan and has a glimpse of a few other countries also.

I would, therefore, be much obliged if you could convey your kind approval. With respectful regards,

Yours sincerely, P.S. Deshmukh

89. B.V. Keskar to Nehru¹⁴⁵

[Refer to items 391 and 392]

I would like to bring to your notice a case concerning a Staff Artist of All India Radio, Smt. Amrita Pritam, to whom an invitation had been extended by the Soviet Embassy on behalf of the Union of Writers of the USSR through the E.A. Ministry to visit Russia. E.A. Ministry apparently conveyed the invitation to her direct and also told her that they had no objection to her going to that country. On a simultaneous reference by the Ministry of E.A. to the Home Ministry, the latter strongly advised against Smt. Amrita Pritam being given permission to go to Russia in view of her Communist leanings. E.A. Ministry thereupon suggested to us that we might ask All India Radio not to release her if we decided that Smt. Amrita Pritam should not be allowed to accept the invitation. This puts us in an extremely embarrassing position. In such cases where our employees are involved, it is not only proper but better that the E.A. Ministry consults us before making any sort of commitment. I shall be grateful if suitable instructions are given to E.A. Ministry regarding procedure to be followed in such cases.

90. MEA on a Proposal of the Ministry of Irrigation and Power¹⁴⁶

[Refer to item 225]

Reference the attached summary for the Cabinet from the Ministry of Irrigation and Power.

- 2. Ministry of Irrigation and Power have proposed to depute the following to attend the meeting of the International Law Association on the "Uses of Waters of International Rivers" and the Biennial Session of the I.L.A., to be held in Hamburg (West Germany) from 4th to 6th August and 8th to 13th August respectively:-
- (i) Dr. K. Krishna Rao, DS (Legal & Treaties), Ministry of External Affairs, to go from India;
 - (ii) Dr. F.J. Berber, Legal Consultant to go from Munich;
 - (iii) Dr. Nagendra Singh, Joint Secretary, Ministry of Transport, to join from Vienna;
 - (iv) Prof. C.J. Chacko, Dean, Delhi University, to join from Paris; and
 - (v) Major Louis Bloomfield to come from Ottawa (Canada).

I understand that Professor Chacko is no longer available to attend these meetings as he will not be in Europe at the time.

- 3. The present meetings of the I.L.A. are very important from our point of view as, among other things, the report and the resolution on irrigational uses of international rivers, as also reports on pollution, inter-oceanic canals and navigation will be finalised at these meetings. The meetings will also formulate a resolution, on navigational uses of international rivers.
- 4. Pakistan apparently wants to introduce new resolutions on these items, to upset the improvements already secured for upper riparians by the Indian Delegation at the previous meeting and, with this object in view, is sending a strong delegation, composed of Messrs Chundrigar, M.R. Khan, Laylin and two other eminent personalities, one from Northern Ireland and the other from the Netherlands.
- 5. The I & P Ministry would very much like Major Bloomfield's [sic] of Canada, in addition to the Indian Delegates, to attend these meetings to counter the very strong pressure that will be put on the Committee members by the Pakistan Delegation to improve their position.
- 6. P.M. will doubtless recall that last year he had not favoured the arrangement in regard to Major Bloomfield being part of the Delegation—P.M.'s note dated 10.4.1959, Slip A.¹⁴⁷ The terms on which we had then engaged Major

^{146.} Note by Y.D. Gundevia, 19 July 1960. File No. 32 (4)-CWD/59, I.T. Section, Ministry of Irrigation.

^{147.} See SWJN/SS/48/item 150.

Bloomfield were somewhat generous; in addition to a Retainer fee of \$4,000 a year, he had cost us \$622. This time he is not being paid the Retainer fee and altogether he is to cost us about Rs.18,000/-, which is less than the previous figure. Major Bloomfield's contribution, I am told, during the last conference was substantial and I&P Ministry feel that the present expenditure that we will incur in this connection will be well worthwhile.

7. Under the circumstances, I would suggest that P.M. may agree to these proposals.

91. Subimal Dutt to Nehru¹⁴⁸

[Refer to item 495]

Prime Minister may kindly see Mrs. Pandit's letter¹⁴⁹ below. Secretary-General has discussed the letter with me.

- 2. It is obvious that many thinking people in the world are worried about the present situation arising from the breakdown of the disarmament talks. Lord Russell [has] also written to the Prime Minister on somewhat similar lines to Mr. Priestley's letter. The question is whether a non-official conference of the kind proposed would be helpful and, if so, whether we should give facilities for holding such a conference in India.
- 3. Our thinking on the subject, at least until recently, was that a special responsibility rests on the Big Powers to discuss and come to an agreement on the question of disarmament. We had hoped that this Summit Conference would lead to an outline of such agreement or pave the way for more fruitful talks. This hope has now been belied by the turn of recent events. It is important, therefore, for the other countries in the world also to bring to bear on the Big Powers the weight of world opinion on this subject. An opportunity for this will occur during the next session of the General Assembly where disarmament will be discussed. Indications, however, are that even during the General Assembly session no agreement will be reached. Mr. Khrushchev has made it clear that he will wait until a new President takes office in the United States of America. Personally, therefore, I think that an announcement now or in the near future about the holding of a conference in February is not likely to influence opinion either in the USSR or in the USA.
- 4. Nevertheless, if Mr. Priestley and others want to hold a conference in India, we cannot refuse them permission to do so. In his letter to Mrs. Pandit Mr. Priestley says "I have been feeling very strongly that if India could act as a

^{148.} Note, 20 July 1960. File No. 5 (22)-UN II/60, MEA.

^{149.} See Appendix 82.

sponsor of the conference we are much more likely to get the confidence we want". He also refers to the Prime Minister's immense personal prestige" Disarmament has now become a live political subject and as Government we shall have to express our opinion on it during the discussions in the General Assembly and elsewhere also. It will, therefore, be embarrassing for the Prime Minister to be a sponsor of a non-official conference. Indeed, in his talks with Mrs. Pandit Mr. Priestley has not mentioned this. If a conference has to be held in Delhi, some non-official Indians should also be associated as sponsors. Who should they be and how is non-official interest in India to be stimulated? We must also bear in mind that the World Peace Council has issued a long resolution supporting the Soviet plan and calling for a campaign for disarmament. This resolution has been given wide publicity by the Tass. That very fact will make it suspect in the American eye. It would be unfortunate, therefore, if the Peace Conference people in India become the sponsors of the new conference. How that can be prevented is not clear to me.

5. On the whole, therefore, my advice would be that while Prime Minister may agree to the conference being held in India, some of the considerations mentioned in the preceding paragraphs might be put to Mr. Priestley.

92. S.K. Patil to Nehru 150

[Refer to item 326]

21 July 1960

My dear Prime Minister,

Please refer to your confidential letter No: 1374-PMH/60 dt. July 12, 1960, regarding Mr. Khrushchev's suggestion for an exchange of experience between India and the Soviet Union in cotton growing. Mr. Khrushchev had suggested that a few specialists in cotton growing should be sent from the Suratgarh farm to Uzbekistan for study of cotton plantations in that region and that two of their specialists should be sent to the farm for a similar study. This suggestion was actually followed up by the Counsellor for Economic Affairs at the Russian Embassy, with an offer to arrange for the exchange of these specialists for a period of six months, at the expense of the Soviet Government.

2. As you are aware, the Suratgarh farm is at present mainly devoted to the production of improved varieties of food crops and it is not the intention for the present to introduce cotton cultivation on a large-scale there. Only relatively small areas have been put under cotton so far—200 acres in 1959 and 150 acres in 1960. Cotton, however, is an important cash crop in the country for the

150. Letter. File No. 31 (107)/60-61-PMS.

improvement of which the Indian Central Cotton Committee is taking necessary steps. In point of fact, two eminent Cotton Botanists—Dr. S.M. Sikka, Additional Agricultural Commissioner, I.C.A.R., and Sardar Avtar Singh, Head of the Regional Research Station for cotton and millets (Punjab)—are proposed to be sent shortly to Russia to study the agronomic practices there for increasing cotton yields and to collect breeding material of extra long staple varieties required for breeding work in our country.

Yours sincerely, S.K. Patil

93. Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit to Nehru¹⁵¹

[Refer to items 394 and 395]

India House, Aldwych, London, W.C. 2 21 July 1960

Bhai dear,

Two days ago, Professor Norman Brown of Pennsylvania came to see me. He was passing through London on his way to the Congress of Orientalists¹⁵² to be held in Moscow in August. He mentioned that he and certain other University people had felt that it would be a good idea if the next session could be invited to the United States. This being an entirely non-political assembly, it seemed to them a good opportunity of breaking down further barriers between the U.S.S.R. and the U.S.A. They took the matter up with the State Department and received enthusiastic support of their idea. I have seen copy of a letter written by the Head of the South-Asia Section of the State Department to Professor Brown in which he says that no objection would be raised to such an invitation being issued or to Soviet citizens coming to the U.S.A. in this connection. Professor Brown is supported by a group of eminent scholars from various Universities in the U.S.A.

The purpose of seeing me was to ascertain whether (a) India was interested in inviting the next session of the conference and (b) whether they would consider retiring in favour of the U.S.A.? In order to find out the exact situation I wired to Humayun Kabir whose reply was to the effect that:

"India inviting Oriental Congress 1963. American Scholars themselves welcome this move. Invitation likely to be accepted unanimously."

^{151.} Letter. File No. 13/1960-61, Humayun Kabir Papers, NMML.

^{152.} For its 25th session.

Ordinarily I would not have inflicted a letter on you but Norman Brown was so insistent that I feel I must accede to his request as Brown does not accept Kabir's version that American scholars have welcomed this.

Love.

Nan

94. V.R. Manohar to Nehru¹⁵³

[Refer to item 551]

Vyankatesh Ramchandra Manohar B.Sc., LL.B., Advocate "Arunodaya" Abhyankar Road, Dhantoli, Nagpur 22 July 1960

To Shri Jawaharlal Nehru, Prime Minister of Indian Union, New Delhi.

Notice under Section 80 of the Civil Procedure Code.

Sir,

I have been instructed by my client Dr. Narayan Bhaskar Khare of Dhantoli, Nagpur, to serve you with the following notice, under Section 80 of the Civil Procedure Code:-

- (1). That the Plaintiff would be Dr. Narayan Bhaskar Khare, B.A.M.D., Medical Practitioner, Jail Road, Dhantoli, Nagpur.
 - (2). That the cause of action for this suit is as follows:-

That you, as the Prime Minister of the Union of India, had a Press Conference at Damascus on or about the 29th May, 1960. In that press conference, you have made the statement with respect to South African Policy, and in that connection have stated, "Because of discrimination against the people of Indian descent in South Africa 12 years ago we broke off diplomatic and economic relations. We do not issue visas for South Africans to go to India". This statement of yours has been circulated by the P.T.I. and has been printed in the issue of Nagpur Times of the First June, 1960 on page 3 column 1 and bottom of column 2.

That the plaintiff, my client Dr. N.B. Khare was a Member of the Government of India from 7th May, 1943 to 3rd July, 1946 in charge of Commonwealth Relations and all the things mentioned by you in the previous paragraph in

153. Letter. File No. AFR (S)-44/60-AFR/I, MEA.

connection with the South African Policy have taken place during his regime, from 4th November 1944 to 17th June, 1946, the date of lodging a complaint against South Africa before the United Nations Organisation i.e. from 16 to 14 years ago and not twelve years, as stated by you. Therefore as soon as my client read the report of your press conference at Damascus in the papers, he wrote to you a letter dated 1st June, 1960 under certificate of posting requesting you to issue a public statement correcting your mistake.

But you have not only not acceded to this reasonable request but have on the contrary repeated you erroneous statement, while you were addressing the A.I.C.C. on the International situation at Poona, on 5th June, 1960. You have stated that, Malaya and Ghana were considering the steps <u>India had taken 12 years</u> ago to break off the diplomatic and economic relations with South Africa. This statement of yours has also been reported by the P.T.I. and has been published in the issue of Nagpur Times of 6th June, 1960 at page One Column 1 and 2.

That by this statement of yours about the steps taken by the then Government of India with respect to South Africa, while my client was a member of Government of India in charge of the Commonwealth Relations Department, you have misled the general public and particularly the people of India, that the action taken by the Indian Government was not by the then Government of India, but by the present Government, of which you have been the Prime Minister since the period of "12 years" starts after the British Government gave independence to Pakistan and Bharat i.e. some time in 1948.

That by this statement of yours you have taken the credit of breaking off the diplomatic and economic relations with South Africa to yourself and to your colleagues, which as a matter of fact belongs to my client in the eyes of his friends, admirers and other persons who have appreciation for his work while he was a member of the Government of India and thus he has been lowered in the opinion of the general public.

I therefore would be required to file a Civil Suit against you for getting this cleared by suing you for nominal damages of Rs.50/- in the Civil Court to get redress and costs of the proceedings, unless you make amends by making it clear in a Press statement and sending me a copy thereof, that the breaking of diplomatic and economic relations with South Africa was not done during your regime as the Prime Minister but by the then Government of India, when my client was in charge of the Commonwealth Relations Department. If necessary amends are not made, I will file a suit for getting the necessary redress after the statutory period and you will be responsible for the costs and consequences thereof, which please note.

Yours faithfully, V.R. Manohar

95. Gulzarilal Nanda to Nehru¹⁵⁴

[Refer to item 229]

24 July 1960

My dear Jawaharlalji,

You will forgive me for this letter.

I am ashamed to say that I am having second thoughts about the work in the Planning Commission. I am assailed by doubts whether I shall be able to do justice to the tasks involved. This is because the tasks before the Planning Commission are a thousand times more difficult than what I have to encounter as Labour Minister, albeit they are a thousand times more important too. I am no expert in planning. As Labour Minister I am my own expert. I have been under the influence of the irresistible fascination of this work but apt to lose sight of its bewildering complexity.

This country has made phenomenal progress in several directions during these years. Yet with the passage of time some problems have become more and more intractable. Inflation has become almost an endemic feature of our economy. While large numbers share to a slight extent the fruits of progress, the lion's share has gone into the hands of a few speculators, tax evaders, profiteers and cheats. There seems to be no way of countering this social and economic menace. Private economic power is exercising a pervasive corrupting influence. It is the want of a living social ideal in action which can grip the minds of the people and make calls on the best in them that may, to an extent, be indirectly the reason for the ugly manifestations of public temper in various parts of the country.

The obstacles in the way of a consistent advance towards any worthwhile aims are many. I am always taking pains to get on well with everybody. But it becomes necessary sometimes to stand out for certain principles and what one may regard as high national interest. The forces on the other side are usually too powerful and one's own strength is very limited. In these circumstances, there would be no end of embarrassments all round and an amount of frustration. I also feel weighed down by my own sense of deficiency in other ways. It may perhaps be good, therefore, that I carry on for some time in an acting capacity.

There is another aspect also. Friends who met me this morning all spoke to me against my giving up my association with the Labour Ministry. They point out that I have been able to make a considerable contribution towards thought and practice in the field of industrial relations and labour administration. They apprehend that there may be a reversal of policy and the gains that have been made might be wiped out. They feel that this precisely is the situation in which a right approach may become indispensable in dealing with the problems that will arise in the

public and the private sectors. I am told also that it will be misunderstood as a victory for those elements who have been clamouring for my elimination as Labour Minister. This, however, does not impress me as an important consideration.

Yours sincerely, G.L. Nanda

96. M.O. Mathai to Nehru¹⁵⁵

[Refer to item 328]

15 Ferozshah Road, New Delhi 24 July 1960

My dear Panditji,

[...]

- (1) A dozen persons might be chosen from different areas of Ladakh and straight away sent to Almora for basic training under Dr Boshi Sen who is extremely good with village folk. [...]
- (2) Dr. Boshi Sen's expert representative to visit Ladakh without delay for preliminary study and survey with the help of the Deputy Commissioner and Army authorities in Ladakh. The Deputy Commissioner and the Army authorities should do the preliminary work for sowing of crops and grass in May 1961 in accordance with the general advice of Dr Boshi's representative.
- (3) The Indian Council of Agricultural Research might be directed to give a grant to Dr. Boshi Sen to start a small Agricultural Research Centre in a suitable place in Ladakh by April 1961.
- (4) Dr. Boshi Sen might be requested to prepare and submit a Scheme referred to in (3) above soon after the return of his representative from his first visit to Ladakh.
- (5) General Thimayya might be asked to get ready to start three small Military Farms in different places in Ladakh. The Army has got several large Farms. Some of the personnel selected to run the three small Military Farms might be sent to Almora for a short refresher course under Dr. Boshi Sen.

[...]

Yours affectionately, M.O. Mathai

97. Bhimsen Sachar to Nehru 156

[Refer to items 170-171]

[Hyderabad] 26 July 1960

My dear Panditji,

Dr. Radhakrishnan and I were at the President's lunch yesterday. A casual reference by someone, at the table, to the language controversy in the Punjab drew from me a rather emphatic observation that the language problem in the Punjab was in fact no problem. This problem was solved by you and the late Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel and the Congress Working Committee Twelve Years ago, in the year 1949. To refresh your memory, I enclose a copy of your letter dated the 22nd July 1949 to Sardar Patel. The solution was accepted officially and is still current. Why should we tamper with it? Is it educationally unsound? To disturb the existing arrangement will undo the good work done by you and take us back to from where we had started in 1949.

A section of the Sikh community complains that the formula has not been implemented. The solution is to implement it if your enquiry satisfies you that there is substance in the complaint. Otherwise the formula suffers from no inherent defect. The other objection comes from the Hindus. They object to Punjabi in Gurmukhi script having been made a compulsory subject of study from the 5th Class onwards. There is no force in or justification for this objection. The objection must be resisted.

But will the reported decision, that Punjabi in Gurmukhi script should become a subject of compulsory study for those in the Western Region who adopt Hindi as their medium of instruction from the very 1st Class, soften the opposition or add to it still more? In my humble opinion the proposal to make it compulsory for a child to read Hindi and Punjabi from the very 1st Class is neither sound nor desirable. I enclose a copy of the resolution passed at the Conference of Education Ministers, convened by the Government of India on the 20th August 1949 to examine the recommendations made by the Central Advisory Board of Education and the All India Congress Working Committee, which will show that in the opinion of the Conference "the regional or State Language, where it is different from the mother tongue", (the language declared by the parents or guardian to be the mother tongue) should be introduced not earlier than class III and not later than the end of the Junior Basic Stage." The present proposal offends against this expert advice in as much as it brings down the study of the Punjabi language in the Western Region from the 5th to the 1st Class and pushes up its study in the

156. Letter. File No. PB/47, Bhimsen Sachar Papers, NMML. 157. See SWJN/SS/12/pp. 174-176.

Eastern Region from the 5th to the 6th Class. I gather from newspapers that while the proposed arrangement will not dull the edge of the Haryana opposition it would wet, and in my humble opinion understandably, the edge of opposition in the Western Region.

I may be pardoned for saying that there is no need to modify the existing arrangement. If improvement is called for in the working of the formula it should be enforced. On the other it must be made perfectly plain to those, who object to the study of Punjabi even as a second language that their voice shall for ever remain a voice in the wilderness. There is no sense in their opposition when the Punjab University have made it "obligatory on every student for the Matriculation examination to take a compulsory paper in Hindi (Devnagri script) and Punjabi (Gurmukhi script)". It is because of this consideration that the University decided as far back as early 1949 that "both Hindi and Punjabi should be permitted as media of instruction and examination". I enclose a copy of the proceedings of the combined meeting of the Oriental, Arts, Science and Education Faculties held on the 9th June 1949 at Simla. The resolution is on page 3 and has been side-lined. By the way, you will notice that amongst those who attended the meeting were some very prominent Hindu leaders like Dr. Gokul Chand, Shri Durga Das and Kumari Lajjawati. They all were a party to the decisions, (1) that Punjabi means Punjabi in Gurmukhi script and (2) that the study of Punjabi is compulsory for all wanting to pass the Matriculation examination.

I also enclose for your perusal a table containing a few letters common to Devnagri and Gurmukhi scripts. You will notice that the letters, though similar in form, sound differently in the respective scripts. Obviously this will confuse the child at the threshold of his studies of the alphabet.

Besides, what do we gain by insisting that a student, with Hindi as the medium of instruction, should also start the study of Punjabi simultaneously? From the 5th to the 10th Class it is a long enough period to give a student good working knowledge of the Punjabi language and especially when that is the language normally spoken by him. Having conceded to his parents the right to select his medium of instruction, we cannot turn round and say that because the student speaks Punjabi, he should also devote full 10 years to the learning of this language. When we recognise Punjabi as the official language then it is for those who seek Government service to equip themselves adequately for it. Further, because every student going up for the Matriculation examination has to take a compulsory paper both in Hindi and Punjabi no one can say that Punjabi is not being fully recognised. Just because the demand is made it does not mean that it must be conceded. We should resist it if there is no justification for it. Mere resistance, of course, will not do. It must be accompanied with properly organised propaganda aiming at educating people in the correct approach to the subject.

For facility of reference I also enclose a copy of the current language formula in the Punjab.

Left to myself, perhaps, I would not have bothered you with my views. When, however, I pointed out to Dr. Radhakrishnan the confusion which a simultaneous study of Devnagri and Gurmukhi scripts will cause in the mind of a child, he enquired from me if I had written to you on the subject. On my replying to him in the negative, he suggested my doing so and sending a copy of my letter to you to him. If you find any force in my observations and propose to make use of then, I shall be grateful if you use them without disclosing the source from where they emanate,

With best regards,

Yours sincerely, Bhimsen Sachar

98. Asoke K. Sen to Nehru¹⁵⁸

[Refer to items 403 and 551]

2, Hastings Road, New Delhi 27 July 1960

My dear Prime Minister,

I am in receipt of your letter of the 25th instant enclosing a copy of notice under Section 80 of the Civil Procedure Code of the suit proposed to be filed by Dr. N.B. Khare. This suit according to me is absolutely hopeless. I do not see how, even assuming the allegations to be correct, there is any case for defamation. However, it will be important to have the facts ascertained. I would like to know when actually we broke off diplomatic and economic relations with South Africa.

I have also received the letter of Shrimati Om Prabha Jain¹⁵⁹ regarding the proposal of the Punjab Government for amending Hindu Succession Act. This lady also came and saw me and gave certain representations. The A.I.C.C. has also sent me certain papers. I have forwarded them to the A.I.C.C. with the comments of our Ministry which possibly will be placed before the Working Committee meeting tomorrow.

Yours sincerely, A.K. Sen

158. Letter. File No. AFR (S)-44/60-AFR/I, MEA. 159. Congress MLA, Punjab.

99. Experts' Note on the Jugantar Report¹⁶⁰

[Refer to item 187]

The area referred to in the newspaper article (Jugantar of July 4, 1960) is approximately 70 square miles. It is bounded in the east by the Jaldhaka river, in the west by the Pango La ridge, in the north by Mount Gipmochi and in the south by Chutang Chu and Ni-Chu, tributaries of the Jaldhaka. It adjoins the Kalimpong sub-division of the Darjeeling District.

- 2. By the Treaty of Sinchula, concluded in 1865 between the British Government in India and the Government of Bhutan, "the hill country on the left bank of the Teesta up to such point as may be laid down by the British Commissioner appointed for the purpose" was ceded by Bhutan to India "for ever". The Boundary Commissioners appointed by the British in terms of this treaty recommended the inclusion in India of "the mountain tract as far east as the Jaldhaka and as far north as the frontier of Sikkim and Tibet". The total area is about 400 square miles. The 70 square miles referred to in paragraph 1 is part of this area.
- 3. The surveyors appointed by the British Govt were misled by one Mimba Kazi into leaving the upper Jaldhaka valley wrongly in Bhutan. Mimba Kazi played this fraud in order to prevent the inclusion of his estates in India. In the result, the 70 square miles referred to in the Jugantar article were wrongly left with Bhutan.
- 4. Bhutan therefore continued to administer the area as part of its territory. This was confirmed by the Deputy Commissioner, Darjeeling District, as late as 1889. For some unaccountable reason, in 1902, under instructions from the Foreign Department of the Govt of India, the area was shown in the Survey of India maps as part of Sikkim.
- 5. In 1903, the fraud played by Mimba Kazi was brought to light by the Settlement Officer, Kalimpong Estate. The then Govt of India and the Secretary of State, after giving full consideration to the case, considered it "inequitable" to press claims to an area which had been in the Bhutanese possession for long. They therefore decided to waive their claims in recognition of the friendly attitude of the Bhutan Government.
- 6. In 1914, the upper portion of the area, about 10 square miles, was formally awarded by the British to Sikkim and the rest, 60 square miles, to Bhutan. The boundaries of Bhutan and India and of Bhutan and Sikkim in this area were demarcated in 1917 and shown on official Indian maps in 1923.

100. Note of the Ministry of Community Development and Cooperation¹⁶¹

[Refer to item 334]

Ministry of Community Development and Cooperation (Department of Cooperation)

Subject: National Agricultural Cooperative Marketing Federation

In a meeting of the Central Committee for Community Development & Cooperation held on 16th December 1959, Dr. Deshmukh, Minister for Agriculture, made some complaints regarding alleged lack of cooperation by the Ministry of Cooperation with the National Agricultural Cooperative Marketing Federation of which Dr. Deshmukh was the Chairman. The Prime Minister did not consider that the issues raised were within the scope of the Central Committee and appointed a special committee consisting of the Deputy Chairman of the Planning Commission, Minister for Food & Agriculture, Minister for Community Development and Cooperation and Minister for Agriculture to go into the whole question and settle the matter. Efforts were made to do so by discussion between [sic] the Minister for Agriculture, but they were unsuccessful. Dr. Deshmukh on 24-2-1960 wrote to the Cabinet Secretary and enclosed a detailed note. This was circulated to the Members of the Special Committee and was discussed in a meeting on the 24th of March 1960. Deputy Chairman, Planning Commission, Minister for Food & Agriculture, Minister for Community Development & Cooperation and Minister for Agriculture were present along with the Cabinet Secretary, Additional Secretary, Cooperation, and Joint Secretary, Cabinet. No formal proceedings of the meeting were circulated. No formal proceedings of the meeting were recorded but the trend of the advice given by the Committee to Dr. Deshmukh was on the following lines:

- (i) Dr. Deshmukh should effectively resign from the chairmanship of the Federation.
- (ii) The federation should amend its bye-laws to provide membership of only apex marketing organisations.
- (iii) The Bharat Krishik Samaj should not continue as a member of the Board of Directors of the Federation.
- (iv) Government officers and representatives of certain institutions should not be nominated to the Board of Directors until there was state participation in the share capital.
- 2. The National Federation was to take necessary action on the above lines within three months. The period of three months expired on 23rd June 1960. The

161. File No. 14/4/CF/60, Cabinet Secretariat. Date unavailable.

National Federation however called a general meeting of the members on 12th of July 1960. According to the proceedings of the general meeting and also the subsequent meeting of the new Board of Directors of the Federation, the position in respect of the various points is as follows:

- (i) In the new Board of Directors Dr. Deshmukh was elected as Chairman but he showed his unwillingness to function as Chairman for a second term. The Board thereupon passed a resolution that the Chairman may be vested with the power to nominate the Chairman, other office-bearers and the Executive Committee. On 20th July 1960, Dr. Deshmukh appointed Kanwar Pitambar Singh, Chairman of the Punjab State Marketing Federation as Chairman of the National Federation and from that date Dr. Deshmukh has ceased to be the Chairman of the National Federation. The other office-bearers and the executive committee have not so far been appointed.
- (ii) As regards membership of the National Federation, no amendment to the bye-laws has been adopted by the Federation. In the general meeting, however, a resolution was passed to the effect that "societies lower than State level marketing societies should not be admitted as members for the time being."
- (iii) & (iv) The National Federation has not taken any steps to exclude the Bharat Krishik Samaj and other public institutions from the Board of Directors of the National Federation. In fact, no such proposal was even put to the general meeting.
- 3. It will thus be seen that the National Federation has not taken action to effectively implement the advice given to it in the meeting held on 24th March 1960, except on the question of Dr. Deshmukh's resignation from the chairmanship of the Federation. The Department of Cooperation is of the view that the following action in respect of the National Federation would be justified:-
 - (i) The National Federation may be informed that the Government of India do not recognise it as a properly constituted National Federation.
 - (ii) (i) above may be brought to the attention of the Ministry of Commerce & Industry and the State Trading Corporation. They may also be asked that quotas may be allotted directly to the apex marketing societies. The Department of Cooperation will assist in coordinating the arrangements between the State Trading Corporation and the various apex marketing societies.
 - (iii) State Governments may be informed of the decision taken by the Ministry and asked in turn to convey the same to the apex marketing societies.
- 4. Before action on the above lines is initiated the matter may be put up to the Special Committee set up to go into this matter.

101. K.N. Katju to Nehru¹⁶²

[Refer to item 404]

Bhopal, 5 August 1960

My dear Jawaharlal,

[...]

The Madhya Pradesh Land Revenue Code to which you refer was intended to unify agricultural land legislation throughout the re-organised Madhya Pradesh. Before that, in each unit there was a separate statute relating to agricultural land and land-tenures and the method of succession thereto on the death of the proprietor. In the three Units of Madhya Pradesh, Vindhya Pradesh and Bhopal, succession was governed by the personal law of the proprietor while in Madhya Bharat Section 82 of the Land Tenure Act, 1950, a special list of heirs was prescribed. The object of the legislation obviously was to prevent undue fragmentation of agricultural land on the death of its owner. It was considered that provision of this Act was expressly saved by section 4, sub-section (2) of the Hindu Succession Act, 1950 which provided that nothing in the Succession Act would affect laws intended to prevent undue fragmentation of agricultural holdings.

The current Madhya Pradesh Land Revenue Code was introduced in the State Legislative Assembly in September, 1958. In the Bill so introduced, succession to agricultural tenures was governed by the personal law of the parties, but in the Select Committee there was prolonged discussion over this matter and with a view to prevent undue fragmentation of holdings, it was decided to adopt the rules of succession embodied in the Madhya Bharat Act of 1950, already referred to. After the Select Committee had reported on the Bill, it was discussed at length for about a week in the Vidhan Sabha and was passed in April, 1959, by the Vidhan Sabha. Section 164 of the Code deals with the rule of succession to agricultural lands and land tenures. There was only one land tenure prescribed in the Code, called Bhumiswami. I am enclosing a copy of Section 164 of the Code for your perusal. You will notice that it prescribes no less than 22 classes of heirs to succeed in accordance with the order laid down in the section. Effort was made to keep the number of individuals succeeding to the land tenure at a time as low as possible. In-as-much as this Code was a departure from several laws enacted by the Parliament, it was sent to the Government of India under Article 254 (2) of the Constitution for obtaining the assent of the President thereto. This was done in July, 1959, and the President was pleased to accord his assent on the 15th of September, 1959, whereupon it became law and has now been in force for the last 11 months. It has been implemented and has given satisfaction all-round. The object of section 164 was, as I said, to prevent fragmentation of holdings. Under the Hindu Succession Act heirs as enumerated in class I taken together are no less than in four groups—all the sons, daughters, mother and widow, while class I in Madhya Pradesh Land Revenue Code is limited to sons and pre-deceased sons' widow and no one else. This is the present situation.

[...]

Yours affectionately, K.N. Katju

102. Swaran Singh to Nehru¹⁶³

[Refer to item 420]

19 August 1960

My dear Jawaharlalji,

As you had sent a note to the C.S.I.R. already, enquiry was made from the Ministry of S.R. & C.A. and they were not in a position to throw any light. Enquiries have also been made from the Geological Survey of India and the Indian Bureau of Mines, and they have informed us that no copper samples were ever received by them for analysis six or seven years ago. The only time, a party of geologists was sent to Ladakh area, was late in the summer of 1955 (some months after the demise of Dr. Bhatnagar), but they came across no copper occurrences.

Keshav Dev¹⁶⁴ has, however, a recollection that one Flt. Lt. K. Chandra who had extensively travelled in this area when serving in the I.A.F. had passed on some information to him in regard to certain mineral deposits, particularly sulphur in Ladakh, and he informed Dr. Bhatnagar about it. This was somewhere early in 1953, and perhaps Dr. Bhatnagar may have had this information in mind. Shri K. Chandra, who is now serving in the Meteorological Department in Poona, has been contacted and he has informed us that he handed over some geological specimens he collected in Ladakh along with his notes on geological and political observations to Air Vice-Marshal Engineer,¹⁶⁵ who passed them on to late Shri R.A. Kidwai. ¹⁶⁶ Necessary enquiries have been made regarding these samples, but no useful information could be obtained to locate them.

^{163.} Letter, excerpts. File No. 17 (371)/59-66-PMS.

^{164.} Keshava Deva Malaviya, Minister for Mines & Oil.

^{165.} Aspy Merwan Engineer; Deputy Chief of Air Staff, IAF, till May 1958; Chief of Air Staff, 1 December 1960-31 July 1964.

^{166.} Rafi Ahmed Kidwai, Union Minister, August 1947-October 1954.

Enquiries were also made from Shri Malhotra, now Deputy Director, I.B.M., who for some years had served under the Jammu & Kashmir Government. According to him the mineral deposits in Ladakh District had not been surveyed in detail from the economic mineral resources point of view, but he had come across occurrences of copper in Zanskar area in the shape of limps of ore along the river. The location of the parent deposit is not known.

[...]

Yours sincerely, Swaran Singh

103. Khrushchev to Nehru¹⁶⁷

[Refer to item 494]

Esteemed Mr. Prime Minister,

Wishing to inform you about our position at Paris, I decided to send you in a confidential manner the text of the records of the talks I had had with de Gaulle, Macmillan and Eisenhower in Paris.¹⁶⁸

N. Khrushchev Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR

Summary

On 15th May, 1960, Khrushchev at his own request went to see De Gaulle and told him that the incidents of 9th April and 1st May showed that one of the participants of the Summit was not interested in the reduction of international tension. Khrushchev then read out a statement in which it was made clear to De Gaulle that until USA gave an assurance that USSR's frontiers will not be violated in future by American planes, that these provocative acts would be condemned and that individuals responsible for these incidents punished, the Soviet Government did not see any chance of fruitful talks with the Government of the USA at the Summit. Khrushchev went on to say that De Gaulle should understand that the Soviet Union had been a victim of a perfidious act of aggression. USA had, in the course of their statement, made a threat of further flights over Russian

167. Letter; date not mentioned in source. File No. 3 (5)-Eur-E/60, MEA.

^{168.} A summary of the record prepared by P.N. Kaul and available in File No. 3 (5)-Eur-E/60, MEA, is reproduced below. This would appear to be a summary of the translation of the full record. Neither the full record in Russian, nor the full translation, are available in the collection at the NMML.

territory. In the light of this, Khrushchev felt that so long as this threat was not withdrawn, the Soviet Union would not possibly talk to USA at the Summit. If USSR took a different line, it would only mean capitulation of the Soviet Union. Since the Soviet Union had every means of defending its territory, it had no intentions of capitulating before USA. De Gaulle took the text from Khrushchev and said that he would discuss it with Eisenhower. His immediate comment was that in the context of contemporary conditions, espionage was inevitable and even necessary. Khrushchev told De Gaulle that he was surprised at the latter taking a stand which would justify the flights of foreign planes over the territory of a State for collecting intelligence. He went on to say that the Soviet Union would shoot down every foreign plane flying over the Soviet territory, and that nobody could compel the Russians to bow before anybody, leave alone come down on their knees. The Soviet Defence Minister Malinovski¹⁶⁹ added that the collection of intelligence could be undertaken only in war time. It had no place in peace time. Before leaving De Gaulle, Khrushchev added that if he went to the Summit under these conditions, it would amount to his sitting in Paris discussing questions, while American planes were flying over Moscow. In that case, the Soviet Government would have lost all respect and confidence of the Soviet people. Khrushchev also said that he had evidence to indicate that in USA it was being said that Khrushchev was having difficulties in his Party, as though he did not enjoy the support of his people. This kind of nonsense had been said for the last forty years and it was high time to throw away such absurd ideas. Before leaving De Gaulle, Khrushchev stated that under the circumstances, the responsibility for not holding the Summit rested entirely on the Western Powers. The same day in the afternoon, Khrushchev met Macmillan and told him after reading out the text handed over to De Gaulle earlier that the Soviet people could not reconcile themselves to the insult which had been meted out to them. Macmillan pointed out that he had done everything possible from his side to hold the Summit meeting. It would be a pity if everything was lost at that stage because of the plane incident.

Khrushchev asked Macmillan what he would do if the Soviet Govt sent planes to fly over London and New York. Would Macmillan under these circumstances agree to meet and talk with the Russians at the Summit? Khrushchev went on to say that he could understand that when the other person was caught red-handed, he should gather strength, ask forgiveness and say that such things would not be repeated. But what did the Americans do? They said that they sent planes and they will continue to send planes over the Soviet territory. This, according to Khrushchev, was a scandalous philosophy. Khrushchev stressed that no matter how much he may be distressed by the provocative act, he thought it necessary

to try for a peaceful solution of all disputes. He stood for softening of the situation. He told Macmillan that the latter knew that the Russians were trying for a speedy settlement of a peaceful treaty with Germany, and on this basis to normalize the situation in Western Berlin. For this reason they were prepared to meet President Eisenhower and to talk this matter over together, but it was impossible to talk to them, so long as they did not refuse to send their military planes to USSR. The present American stand was not only contrary to international law but to all commonsense. The Americans, perhaps, considered that they had many dollars and they could do what they pleased. Russians had no dollars but they had greater means than the Americans to deliver crushing blows to them. In the circumstances Khrushchev said that he could not meet Eisenhower, shake hands with him, talk to him as a friend and pretend as though nothing had happened. USSR, he thought, was not a small country like Guatemala which could not take care of itself. Macmillan ended the conversation by expressing the sentiment that they should meet together and find a way out, to which Khrushchev replied that it was necessary to remove the threat.

He went on to say that at one time Eisenhower had said that he would refuse to talk to Khrushchev so long as the Soviet threat in regard to Berlin problem was not removed. Khrushchev thought that the Russians had never made any threats, but at this time they were being asked to meet the Americans under a real military threat. Khrushchev went on to say that the American plane was shot down from a height of 20,000 meters which completely exploded the American military doctrine that bombers could be used in a war against the USSR.

On 16th May, a preliminary meeting of the Big Four was held, at which Khrushchev read out his statement prepared earlier laying down the conditions on which USSR was prepared to take part in the Summit, and also indicated that President Eisenhower's visit to USSR should be postponed.

Speaking immediately after Khrushchev, Eisenhower said that in an atmosphere of lack of confidence, the States had to undertake the unpleasant but essential business of espionage in order to ensure the security of the free world from a sudden attack. He added that the flights over USSR had been stopped and would not be restored. De Gaulle in his turn wondered if the problem of the plane could not have been solved before the Summit.

Khrushchev lost no time in pointing out that it was not clear what exactly President Eisenhower meant: whether the flights would not be restored ever again, or whether they would not be restored during the proceedings of the Summit. Khrushchev also commented that in President Eisenhower's statement there was no reference to condemning aggressive acts against the Soviet Union, nor even any regret that they were permitted to take place. Khrushchev called for a public statement of the American Government condemning the incident and an assurance that there will be no further flights to collect intelligence over the Russian territory. He added that he would take part in the conference only when the threat would be

withdrawn as publicly as it was made.

As regards De Gaulle's comment that the incident could have been sorted out before 16th May, Khrushchev said that he did make efforts in that direction. He sent a note of protest to USA. In reply he was told that such flights by Americans would be continued. So under the circumstances what more could he do. He bitterly referred to the fact that at Camp David, Eisenhower had described Khrushchev as a friend and had learnt how to say it in Russian. Khrushchev had also on his part learnt how to say "My friend" in English, and now, said Khrushchev: "These friends clashed in mid air." Khrushchev added that he would never accept the position that he arrived in Paris and was made to stand on his knees before the USA. He also stated that he would publish the statement exactly as it was made that morning. He saw no reason why he should not publish that part of the statement in which Eisenhower's visit to Moscow had been postponed, because, he said, he had received thousands of telegrams from Russians commenting that President Eisenhower should not be received in USSR. On a point of clarification, he stated that it should never be said that the Summit Conference had even one meeting. What had happened was that a preliminary meeting was held to decide when to hold the Summit which actually never met.

This was followed by another talk between Khrushchev and Macmillan on 16th May at 9.30 at night. Macmillan tried to persuade Khrushchev to stay on for the conference in the light of the assurance given by Eisenhower that such flights would not be continued in future. Explaining the incident in greater detail, Khrushchev told Macmillan that he knew the "honesty of our American friends" and, therefore, in his speech at the Session of the Supreme Soviet he withheld certain facts with the object of confusing the Americans. The Russians knew exactly what route the plane was supposed to take. The plane was to have flown on the route-Turkey-Pakistan and from there via Sverdlov [sic], Archangel, and Murmansk on to Norway. In addition, it had a reserve route to fly via Finland to Norway in the event of shortage of fuel. Khrushchev said that in his speech he deliberately said that the American plane could have come from Iran, Pakistan or Turkey. He thought that the Americans would think that if Khrushchev talked so indefinitely, perhaps the Russians did not have the exact facts about the plane. The Americans fell into the trap. First they talked about collecting of meteorological information, that the oxygen apparatus of the plane failed and that it was flying in the area of Lake WAN. Khrushchev said that in his second speech he told the facts fully and completely which exposed the Americans. After this, instead of the American Government acknowledging the incident and expressing regret, it made a most shameless statement that the American planes flew and would continue to fly over Russian territory with the object of collecting intelligence. This, they said, was necessary because the Russians did not agree to the Open Skies plan. The Russians replied that they shot down and would continue to shoot down American military planes intruding into the Soviet territory, and if such flights

continued, then the Soviet rockets and missiles would attack the American bases in other countries and, if necessary, in America itself.

Khrushchev went on to tell Macmillan that he did not believe Eisenhower any more. Commenting on Eisenhower's statement made at the preliminary meeting of the Big Four, Khrushchev said to Macmillan that the latter regretted the incident but not Eisenhower who kept on saving that he would take the matter to the United Nations and would do this or that. He should realise that Paris was not Washington and that he was no master of Russia. Why the Americans considered that they could talk to the Russians as though they were talking to some colonial people. Then he went on to say that Eisenhower was not a man who was directing the affairs but he was the king of those who were in power. As an individual he had good qualities but as a statesman he had to be judged not by his personal qualities but by his deeds and the facts were that in America there was a complete free play for the militarists. They brought all manner of papers to Eisenhower and he signed them. Khrushchev went on to say that he was certain that the plan of sending military planes over USSR was prepared by Allen Dulles 170 who showed Eisenhower the photographs taken from these planes. Eisenhower in his turn praised Allen Dulles and, therefore, it was difficult for Eisenhower to condemn Allen Dulles at a later stage. If Eisenhower had done this, then Dulles would have told him how it is that yesterday "you were praising me and now you are ticking me off."

Seen from Khrushchev's angle, the position was different. Russians had caught the thief, they had all the facts including the pilot, who would be tried. The Russians, he said, would take the question to the Security Council and, if necessary, even to the General Assembly. It was necessary, Khrushchev thought, to bring out anger of the people against such a policy which, if allowed to continue, would lead the Russians to shed their blood. Khrushchev concluded his observations by saving that if the Russians swallowed the insult, which had been meted out to them by USA, the Government would not have been worthy of the confidence and greatness of its people, to which Malinovski added that even Macmillan would not respect the Russians if they swallowed such insults. Khrushchev added that when the Russian planes accidentally crossed the frontiers of Iran and Turkey, the Russian Govt expressed its regret without waiting for any protests from these countries and punished the guilty. The trouble, Khrushchev thought, was that Macmillan had a difficult ally and leader in Eisenhower. Khrushchev was glad that Eisenhower was not his ally and that he did not have to blush for Eisenhower's conduct

Khrushchev made it clear to Macmillan that what he wanted from Eisenhower was not merely regret but condemnation of these flights. Otherwise it would

mean that the Americans were being large-hearted in their dealings with the Russians. Macmillan thought that Eisenhower had gone as far as he could as head of the State and that he could not go any further. Khrushchev insisted that Eisenhower should express regret and condemn the flights.

On 17th May 1960, a press statement was issued on behalf of Khrushchev. Referring to the message received from De Gaulle that a summit meeting of the Big Four will start on 17th at 4 p.m., Khrushchev said it was not clear whether it was intended to be a preliminary meeting to decide about the fate of the Summit or that this would be the first meeting of the Summit itself. Khrushchev refused to go to this meeting unless it was made clear that this was only a preliminary meeting and not a meeting of the Summit.

Khrushchev met Macmillan on 18th May at 10.30 at which the latter told Khrushchev that the failure of the Summit was a great catastrophe which would have great effect in UK and in all countries of the British Commonwealth of Nations. He wanted to let Khrushchev know this quite frankly. Macmillan thought that Khrushchev's line of action at the Summit was very hard. Khrushchev replied that the Pentagon did not want the Summit conference, and relying on the reactionary forces in USA, it did all that was possible to frustrate the conference. In the absence or the lack of determination on the part of the President which could be due either to old age or for any other reason, the aggressive forces succeeded in breaking up the conference. This they did by sending military planes to USSR with the consent of the President.

Khrushchev said that the Russian policy continued to remain as it was before. It was guided by the principles of co-existence with different political and social structures and would try to solve the disarmament, the German and the Berlin problems. As regards the German problem, the Russians saw it in a slightly different context. Khrushchev accused Macmillan of treating Adenauer as leader of the German problem [sic]. If this was continued in future, then it would not help in solving the problem and the Russians would be compelled to seek solution of the problem unilaterally.

Khrushchev said that even though he had respect for Macmillan, he was sorry that the latter, who could have functioned very objectively, did not do so. Khrushchev thought that if Macmillan had told the Americans that the plane incident was aggression, the Americans would have come to proper conclusions which would have compelled them to think over this matter. Macmillan, however, shielded his ally and wanted the conference to go on at the cost of prestige of the Soviet Union. Macmillan in reply stated that he did not agree with Khrushchev's assessment and thought that President Eisenhower had gone as far as he could have, as head of the State. He expressed the hope that what had happened in Paris was merely an episode and that useful work would be continued in future.

In his last meeting with De Gaulle on 18th May at 10.55 Khrushchev repeated his point of view that if Macmillan and De Gaulle had played their cards effectively

with Eisenhower, the Americans would have behaved differently and that the Summit might have been saved.

Khrushchev told De Gaulle that while preparing for the Summit, the Russians had taken into account the French points of view in regard to disarmament, and had prepared new proposals which reflected a common approach between France and USSR. Khrushchev extended an invitation to De Gaulle to visit the Soviet Union.

GLOSSARY

(Including abbreviations and names of places)

Abyssinia Ethiopia

AHQ Air Headquarters

AICC All India Congress Committee

AIR All India Radio
Aparigriha non-possessiveness
BA Bachelor of Arts
Bal Mandirs children's centres

Banaras Varanasi Bangalore Bengaluru Baroda Vadodara

BHU Banaras Hindu University

Bombay city
Broach
Burma
Calcutta
Cambay
Mumbai
Bharuch
Myanmar
Kolkata
Khambhat

CAS Chief of Air Staff
CCB Central Cipher Bureau

Ceylon Sri Lanka

CGS Chief of General Staff

Chou En-lai Zhou Enlai

COAS Chief of Army Staff

Cochin Kochi

CPI Communist Party of India

CPP Congress Party in Parliament/Congress Parliamentary

Party

Crore ten million

CRP Central Reserve Police [Force]

CSIR Council of Scientific and Industrial Research

CSO Central Statistical Organisation
CWC Congress Working Committee
DCC District Congress Committee

DDT dichlorodiphenyltrichloroethane DGBR Director General Border Roads

Desi traditional; Indian

DIB Director Intelligence Bureau
DMI Director Military Intelligence

DO demi official
DS Deputy Secretary

DVC Damodar Valley Corporation

EA [Ministry of] External Affairs

FAO Food and Agriculture Organization

Flt. Lt. Flight Lieutenant

Formosa Taiwan

FS Foreign Secretary

Gauhati Guwahati

GOC-in-C General Officer Commanding-in-Chief

GOI Government of India Gosamvardhan cow development GPO General Post Office

HH His Highness

HMT Hindustan Machine Tools [Limited]

HQs Headquarters

I&P [Ministry of] Irrigation and Power

IAC Indian Airlines Corporation

IAF Indian Air Force

IARI Indian Agricultural Research Institute
IAS Indian Administrative Service
IBM International Business Machines

ICAR Indian Council of Agricultural Research

ICS Indian Civil Service

ICSC International Commission for Supervision and Control

IGP Inspector General of Police
ILA International Law Association

INTUC Indian National Trade Union Congress

J&K Jammu and Kashmir

JCOs junior commissioned officers

JN Jawaharlal Nehru

Jullundur Jalandhar Kotwali Police Station

KPCC Kerala Pradesh Congress Committee

Kw kilowatt

Lakh one hundred thousand Lieut.-General Lieutenant General LL.B. Bachelor of Laws
MA Master of Arts

MAAG Military Assistance Advisory Group

Madras city Chennai Mao Tse-tung Mao Zedong

Math religious establishment akin to a monastery
MBBS Bachelor of Medicine, Bachelor of Surgery

MEA Ministry of External Affairs
MHA Ministry of Home Affairs

MLA Member of Legislative Assembly

Mohalla locality

Morcha a public demonstration
MP Member of Parliament
MSc Master of Science

Mysore state Karnataka

NAFEN Near and Far East News [Agency]

Nagar Aveli Nagar Haveli Nala drain or channel

NATO North Atlantic Treaty Organization
NBC National Broadcasting Company
NEFA North East Frontier Agency
NHTA Naga Hills-Tuensang Area

NMML Nehru Memorial Museum and Library

Nowgong Nagaon

NPC Naga People's Convention
ONGC Oil and Natural Gas Commission

Orissa Odisha

P&T Posts and Telegraph [Department]

PA personal assistant Panchayat Samiti village council

Panches elected representatives of a village council
Pandal a temporary structure for meetings or festivals

Parigriha desire for worldly possessions
Patwari village revenue record keeper
PCC Pradesh Congress Committee

Peking Beijing

PEPSU Patiala and East Punjab States Union

PIB Press Information Bureau

PL-480 Public Law-480 PM Prime Minister

PMS Prime Minister's Secretariat

PO Post Office

Pondicherry Puducherry

Poona Pune

PPS Principal Private Secretary

Pradesh state

Prayashchitta atonement

PS private secretary
PSP Praja Socialist Party
PTI Press Trust of India
PWD Public Works Department

Rangoon Yangon Rev. Reverend

RSPI Revolutionary Socialist Party of India

Sadar-i-Riyasat head of state SC Scheduled Castes

SG Secretary General, MEA

Sibsagar Sivasagar Simla Shimla

SR&CA [Ministry of] Scientific Research and Cultural Affairs

SRC States Reorganisation Commission

ST Scheduled Tribes

SWJN/FS Selected Works of Jawaharlal Nehru, First Series SWJN/SS Selected Works of Jawaharlal Nehru, Second Series

Trivandrum Thiruvananthapuram

TCM Technical Cooperation Mission (of USA)

UAR United Arab Republic UK United Kingdom

UN/UNO United Nations/United Nations Organization

UNESCO United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural

Organization

UP Uttar Pradesh

UPSC Union Public Service Commission

Vidhan Sabha Legislative Assembly

Vihara a Buddhist temple or monastery

VIP Very Important Person WHO World Health Organization

WHS [Ministry of] Works, Housing and Supply Yatra a journey; pilgrimage to a holy place

Zilla Parishad district council

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Some vignettes from this volume:

- Nehru wrote to Chief Ministers: "Bending down in this way to sweep is physically more tiring and, I suppose, encourages a certain subservience in mind."
- When told at a press conference that people would get a psychological problem if it was not clear who their Head was, Nehru replied: "I believe that we need a psychiatrist to deal with these people who have got psychological problems."
- Nehru was the first Congressman to submit a statement of his assets, income and expenditure to the AICC Office in accordance with the resolution of the CWC.
- Nehru wrote to Nathu Singh, a former GOC-in-C: "Your letter is almost in the nature of a threat which is highly improper. I cannot carry on correspondence with you on this subject any further."
- Nehru demanded avoiding the extravagant use of air conditioning in Government offices.
- Nehru wrote to B.P. Koirala: "They [the Chinese Government] seem to believe that every piece of territory that once belonged to the Chinese Empire must now or in the future revert to them."
- Nehru objected to Rajendra Prasad's enormous entourage for his Soviet tour, which K.P.S. Menon complained as too "regal."
- Nehru rated the Jaipur Maharaja's suggestion about a five-day stay for Elizabeth II in Jaipur as most "extraordinary and preposterous."
- Nehru was appalled to note that a Rajasthan Government minister planned to undertake a "grand tour of eleven countries" to study agriculture.

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